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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

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The First Year of Peace. Even the most confirmed cynic would not have ventured to prophesy when the Armistice was signed in November, 1918, that the whole of the year 1919 would elapse before the final ratifications of peace with even one of the enemy powers had been exchanged. Yet the exchange of ratifications with Germany is only being completed this week, and even still delay is possible. As for Austria and Bulgaria their representatives have put their signatures to treaties which have been imposed upon them and that they have signed as the price of peace, although they involve their own ruin. Turkey still waits to know even the terms of the treaty that she is to be asked to sign, and the Allies at the present moment can know little more about the matter than do the Turks themselves. So far as peace-making is concerned, the year's record is dismal enough. It was not until June that the Peace Treaty with Germany was signed, and the treaties with Austria and Bulgaria followed even later. But it is not the delay over the formulation of the treaties so much as the present indecision and chaos of the world that gives cause for regret and anxiety for the future. At the present moment, not only is the Treaty a dead letter throughout a great part of Europe, but even the attitude of the Versailles Conference is still in doubt.

When will America Decide? This month, it is to be hoped, the United States will decide finally whether they

intend to ratify the Treaty or not. President Wilson's prolonged illness, which destroyed the chances of its passage without reservations, has now become the cause of its further delay. The state of the President's health has been kept almost as secret as his own intentions regarding the Treaty, but rumours are becoming general that he intends to make a further fight for the League of Nations and the Peace, as soon as he has regained sufficient physical strength for the task. It is welcome news that he is now sufficiently recovered to be able to walk about his room with the aid of a stick, and the millions of men and women in Europe who have looked to him as their champion in the New World will wish him a rapid and complete recovery of health in the new year. For the moment the chief concern of every European nation is that the Treaty should be ratified by America at once, whether with or without reservations. We have not disguised our belief that the resources of Europe are so terribly exhausted that reconstruction, and even the restoration of peace and the prevention of further devastation by famine and disease cannot be accomplished without America's assistance. America played so large a part in the final work of demolishing the old Europe that she can scarcely ignore her share of

responsibility for its present chaos. We hope that the United States will settle the question of ratification without further delay, once and for all, for we attach much less importance to the phraseology of any amendments that they may desire to append to the Treaty than to the fundamental desire that has constantly been shown by Americans of every class, to give the most generous assistance to the tasks of reconstruction, and to lend the whole weight of American influence to the promotion of international peace. That spirit is as strong and as universal in America to-day as it was during the war, but the Americans have made up their minds that the Treaty, as it stands, will involve the United States in European conflicts about which they know nothing, and they are therefore determined to repudiate any such responsibility for the Treaty of Versailles.

Her Power to Save Europe.

Unfortunately, if America declines to accept that responsibility the Treaty must prove to a great extent inoperative and the work of the Peace Conference might as well have been left undone. The Treaty, whatever unfair provisions it may contain, does at least rectify the worst of the long standing injustices of Europe. It establishes the Polish nation as an independent state, for instance; it restores the stolen provinces of Alsace Lorraine to France, and the Trentino to Italy, and it provides for a plebiscite for Schleswig-Holstein. These results at least are more or less secure in any case, but the Treaty includes any number of other more subtle and delicate adjustments of territory and of vested interests that inevitably arouse intense hostility and will be resisted violently if there is not a supreme and over-riding authority in Europe to enforce every syllable of the Treaty as it stands. For there is no alternative to enforcing it in its entirety, unless the whole business of the Peace Conference is to be reopened and discussed all over again. Now, in the present chaotic state of Europe there is no conceivable means by which the whole Treaty can be enforced if America does not take an active part in enforcing it. America dominates the world by the single fact that

all the other countries are so heavily indebted to her that she could enforce her demands upon any of them by the mere threat of a refusal of further credits. Economic pressure alone or even the threat of it by the United States would enforce compliance with the Treaty; as in the event of any protracted refusal, the co-operation of the British and American fleets would settle the matter within twenty-four hours. It is the uncertainty that prevails because America's failure to make up her mind that paralyses the work of the Allies in their endeavour to carry out the Treaty. For so long as there remains the possibility that the United States may at any moment withhold their support, the recalcitrant countries are encouraged to persist in their defiance of the Allies.

Our Own Dependence on America.

There is not a country in Europe which could not be compelled to abide by the decision of America if her government decided upon taking economic measures to enforce obedience to the Peace Treaty. The whole of Europe depends literally from week to week upon the supplies of food-stuffs and of raw materials that are coming to us from America. Still more, the economic recovery of Europe is impossible without an immense extension of credit from America. Even Great Britain in spite of the astonishing rapidity with which her industry and trade have been revived, is still so deeply indebted to the United States that the foreign exchanges make trade with America almost prohibitively expensive. It is only within the past eight or nine months that the main demobilisation of the British armies has been in progress. Within that time some four or five million soldiers and sailors have been returned to civil life, and more than a million men and women munition workers have changed over from purely war work to productive industry. Within less than a year, this vast multitude of workers have found their places again in industry and in trade, and if it were not for the Iron-moulders' strike, which has crippled every branch of the engineering trades, the United Kingdom would now be practically free from unemployment. The Trade Union statistics show that

there is actually less unemployment to-day than there was before the war. Moreover, capital has been forthcoming to the extent of at least £250,000,000 to finance enterprises that have been started within the past six months, and there is every apparent prospect of a greater prosperity for British trade during the next two or three years than has ever been known before. Yet in spite of this extraordinary progress in reconstruction, which far exceeds the expectations of the most confident critics of finance, our own credit in America is still depreciating and stands lower than it did even six months ago. Before the war the English sovereign was worth little less than five dollars. A month ago its value fell to below four dollars, and it stands to-day roughly at 3½ dollars, and will most probably fall still lower.

Europe on the Verge of Bankruptcy.

Since our own credit in America has fallen so alarmingly, what hope is there for even France and Italy, which have at any rate survived the war with their political and economic stability unimpaired? In comparison with our own credit, theirs has depreciated fully as much as ours has depreciated in the United States. Before the war our sovereign was worth 25 francs in France, and to-day it is worth over 40. The Italians are in a still more unfavourable position. For everything that they have to buy from America, even France and Italy have now to pay at least double the apparent price of what America exports to them. But the situation of our Allies in Eastern Europe is infinitely worse. The credit of Poland is less even than that of Germany, although the German mark, which used to be equivalent to a shilling, is now worth less than twopence. The Austrians have scarcely any means at all of trading abroad, for their currency is worth practically nothing. Yet Austria more than any other part of Europe cannot live without enormous imports from America and from ourselves. Under the Peace Treaty, Austria which was once a great Empire, has become a small state no larger in area than Switzerland, with a population of only seven millions, of whom two and a half millions live in Vienna. The metropolis which a few

years ago was one of the most magnificent capitals of Europe, is now left without employment for its immense population. Its centres of government and of commerce no longer have any purpose for their existence, and hundreds of thousands of men and their dependants find themselves unable to obtain work and compelled to depend upon alms for the necessities of life. There is such chaos in the railway systems of Austria that even emigration is practically impossible, and in any case the vast majority of the inhabitants of Vienna dare not leave the city as they can obtain food only by remaining at the centre where the relief is being distributed. They are already dying in thousands each week as they have lost all power of resisting disease from years of starvation during the war and since; their streets are filled with funerals carrying children to their graves. Already Mr. Hoover's awful prediction is being justified. Six months ago he declared that Europe contained a hundred million more people than could be fed and maintained out of her own resources unless production was enormously increased, and that Europe "must either work or starve." A whole year has passed in which trade throughout Central Europe has been practically dead, and except in Germany it has scarcely begun to revive. In the towns of Poland and Serbia conditions have grown almost desperate since the summer, and in these countries trade and industry can be revived only by the importation of huge stores of raw materials that must be supplied on credit.

A World Crisis in Finance.

It is because our own credit, and also the unorganised credit of American financiers is already nearly exhausted that the foreign exchanges have grown steadily worse for Europe. The process of supplying goods on credit cannot be continued indefinitely, and American traders are already finding themselves faced with the same difficulty as ourselves, for they have been sending immense exports to the Continent, and there is as yet no prospect of any early payment for what they have sent. We have been supplying Europe on similar terms, and both America and we are

We have not yet even formulated the terms of our peace with Turkey, and the redistribution of the Turkish Empire was already difficult enough without the allied complication of a triumphant Bolshevik Government threatening to undo all our attempts at settlement. Quite apart from the question of Constantinople and the Straits, the immensity of our new responsibilities in Asia Minor and in Mesopotamia is such that we are obliged to consider whether we can maintain our position there at all. We publish in this issue a long extract from an article by a particularly well informed correspondent of the *Round Table*, who deals extensively with the difficulties of our new position in the East. Briefly, the new protectorate we have assumed over the Near East includes an area greater even than that of India, while it is protected by no natural defensive frontiers, is almost impossible to garrison except with a vast number of troops, and is exposed to easy invasion from Europe as well as from Asia. On the other hand, if we do not assume that responsibility, are we to allow these countries to relapse under the barbarous rule of the Turks? Are we to hand over the Christian populations of Armenia and the cities and villages of Asia Minor, to be finally exterminated, with unspeakable tortures and outrages by the irregular forces of Turkish fugitives who have flocked around Mustapha Kemal in Asia Minor?

Will the Bolsheviks Help Turkey?

How much is there that we can do, even if we decide that we must strain our resources to the utmost for the protection of the helpless subject peoples of the Near East? There are many points of resemblance, if not of proved identity of objective, between the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress and the present Soviet at Moscow. What steps can we take to avert an open co-operation between Bolshevism and the Turks, and how in the face of such a combination can we hope to enforce the decrees of our forthcoming treaty with Turkey? Last month we published first-hand evidence of the fact that the Turks are still massacring Christians whenever they can find them defenceless, all over Asia Minor. Since

we have failed so far from only up to the present even to preserve immunity from massacre in the Near East the problems of peace with Turkey appear much more difficult than has been generally believed. Nor is it only the oppressed peoples of the old Ottoman Empire that are threatened. Our own frontiers in India are already disturbed, and a recrudescence of trouble with Afghanistan is always possible. One of the few great measures upon which the Government has reason to believe itself is the passing of the Indian Home Rule Bill, which will go far towards winning us back the confidence of the Indian people. The King used the occasion of giving the Act his royal assent to issue a special proclamation expressing his gratification at its passage into law.

The Indian Inquiry Revelations.

India has suffered much from us during the past year which cannot lightly be forgiven, and it is well that we can honestly say that we have at last decided to recognise the rights of Indians in their own country, now that Lord Hunter's Commission of Inquiry is revealing the details of all that took place during the riots of last spring. There can be no possible justification for the atrocious brutality of General Dyer at Amritsar, when he personally ordered fifty riflemen to open fire upon an unarmed mob of Indian natives, who had contravened his orders by holding a public meeting. He continued to fire on the crowd as it tried to disperse in an enclosed garden, and did not desist until his men had exhausted all their ammunition and had caused 2,000 casualties with a total expenditure of some 1,600 cartridges. Public opinion in this country has been profoundly shocked by this appalling story, and by the discovery that General Dyer received the congratulations of both his superior officer, General Beynon, and of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, for what he had done. But considerable mystery surrounds the whole episode. It appears that Mr. Montagu and the Indian Office were never fully informed of what had happened until many months later, which explains why Mr. Montagu's official statements in Parliament on the situation gave the impression that the total casualties were

on a much smaller scale. As for General Dyer himself, it seems clear that he lost his head badly, for he perpetrated one of the most ludicrously shameful orders that any responsible officer ever issued, in insisting that every Indian who passed down a certain street in Amritsar, in which an Irish missionary lady had been maltreated, must crawl on all fours. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had graver reason for anxiety, for the simultaneous raids upon important railway junctions at widely distant parts of Northern India showed that a formidable rebellion had been elaborately organised. But it is unlikely that he was fully aware of all the circumstances of General Dyer's actions when he telegraphed his approval.

Parliament Adjourns till February.

Parliament adjourned just before Christmas and will not meet again until February. The signs that it had recovered the confidence of the country and gained a new lease of life which were apparent in the Autumn have entirely disappeared. Most of its program for the Autumn Session has come to grief. Its attempts to placate labour over the coal question, as well as its efforts to produce a policy for the protection of British trade from unfair foreign competition have both been shelved, if not completely abandoned. The miners' leaders refused to accept the final draft of the Coal Bill and the Government decided to scrap the Bill since it pleased no one. Its attempts to deal with "dumping" were received with a universal outburst of execration by Free Traders and Protectionists alike. The Government attempted a compromise by imposing no protective tariff on any class of imported goods but giving instead wide powers of interference to the officials of the Board of Trade. Business men have been so exasperated by the endless entanglements of bureaucratic control that the Bill was discreetly withdrawn almost as soon as it was introduced. Apart from the Prime Minister's Irish proposals, which are still believed in many quarters to have no serious intention behind them, the principal achievement of the present session is the passing of the Industrial Councils Act. It has been given an auspicious start by the decision of the Transport Workers to

utilise it by applying for a special Commission similar to the Coal Commission, which will investigate all their grievances and demands for better wages and shorter hours. If their example is followed in other industries this piece of legislation may yet result in averting at least the greater number of serious strikes and may initiate the practice of submitting all industrial disputes to arbitration and public inquiry.

Labour's Success at the By-Elections.

Three more by-elections have been held during the month, and the current of public opinion has evidently set strongly against the Government once more. At St. Albans, where a Coalition Unionist was returned unopposed a year ago, the Government has only just succeeded in retaining the seat, while Labour, contesting the constituency for the first time, came within 700 votes of the official candidate. The result at Bromley, a suburban constituency outside London, in which there was not even a branch of the Labour Party at the last election, was even more remarkable. A year ago the Government won the seat by nearly 17,000 votes against 4,500 given to the Liberal candidate. This month Labour contested the seat, for the first time, and polled 10,000 votes against the Government's 11,000, reducing the Government majority by more than 11,000 votes in all. The third election at Spen Valley, in Yorkshire, showed even more decisively to how great an extent the Government has lost ground. At the last election the Government had a very strong radical candidate in Sir Thomas Whittaker, but even then Labour succeeded in polling 8,000 votes against the Government's 1,000. It was to be expected, therefore, that the prevalent reaction against the Government would have ensured a Labour victory at the by-election. But the situation was complicated by the decision of the local Liberal organisation to invite Sir John Simon to stand on their behalf. He is certainly the ablest of the younger ex-Cabinet Ministers who still acknowledge Mr. Asquith as their leader, and before the war he was generally regarded as likely to succeed Mr. Asquith as a future Liberal Prime Minister. One of the

ablest lawyers at the English Bar, he became Solicitor-General at an earlier age than any former occupant of the position in English history, and when Mr. Asquith formed the first Coalition Government Sir John Simon was offered the Lord Chancellorship but refused it because he preferred to remain in politics. His appearance at the by-election in Spen Valley naturally eclipsed the personality of any candidate whom Labour could put into the field. The Government, partly because it considered that Sir John Simon would be a most formidable opponent in Parliament, and still more because it will not forgive his damaging criticisms of their own administration, decided to split the Liberal vote by inviting Colonel Fairfax to stand as a Liberal supporter of their own. After an exciting contest the Labour candidate, a prominent local Trade Unionist, Mr. T. Myers, headed the poll with nearly 12,000 votes, against 10,000 for Sir John Simon, and only 8,000 for the official Government candidate, Colonel Fairfax. In every previous contest in which the Government had been defeated, it had faced the combined Liberal and Labour vote. But in Spen Valley it was soundly beaten by both a Liberal and a Labour candidate.

Liberalism a Forlorn Hope.

Taking the total figures together for these last three elections Labour has actually polled more votes than the Government, although it has won only one of the three seats. Its aggregate votes amount to 31,000, while the Government has polled 29,000, and the Liberals only 14,500. As for the Liberals, Sir John Simon alone has shown any ability to redeem their cause from hopeless defeat. At St. Albans, in fact, the Liberal candidate fared so badly that he had to forfeit the deposit of £150 which was insisted upon under the last Reform Act to prevent freak candidatures. In the last General Election, when the Liberal Party was swept ignominiously out of one constituency after another, this same fate befell a number of the Liberal candidates. And the fact that Liberals are still liable to fail even to secure one-sixth of the total votes polled, would appear to prove that Liberalism has no future in modern politics. Sir John

Simon alone has come near to winning a seat for the Liberals, and it is not likely that he will continue indefinitely to support a party for which the constituencies have no further use. The recent elections all go to show that Liberals throughout the country are now voting almost solidly for Labour, and last month at Manchester Mr. Pringle, who is a Radical of great energy and ability, failed completely to maintain the position of Liberalism in one of its own strongholds, although his own program scarcely differed in any respect from that of the Labour Party. Mr. Lloyd George, however, shows little anxiety at this steady movement of the country towards Labour. The handful of Labour representatives who have come into Parliament through the by-elections are, with the exception of Mr. Arthur Henderson, men of no special ability, and the Prime Minister has had long experience in the art of managing impressionable and guileless Trade Union delegates. Labour suffers most seriously from its lack of political experience. Nor does it show any disposition at present to invite the leadership of its intellectuals like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Snowden, who were the only astute politicians in the Labour movement. It is to be hoped that the recent victory of the Labour candidates at Municipal elections all over the country will provide Labour with a training in politics and in administration as well as with a group of new representatives capable of effective action in Parliament. Mr. Adamson has certainly not shown any gifts of Parliamentary leadership as Chairman of the Party during the past session, but he was never more than a figure-head appointed to satisfy the demands of reformers that they should lead the party since they had a majority among the Labour M.P.'s. In the next session the chairmanship ought certainly to be given to either Mr. Henderson, who is President of the Iron Moulders' Union, or to Mr. Clynes, of the General Workers. They have both held office in the Cabinet during the war, and of the two Mr. Clynes has more energy and instinct for politics. Probably Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Secretary of the Railway Men's Union, is an abler man than either of them, and now that the Union have relieved him of all

responsibility for industrial questions he will have more time for his parliamentary duties. But it is doubtful whether the Secretary of the N.U.R. could find time also for the active chairmanship of the Labour Party.

The Campaign for Nationalisation

There is undoubtedly a conviction among the rank and file of Labour that the typical Trade Union politicians are not likely to achieve startling results. Certainly in this Parliament they are not likely to have much influence over a Government which still controls a majority of more than 300 votes. It is not surprising therefore that Labour places its faith in its industrial power, and particularly in the agitation which is now beginning on behalf of nationalisation of the mines. Here also the miners have gained an ascendancy over the trade union movement, and they have obtained a mandate from the last Trade Union Congress. But this is largely because the other trades unions are determined to bring about a general election as early as possible by almost any means, and organised Labour as a whole is concentrating upon the issue of nationalisation in the hopes that it may force the Prime Minister to an appeal to the country on that issue. It is doubtful indeed if the majority of trade unionists are any more decided in favour of state ownership of the mines than are the other classes of the community. But Labour wants a general election on any issue, and the same feeling is prevalent all over the country. That is probably the real explanation of why Labour has done so well at all the recent by-elections. The present Parliament has long ceased to possess the confidence of the country and it is generally acknowledged that at least a quarter of the members of the present House of Commons would never retain their seats at another election, no matter upon what issue the election was held. But until a crisis arises or can be brought about, the present Parliament is immovable, and Labour is raising the issue of nationalisation chiefly with the object of inducing Mr. Lloyd George to declare his hand. Whether he decides for or against nationalisation is relatively unimportant, and he would earn the gratitude of Labour

by dissolving Parliament, even if he decided to go to the country himself as an opponent of nationalisation.

Can Labour Force a Dissolution?

It may be that the nationalisation campaign will bring about such a crisis next month or a little later. Much will depend upon Mr. Lloyd George's judgment of the chances of creating a permanent Coalition Party. The possibilities of such a development are ably discussed elsewhere in this number by Captain Elliot, M.P., and Mr. Pringle. On the whole, it cannot be said that the Coalition is still as effective and amicable a body as it was a year ago. It has disintegrated considerably during the past year and its strength consists chiefly in the support of the old Unionist Party which has produced more young men of ability than any other party since the war. Mr. Lloyd George is not likely to wait indefinitely on the chance of a permanent Coalition Party growing out of the present Parliament, unless there are clear indications of such a movement, and he has already suffered much inconvenience as well as great loss of prestige by being forced to submit to the dictation of the powerful Unionist bloc. He may, at any time, decide to throw over his present uncongenial associates and to create under his own leadership a new alliance of the Radical wing of Liberalism and the right wing of Labour. In the meantime the Labour party is consolidating its forces and has secured a definite agreement with the co-operative movement. Mr. Henderson has been working steadily at the organisation of the party in the constituencies, and the recent successes at the by-elections are largely due to his work. If the nationalisation campaign results in a deadlock with the Government, there may be a sudden mobilisation of all the forces of labour to bring about a crisis. This time there will certainly be no repetition of the mischievous folly of the railway strike, which was stamped by a small group of extremists among the railwaymen who never consulted either the miners or the transport workers before they decided to declare a strike. There have been bitter recriminations within the Triple Alliance over that ill-advised attempt at "direct action," and next

time the whole Triple Alliance will work together if there is any question of a strike. Such a combination of forces as it could command, if it took action upon any matter that the whole trade union movement regarded as vital, would probably defeat any measures that the Government would take, and Mr. Lloyd George could scarcely avoid an appeal to the country.

The Government's Irish Proposals.

On the day before Parliament adjourned, Mr. Lloyd George made a speech in the House of Commons in which he outlined the general proposals of the Government for an Irish settlement. They are still subject to modification and revision, and the Bill that is to embody them has not yet been drafted in all its details, but it is to be introduced when Parliament meets again next month. The general character of the proposed scheme has been known for some time, and two months ago there seemed to be reason to hope that it would meet with a sympathetic response in Ireland. In many ways it is a genuinely constructive scheme. It grants what are distinctly less than the full powers of a Dominion Parliament to both the provincial Assemblies which are to be set up, one for Ulster and one for the rest of Ireland. The delimitation of "Ulster" has not yet been definitely decided, but it appears that Sir Edward Carson has prevailed upon Mr. Lloyd George to favour a separate Parliament for the eastern half of Ulster. Three alternatives are possible, and the Prime Minister seems to have committed himself to the worst and the most definitely unworkable of the three. The province of Ulster consists of nine counties in all, of which Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan are almost solidly Catholic and Nationalist, while Tyrone and Fermanagh, which like these first three are mainly composed of small farmers, contain a substantial majority of Nationalists. Only in the four counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down and Derry, is there a clear Unionist majority, and even these counties include large agricultural districts in which Catholic peasants predominate. The principal centres of Ulster Unionism are in Belfast and the other industrial towns in the eastern half of the province.

What is the ~~fact~~ facts about Ulster, taking county by county?

These are the simple facts about Ulster, taking county by county; and there has never been any doubt that if the principle of exclusion from Home Rule by county option were adopted, there would be a Unionist majority only in the four predominantly Unionist counties, and in the city of Belfast. However, the Ulster Protestants spread across the borders of these counties into Fermanagh and Tyrone, and Sir Edward Carson has consistently refused to consider any scheme of exclusion from Home Rule that would not include these two counties as well. In support of such an arbitrary decision no logical or democratic argument can possibly be produced. It is only within the past eight years, in fact, that the claim of the Ulster Unionists to separate treatment from the rest of Ireland has been considered seriously at all; and it would probably have never become a question of practical politics if the English Unionist Party, under Mr. Bonar Law's leadership before the war, had not focussed all their energies upon aiding the Ulster preparations for civil war in Ireland, as the most likely means of driving Mr. Asquith's Liberal Government out of power. It was an unfortunate coincidence that even in those days when the idea of Ulster as a separate political entity was being proposed for the first time, Mr. Lloyd George's personal desire for compromise had already persuaded him of the advisability of offering separation from the rest of Ireland to Ulster. The result has been to create a largely artificial issue around the opposition of Ulster Unionists to Irish Home Rule, and while no one in Ireland believes that a separate Ulster is either desirable or likely to succeed politically, there is no clear thinking as to what "Ulster" really means.

Ulster as a Province.

There is undoubtedly a strong case for granting a provincial Parliament to the whole of Ulster, which would guarantee the Unionist minority against any interference with its normal life, similar to the separate legislatures of Quebec in Canada, or of Natal in South Africa, which presented the

same difficulties of amalgamation that Ulster presents. Moreover, there is a substantial majority of Protestants (who have under the existing conditions been almost solidly Unionist) in Ulster as a province. Of the total population of Ulster, the majority is concentrated in the industrial counties on its eastern side, and about one-quarter of the whole population live in Belfast alone. Consequently, a provincial Parliament for the whole of Ulster would certainly leave the Ulster Unionists in power, while the Ulster Catholics would still be sufficiently numerous to be able to protect themselves from any unfair treatment. Also, if Ulster were treated as a whole province it would be a reasonably large unit of administration, and the fact that it contained a large minority of Catholics would ensure that it would not be definitely antagonistic to the rest of Ireland. But Sir Edward Carson apparently refused to consider this form of the solution at all. The reason may be that he still believes that by making impossible demands he can hold up Home Rule indefinitely. The only logical alternative would be county option; but that also Sir Edward Carson refuses. To insist upon the exclusion of counties Tyrone and Fermanagh, on the other hand, must evoke the bitterest hostility all over Ireland, while it retains all the worst disadvantages of according separate treatment to Protestant Ulster. It not only creates an artificial boundary between east Ulster and the rest of Ireland, which might well lead to a permanent political separation and antagonism of interests, where every natural factor in the situation demands a closer approximation; but it also hands over to the fiercely sectarian Protestant majority the important minority of Catholics in Belfast, who are represented by Mr. Devlin in Parliament, as well as the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, while it leaves them without the protection they would otherwise have from the Catholic counties of western Ulster.

The Need for a National Parliament.

when the Bill is laid before the Houses of

Fortunately, the Government's proposals are still open to discussion and amendment

Parliament. But there is grave cause to fear that, in regard to Ulster, the Government will submit unreservedly to the dictation of Sir Edward Carson. If that danger can be overcome, however, there is still a faint hope that the new proposals will be seriously undertaken by the Government, and will be passed into law. If Ulster is treated as a whole province, then the proposals have in them the possibility of a real and lasting settlement. The financial proposals have still to be set forth in detail, but it is useless to propose a Bill that does not offer wide financial powers. The most obvious weakness of the scheme in its present form is the inadequate authority of the Central Council that is to connect the two provincial Parliaments. But if this can be strengthened sufficiently to make it a real link between Ulster and the other provinces, it will develop naturally into a national Parliament. Ireland naturally regards Ulster as the United Kingdom regards Ireland, and complete separation would never be accepted.

Ireland's Attitude towards the Proposals.

In Ireland the proposals in their present form have been scathingly condemned by all parties. Hostile criticism was to be expected in any case, and it was the plain duty of the Government to do all in its power to ensure a favourable reception for its proposals by demonstrating to the Irish people that it was in earnest. For no one in Ireland has believed for many months past that the Government was acting in good faith, and even the proposals, since they were made, have not been regarded as an honest attempt to reach a settlement. Almost everybody in Ireland is firmly convinced that Mr. Lloyd George has put forward this latest scheme, in the certain anticipation that it would meet with criticism, merely to enable him to answer the anti-British agitation in America by the plea that he had made a generous offer to Ireland, which Ireland had promptly refused. Nationalists regard it as a characteristic trick on the part of the British Government; while Unionists have shown little anxiety about the future, in the belief that the Prime Minister does not mean busi-

ness, and that he may, with any luck, produce the desired effect upon American opinion. Certainly, the recent administration of Ireland gives plenty of corroboration to that cynical point of view.

How Dublin Castle ensured their rejection.

Irishmen said and believed, from the first moment that these proposals were talked of, that they were only being produced to propitiate America and Australia, and that the Government would take no risks about the possibility of their being accepted. To all appearances their prophecies have been amply fulfilled. We pointed out last month that Lord French's Government in Ireland had introduced, at the very time when it was urgent that Irish opinion should be convinced of British sincerity, a *régime* of extreme coercion which no self-respecting people could be expected to tolerate. We said then that Lord French was promoting "a policy that gives the impression of a deliberate attempt to drive the country into rebellion by exasperating it beyond all endurance." We instanced the prohibition of motor-cars without military permits, the proclamation of all Sinn Féin organisations (although almost every Nationalist constituency in Ireland returned a Sinn Féiner at the last general election), and the decision that political prisoners—whether they were arrested on any legitimate charge or not—must starve to death if they refused food. A few days later we could have recorded the total suppression of trial by jury, and the suppression of the *Freeman's Journal*, the oldest daily paper in Ireland, because it had dared to criticise the Government. All these measures were introduced while the Prime Minister in London was professing his great hopes of conciliating Ireland by his new proposals.

The Attempt to Assassinate Lord French.

Inevitably this insane system of coercion produced violent results. On December 19th an attempt was made to assassinate Lord

French as he was driving through Phoenix Park. At ~~least~~ twenty men took part in the attempt, yet all except one, who was shot dead by the military escort—escaped, and have not yet been traced. Lord French himself behaved with exemplary calmness in the face of very great danger, and we congratulate him on his fortunate escape. It is not he, but the group of fanatical coercionists who surround him in Dublin, who are to blame for the disgraceful way in which the Government of Ireland is now being conducted. It is most significant that after the first shock of the news had been received in this country, much the greater part of the English Press concurred in holding the Government largely responsible for what had happened. There can be little justification for the Government of a naturally peaceful country of peasant proprietors, when the Viceroy has to drive about his ordinary business in an armour-plated motor car. But a still more deplorable illustration of the present coercionist methods was to follow, a few days after Christmas. On December 28th the newspapers were filled with wild reports of a mysterious armed attack upon the Viceregal Lodge, in which it was stated that a young English officer had lost his life. The full facts have since become known, and the story amounts simply to this. The Phoenix Park in Dublin now bristles with armed sentries and policemen, and on that day someone let off a rifle in the small hours of the morning. Lieutenant Boast, the officer in charge of the guard at the Viceregal Lodge took out a patrol of two men into the darkness, to see where the firing came from. They ran into an unarmed civilian, who was deaf in one ear and did not hear their challenge. The patrol fired and shot dead not only an innocent civilian but their own officer. Could any criticism of the present *régime*, which attempts to interpret this tragic instance of its own malignant stupidity as an attack upon Lord French's residence, be more forcible than this characteristic incident in the present administration of Ireland?

Diary of Current Events

FOR DECEMBER.

Dec. 1.—The Prince of Wales landed at Portsmouth on his return from his American and Canadian tour, and had an enthusiastic reception.

Final figures of the South Wales miners' ballot were declared, showing a majority of 470 in favour of a strike against paying income-tax on wages under £250; but the Federation decided against a strike until a ballot of the miners throughout the country could be taken.

In Rome, the King of Italy opened Parliament. The Socialists had been expected to make a demonstration, but they contented themselves with walking out of the Chamber before the King began to read the speech from the Throne.

On the report of Sir George Clark, the Supreme Council decided to recognise the Hungarian Government.

Dec. 2.—The Treasury Committee on Housing Finance in an interim report recommended that Local Authorities be empowered to issue 5½ per cent "local bonds" for 5, 10 or 20 years.

A sudden and violent gale caused considerable damage in London and the Home Counties.

A general strike was proclaimed in Rome, Milan and Florence.

Dec. 3.—Revised Navy Estimates were published, showing a net total of £157,528,800.

Negotiations for a conference of the employers and unions concerned in the moulders' dispute broke down.

A resolution was passed by the United Trades' Association of Liverpool demanding more representation for the trading community on the proposed Board of Railway Management.

Peace proposals from the Soviet Government were put forward to the Allies by M. Litvinoff at Copenhagen, and Colonel Malone, M.P., in London.

Dec. 4.—A statement was issued by the First Lord of the Admiralty, explanatory of the new Navy Estimates.

3,700 employees of the Army and Navy Stores, London, struck for a living wage.

Dec. 5.—The Army and Navy Stores strike was settled.

The Ministry of Labour announced the constitution of the Industrial Court under the recent Act.

Mr. E. Tindal Atkinson, K.C., was appointed a Railway and Canal Commissioner, in place of the late Mr. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy.

The embargo on bunker coal came into effect at the United States ports.

Dec. 6.—The Prime Minister, speaking at the Manchester Reform Club, defended the Coalition, and appealed for unity among Liberals.

The Funeral of F.M. Sir E. Wood took place at Aldershot.

Employees of the Army and Navy Stores returned to work.

The seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets at Moscow passed a resolution reiterating its willingness to make peace with the Entente Powers.

President Wilson's offer to the U.S. Coal Strikers was accepted as a basis of settlement by the miners' leaders.

Mr. Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Carnegie's partner, left £24,000,000 to charitable and educational institutions.

Dec. 8.—The Report on the Douglas-Tennant case was published by the Committee of Inquiry.

M. Paderewski consented to attempt the formation of a new Government in Poland.

At a meeting in Edinburgh of the 25 clubs which govern the Amateur Golf Championship, it was agreed that the Royal and Ancient Club, St. Andrew's, should be the Supreme Ruling Authority for the Championship.

Dec. 9.—The Special Trades Union Congress postponed decision on the mines nationalisation question. It was decided to submit to the Government a scheme for lowering the cost of living.

The Prince of Wales was elected a member of the Smithfield Club.

The Spanish Cabinet resigned, and Senor Dato was invited to form a new one.

It was announced that an attack had been made by Waziri tribesmen on a train near Thal, resulting in the death of 36 persons, 50 others were injured.

Dec. 10.—The final estimate for Army expenditure for 1919-1920 was declared at £405,000,000.

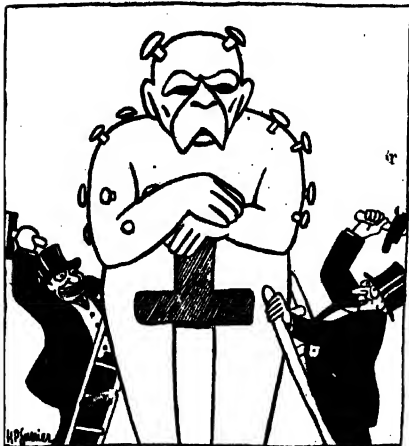
Polling took place in the by-election at St. Albans.

It was announced at the Trades Union Congress that the Prime Minister had promised to introduce an Unemployment Insurance Bill before Christmas.

The Prince of Wales was elected President of the Royal Agricultural Society for 1920.

Captain Ross Smith arrived at Port Darwin two days in advance of the time limit fixed by the terms of the Australian Government's offer of a £10,000 prize for the first aeroplane flight from London to Australia. Captain Ross Smith therefore has won the prize.

The United States Coal Strike was settled at Indianopolis, the miners having accepted Mr. Wilson's offer of an immediate increase in wages of 14 per cent., with the appointment of a commission to consider further increases.



Les Hommes du Jour

[Paris]

Vive la France!

Dec. 11.—Sir Albert Stanley, speaking at a luncheon, foreshadowed increased fares in the London passenger traffic.

M. Clemenceau arrived in London, and had conferences with the Prime Minister, and with Mr. Balfour and Lord Curzon.

The Allied Ministers at Copenhagen returned unopened the communication of the peace offer made by M. Litvinoff on behalf of the Soviet Government.

Dec. 12.—Air Service Estimates for 1919-20 were published, providing for a net sum of £64,030,850. The force, exclusive of India, is to consist of 150,000 men, to be reduced by the end of March to 85,000.

Dr. Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, made an appeal to the Supreme Council in Paris and to Europe generally for immediate supplies of food to save Austria from starvation.

Dec. 13.—American Sinn Fein sympathisers appeared in the Senate asking recognition for the "Irish Republic."

It was announced that the Red Army has captured Poltava from General Denikin. M. Paderewski is stated to have finally resigned the premiership of Poland.

Dec. 14.—M. Clemenceau left London for Paris.

Dec. 15.—The Queen of Spain left London for Madrid.

Mr. Balfour, addressing the Home Parliamentary branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association, discussed the future constitutional arrangements between this country and the Dominions.

The German reply to the Allies' last note was handed in. It was conciliatory in tone but reiterated the impossibility of complying with the demands for tonnage in dock materials.

President Wilson issued a statement that he does not intend to compromise with the Republican leaders over the Peace Treaty.

It was announced in a Trieste—New York telegram that Signor D'Annunzio had come to an agreement with Signor Nitti, by which Italy secures complete sovereignty over Fiume.

A Coptic student made an attempt to assassinate the Egyptian Prime Minister, and was arrested.

Oxford and Cambridge sent a challenge to Harvard and Yale to send a joint track team to run against a team drawn from the two British Universities.

Dec. 16.—The Prime Minister addressed the Building Trades Industrial Council on the Housing problem. He advocated an energetic recruiting campaign, so as to make up the deficiency in the supply of labour.

Mr. Roberts announced in the House of Commons that winter prices for milk were not to be reduced, but that supplies at cheaper rates were to be made available for children and nursing and expectant mothers.

General Smuts, in a speech at Bloemfontein, declared that the South African Party could combine neither with the Nationalists nor the Unionists. He appealed for the support of all moderate men.

Dec. 17.—The Board of Trade issued an open general licence to coal merchants permitting the export of coal to all foreign countries except Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria—subject to the approval of the Controller.

A party of 150 to 200 men raided Cork Railway Station, and shut up all the employees.

The capture of Kieff by the Red Army was announced in a Bolshevik bulletin.

Dec. 18.—The Parliamentary Labour Party appointed a deputation to investigate the condition of Ireland.

Elections to the Beit Fellowship in medical research were announced. Two women were among the successful candidates.

It was announced that the Germans had offered to build warships in reparation for the Scapa Flow scuttling, but that the offer is unacceptable to the French.

General Denikin has declared that in no circumstances will he make terms with the Bolsheviks or come to any arrangement with the Germans.

With the authorisation of the British Government, a supply of fats is to be sent to Vienna.

Anti-French disturbances have taken place near the Mesopotamia - Kurdistan frontier.

It was stated that an agreement has been entered into between the United States Attorney-General and the five great Chicago packing firms, whereby the latter will restrict their trading to "products of animals" only—meat, poultry, eggs, cheese and butter.

The New Zealand elections have resulted in a Liberal Party *débâcle*. Sir Joseph Ward, the Liberal leader, is among the defeated candidates.

Dec. 19.—An attempt on the life of Lord French was made near Phoenix Park, Dublin, by an armed gang. The Lord Lieutenant was uninjured. One of the assailants was shot dead.

The Majority Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture was issued. It recommends a continuance of the guaranteed price of cereals.

The sixth Aeronautic Salon was opened by M. Poincaré in Paris.

Dec. 20.—Polling took place in the Spenn Valley Division of Yorkshire.

The Food Controller, speaking at Reading, hoped that it would be possible to "decontrol" agricultural produce within the first six months of 1920.

It was announced that General Denikin is to enter into negotiations with the Russian Border States on the basis of a re-union with Russia. The scheme is to combine the activities of all Anti-Bolshevik forces.

The American Senate passed a Bill to return the railways to private control and to prohibit strikes.

Dec. 21.—Armed men raided the offices of the *Irish Independent* in Dublin, and broke up the machinery.

Dec. 22.—Knighthoods were conferred on Captain R. M. Macpherson Smith and Lieut. Keith Macpherson Smith in recognition of their flight from England to Australia.

A Bolshevik report states that at the taking of Novo Nikolaiesk, 10,000 prisoners and much booty were captured from Admiral Koltchak.

According to the *Petit Parisien*, the cost for 1920 on the French air service is calculated at 233,000,000 francs.

An attempt at a general strike in Egypt on the anniversary of the Proclamation of the Protectorate is stated to have failed, owing to the Government officials and other classes of workers having refused to come out.

Dec. 23.—The result of St. Albans by-election was announced. Lieut.-Col. F. E. Fremantle (Co. U.) was elected, by a majority of 713 over the Labour candidate, Mr. J. W. Brown.

Mr. Lloyd George told a London deputation that he would introduce a bill to give local authorities power to municipalise the milk supply.

The Committee appointed to consider Mr. A. W. Gattie's goods clearing-house scheme has reported unfavourably in regard to its adoption.

In the operations against Mahsuds and Waziri tribesmen, a British column met with a reverse. There were 200 casualties, including 13 officers killed or missing.

M. Tchitcherin has notified the Polish Government that the Soviet Government is ready to open negotiations for an immediate peace.

The Allied reply to the German Note on reparations for the Scapa Flow scuttling was handed to Baron von Lersner.

M. Clemenceau made a declaration on foreign policy in the French Chamber. He asserted that there would be no negotiations with the Soviet Government, and emphasised the complete accord between France and Great Britain.



Bradford Daily Telegraph

[Bradford

"Chanticleer!"

Dec. 26.—Sir ~~mess~~ Smith has been obliged to abandon his flight across Australia at Charleville, Queensland, through the breaking of the crank arm of his machine.

Letland and Lithuania have decided upon a single military control, under which they will continue the struggle against the Bolsheviks.

The rising of a Dinka tribe was reported from the Southern Soudan. Two British officers, Major Stigand and Major White, were killed.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller has given \$100,000,000 to America. Half of this sum will go to provide an increase of the salaries of College Professors under the General Education Board, and the other half to the Rockefeller Institute for the promotion of medical research.

Dec. 27.—The expected increase in railway goods rates was announced.

The funeral of Sir John Alcock took place in Manchester.

The resignation of Sir Reginald Brade from the Permanent Secretaryship at the War Office was announced. He has been succeeded by Sir Herbert Creedy.

Six persons were killed at Davos, Switzerland, as the result of an avalanche striking a sanatorium and a hotel.

Dec. 28.—In Phoenix Park, Dublin, the Viceregal Guard had an encounter with a civilian named Kennedy, in the course of which Lieut. Boast, in command of the detachment, was killed. Kennedy was shot by the soldiers.

Dec. 29.—At the inquest on the bodies of Lieut. Boast and Kennedy, the jury found that the officer was "accidentally killed by a shot fired by one of his own party," and that Kennedy "was killed by a military patrol," who "acted in the most heartless manner."

It was announced that the weekly ration of sugar is to be reduced from 8oz. to 6oz. per head.

Mr. A. Neal, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, speaking with reference to the new goods rates, explained that the present revision was a temporary one, intended to put the railways on a self-supporting basis; but that a complete revision would be undertaken later.

The submission of the Mahsuds was announced from India.

Dec. 30.—The Transport Workers' Federation was reported to have accepted the employers proposal to submit the men's claim for a minimum wage of 16s. a day to an Inquiry under the Industrial Courts Act.

It was announced that early in 1920 Government control would be removed from milk, British cheese and British butter.

It was reported that Japan and the American and British Governments had reached an agreement whereby Japan is empowered to take necessary military steps to check the Bolshevik advance in Siberia. Japan is stated to be ready to send troops as far west as Lake Baikal.

Lord Milner issued a statement inviting the co-operation of Egyptians in the work of reconciliation.

A report on expenditure in Mesopotamia, by Sir John Hewett, was published.

Dec. 31.—The by-election at Bromley resulted in the return of Lieut.-Colonel Cuthbert James (Co. U.). His majority over the Labour candidate, Mr. F. P. Hodes, was 1,071.

The Select Committee on Pensions proposed an important increase in the scales of officers and the dependants of both officers and men.

Egyptian Nationalists have issued a reply to Lord Milner. They welcome the widening of the field of discussion, but declare that complete independence is their aim.

OBITUARY.

Dec. 2.—FIELD-MARSHAL SIR EVELYN WOOD, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 81.

Dec. 3.—LORD WALSHINGHAM, Scientist and Sportsman, 75.

Dec. 14.—SIR JOHN JACKSON, Engineer and Contractor, 68.

Dec. 15.—(CHARLES CANNAN), Secretary to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press, 61.

Dec. 16.—ADMIRAL SIR HENRY STREIBERSON, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod since 1904, 77.

Dec. 18.—SIR JOHN ALCOCK, Aviator, first to fly the Atlantic, 27.

Dec. 19.—DR. ARNOLD HARRIS MATTHEW, Archbishop of the Old Catholics in England, 67.

Dec. 21.—LADY AMHERST OF HACKNEY, 62.

Dec. 23.—SYDNEY VALENTINE, Actor, 54.
JOHN ROBERTS, Champion Billiard Player, 72.

Dec. 27.—SIR CHARLES HENRY, M.P. for the Wrekin Division of Shropshire since 1906, 59.

Dec. 29.—SIR WILLIAM ORLBY, Regius Professor of Medicine at the University of Oxford, 71.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as others see us."—Burns.



Le Rire

La Débâcle.

Paris

"Good heavens! We begin to roll it, and it promptly melts!"

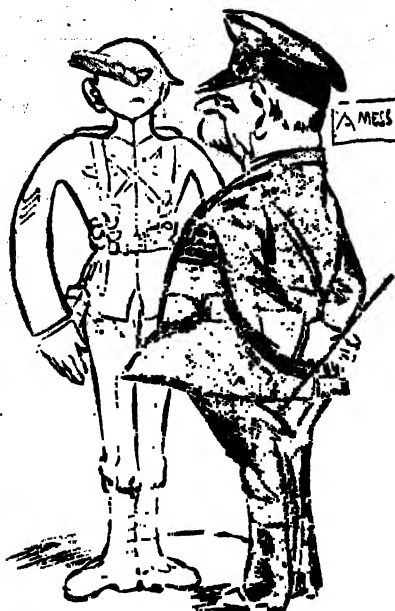
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De Notenkraak

[Amsterdam

**Capital and Labour—
Past and Present.**



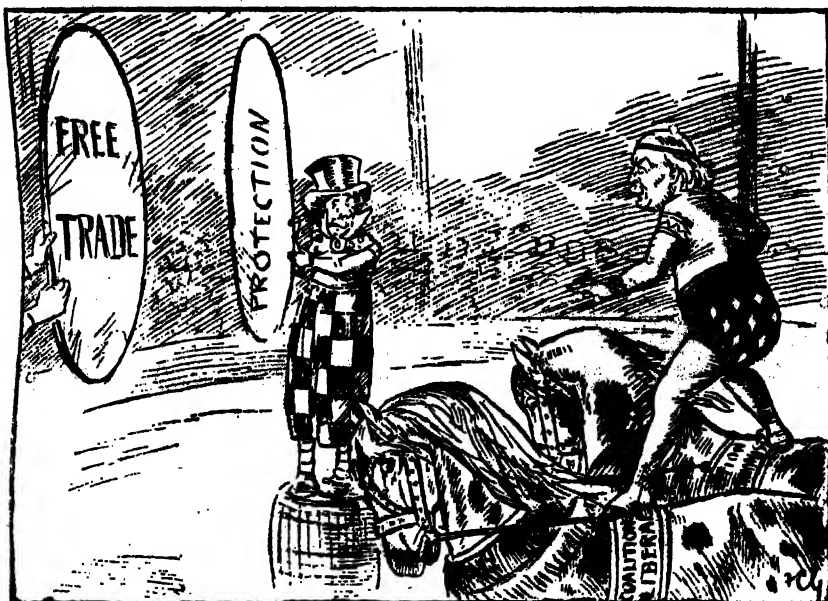
Daily Herald

Amritsar.

[London

The General: "And is anyone now laughing at me in India?"

The Other: "No, Sir. All groaning!"



Westminster Gazette

The Two Hoops.

[London

Whichever hoop he jumps through he runs the risk of losing a horse.



[Paris]

The Peace Treaty.

"—Why is it, then, that they don't recognise their own writing?"

[Paris]



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Without a League for Peace.



[Hojas Solistas]

[Barcelona]

The Little Peace Tree.

Each with his own watering-pot carefully nourishes the plant, for his own purposes.



[Jugend]

Germans at work on building in France.

[Munich]



[Jugend]

[Munich]

Captivity's Compensation.

The German prisoners come not yet to their homes. Instead, they wait for some time while their water gruel is sweetened with Clemenceau's Discourse on Freedom.



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

A Bismarck Motto translated into French.

"An appeal to Humanity never finds any support in French hearts."
 ("An appeal to Fear never finds any support in German hearts."— Otto v. Bismarck).



Legend; The Powerful Allied Mission "at work" in Germany. [Munich]



[Kladderadatsch]

Germany in the European Concert—then and now!

[Bath]

Once the Iron Chancellor loudly beat the drum—
To-day, alas! Ever patiently, Michael plays the feeble pipe!



[The Tribune]

[New York]

The Blind Samson.

[The Looker-On]

Soft Soap.

[Calcutta]

He knows right from wrong (With apologies to the advertisers of Wright's Coal Tar Soap).



[Sondags Nisse]

The Present Position of the Middle Class.

[Stockholm]



[Indderadatsch]

A Circus Tragedy.

[Berlin]

Prostrate the noble Mark to-day
 (Once so shiny and thick);
 At his tail Erzberger pulls away,
 Softly weeps the Republic.



La Pêle Mêle] **All Goes Well.** [Paris]

"I tell you that we shall be wanting coal this winter!"

"That doesn't matter. After the elections, we can depend upon the heat of the debates."



Le Rire] **Warning to the Seine.** [Paris]

"Look here! If you leave your bed, the whole of Paris is going to get the rheumatism."



Daily Graphic]

Heads I Win, Tails you Lose.

[London]

Will Europe Go Bankrupt?

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

[*Our Special Correspondent in Paris.*]

In conversation with one of the soundest financial experts in Europe, I was astonished to hear him say casually, and as if the prospect was so clear as to have been accepted with resignation by everybody: "Austria will be bankrupt by March."

Austria will be bankrupt by March! And after? What of the other countries of Europe? How many of them will follow suit? In the business world no firm can fail without dragging to ruin a number of other houses. Is it so in politics? Obviously the laws of finance are the same for nations as for individuals, and it is impossible for a financial crash to take place in Austria without involving all other countries to some extent. At the very least Austria will become a burden on the Poor Law of Europe—if I may repeat a phrase I have used before. She will be a pauper at our charge. She is. How could it be otherwise when we have taken away from her the means even of feeding herself?

Our policy was to break up with a sledge hammer all the old Europe; but diplomacy of the Clemenceau and Lloyd George kind is more successful in smashing than in rebuilding. Here we have the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle, but it is impossible for us to fit them together again. The big starving capital of Austria is helpless in a tiny country, and has neither the capacity to grow its own wheat nor to pay for the wheat which is brought in. Bankruptcy is just inability to pay creditors; but often the bankrupt can find the funds to live cheerfully enough. With Austria the case is different. Not only can her creditors give up hope of getting a penny from her for many years, if ever (soon some other political entity will have to be found), but they will have to feed her. Austria is down and out, and anybody who for a moment argued against doing our utmost for her is a fool as well as a creature without bowels. Even Italy, her old implacable enemy, is full of pity; and the

peaked-faced, rickety-legged little children of Vienna are being cared for in Milan.

You could tie up great bundles of Austrian paper money, put them on your back, and stagger away; and instead of having a fortune, as you might imagine, you would be carrying away little more than bundles of old paper which a fish-monger might buy in which to wrap his fish. That Austrian liabilities had better be written down as bad debts, need hardly be discussed. What we may properly discuss is how far the fall of Austria will bring about the financial fall of other countries. Will the dust of the collapse sting our eyes and fill our throats and settle in white patches on our clothes, but not hurt us more than that? Or will Austria prove to be the blind and shorn Samson who in her death will pull down with her the pillars of civilisation and bury us all in common ruin?

There will undoubtedly be repercussions. This Ottomanising of Europe in the financial sense can leave no one unscathed. We are all in this business, and we cannot detach ourselves and pass with a shrug of the shoulders on the other side. Not even America can behave like the Levite. She is deeply interested in the financial fate of Europe. Europe is a valuable market. If the market dries up—no, it can't do that, American goods will be long wanted—if the market is not able to pay, if every purchase takes it a step further on the way to the Bankruptcy Court, then America will soon begin to pull a wry face, and find its banks and its businesses, rich as they believe themselves to be, rocking uneasily, in danger of being upset in the general chaos. The prosperity even of America is built partly upon Europe; and if only one side of the foundations sinks, then the superstructure will become askew. There are many Leaning Towers of Pisa to-day; they remain out of the perpendicular by a miracle; but we cannot hope that they will for ever defy the laws of gravity—or the still more rigid laws of finance.

duties are not sufficiently productive! The consortium of lenders, after determining at the Hague the needs of each applicant country, to give, in return for the bond, not in cash but in kind! The only European Finance Minister on the Continent who is regarded favourably by Mr. Vanderlip is M. Delacroix, of Belgium; and it is indeed true that Belgium has made admirable progress and impresses all observers as one of the few European countries making enlightened efforts to escape the financial morass.

On France his judgment is rather harsh, but I cannot, as a man who constantly keeps his finger on the pulse of Paris, deny that he shows a good deal of discernment. I have faith in the courage and the laboriousness of France if she will only realise what must be done; but not only has the position been hidden from the people by the politicians; the politicians themselves do not grasp the truth. "France is the least disposed of all nations to look the facts in the face," he says. Now at last there is some appreciation of the reality. Do not let us exaggerate: everywhere I see it stated that the budget for next year must be something like £2,000,000,000, because it is over a quarter of that amount for the next three months. That conclusion does not necessarily follow. What must be noted is that even at the pre-war rate of exchange the total income of France was barely equal to half such a budget. How could it then be met?

There are, however, exceptional charges such as credits for the devastated areas; and the military expenditure should come down with a run. Still, there is the big loan, which will add hundreds of millions sterling in annual charges to the budget; and even without providing for the redemption of the debt the limits of taxability of the French people must be reached. The pre-war budget of 168 millions will be absorbed at least three times over merely in the payment of interest! There are various calculations as to the amount of taxation per head which must be imposed, ranging from 1,000 francs to 2,000 francs. The lower amount is nearer the truth, but it is surely startling enough. I calculate

that for the last year, in round figures, France has imported 1,000 millions in goods and exported 200 millions. No wonder the exchange is against her, and renders necessary purchases more and more difficult! Her holdings abroad are now greatly diminished and it would be sound business to wipe off the slate, as utterly lost, much of the foreign loan, whether in Russia (500 millions) or in the Balkans. The first problem is precisely the "buckling of the budget"—the making ends meet; and the bulging interest on loans is very difficult indeed to wrap up in the budget.

In Germany, it is not necessary to examine the books. Two or three financial facts will suffice. The debt has multiplied forty-fold. Every week new paper money to the value of $1\frac{1}{2}$ milliards of marks is put into circulation. To pay the Entente in gold its claims for the next six years at the present rate of exchange (a mark is worth less than a penny) is to raise something like 700 milliards of marks. Without counting these debts, the taxation which used to be 62 marks per head has multiplied by at least ten. The recent loan was an abject failure. It really only produced enough for a month or so. The spirit of the people apparently (and understandably) is the spirit of Louis XV., who exclaimed: "After us the deluge!"

That indeed is the spirit of Europe in general. If there are Eastern countries which managed somehow to jog along in a chronic state of bankruptcy because they were kept going by Great Powers, that had political need of them, the Western nations cannot expect bankruptcy to be a pleasant or even a possible condition. Something must be done and that quickly, unless we are to pitch headlong into ultimate and universal disaster.

Who can back the bills? Long ago when I discussed the after-war problems with a distinguished personage who has an incisive way of putting things he stated the alternatives according to him in a sentence: "Repudiation of Debt, which is Bolshevism; or Confiscation of Capital, which is Socialism." It does not, of course, matter, so far as immediate results are concerned, whether you declare that the national debts, for a

portion of the national debts, and therefore the enormous interests which are the chief cause of the financial trouble, are abolished; or whether you make large or small levies on capital—capital invested in such loans above all. There was a heroic hint of the second alternative once—it was immediately drowned in a vociferous chorus of abuse. There was even serious discussion of attaining the same end by having an obligatory consolidating loan which would swallow up all the previous loans but upon which the interest would be half the present interest. Result: your £1,000 automatically becomes £500 so far as its interest-producing value is concerned. I mention these solutions in passing. Capitalism will be at its death-gasp before it thus commits hari-kari.

But there is indeed a variant on these proposals which comes from Mr. Keynes: this, the cancellation of debts among the Allied countries. The only country which would really lose (and if the alternative is the complete bankruptcy of Europe she would gain by thus averting such a calamity) would be America. We should nominally lose: but most of our money which is "out" we shall in any case have to whistle for for a very long time. That, however, though certainly a method of simplifying the embarrassed relations of this moment and of easing the situation a little, is totally inadequate. It is an amazing thing that the only financial pre-occupation of the Peace Conference was how to get gold out of Germany. As I long ago pointed out, we shall have to help Germany, not for humanitarian reasons but in our own interests, before we are through with this business.

The reason? Who said "Indemnities," when Germany is without foreign securities, when Germany is without shipping, when Germany is without iron and without coal (for in a comparative sense the loss of Lorraine and the Sarre Valley and Silesia render her coalless and ironless), when Germany is without transports, when Germany is without an ounce of real *moral*? How can it be done when, even if she was in a position to make money by carrying her exports to a much higher figure than her imports (a task she could not accomplish before the

war), we should refuse to allow her thus to collar the trade of the world? No, the less we expect from that quarter the wiser we shall be. We shall have to rush to the rescue to save her from bankruptcy, which means that she too will become a pauper and will go on the Poor Law of Europe. We should all follow very quickly. There was one logical and heartless method of making Germany pay—it was to strip her naked without pity, to leave her barer than a country over which locusts have passed, and then to have allowed her, without means of existence, to die in millions miserably.

To make life tolerable for any of us we all have need of each of us. There are things that this country can supply, and things that the other country can make. But it would be too elementary for me to begin to point out that trade between the nations is a vital necessity. And it would be comically pedagogic for me to attempt to instruct anybody that trade is impossible without some sort of equality of exchange. Nor would I be forgiven (I hope) if I spent any time in demonstrating that to avoid general ruin we have to pool our resources, we have to hit upon a plan that will, when properly understood, commend itself to all the world, the rich as well as the poor countries. Even sensible private creditors do not willingly let die their bankrupt customers, and those who are in difficulties would surely agree to sink or swim together. (If they don't swim together they will certainly sink together). Here is the opportunity for the much-despised Financial League of Nations, which idealists and realists alike turned down in Paris, preferring to discuss who should have the enemy cables and the enemy colonies, and who should say the finest thing about humanity's upward march. After all, in this imperfect world, existence is largely a question of cash—or of credit. There are other economic difficulties, of course; but money has certainly to be found. Without the speedy financial co-operation of all nations, strong and weak, rich and poor, the far-seeing Bolsheviks who prophesied chaos and bankruptcies and the end of the capitalist system in Europe by the spring-time, will be able to boast that they told us so.

For and Against A Permanent Coalition Party.

The vague programme of reconstruction with which the Coalition carried the country at the last election affords no sufficient basis for the creation of a permanent political party, which cannot live without the formulation of definite principles. Is it possible, or is it even desirable, that a permanent Coalition should be evolved from the present fusion of the old parties? Or is it better for the health of our political life that we should revert quickly to a clear division of parties, each standing for a definite policy? Do we gain more by attempting to preserve national unity through compromise than we lose by suppressing the free and independent criticism that is the chief duty of an opposition? These questions are fully dealt with in the following pages by two of our most representative and influential young politicians.



CAPTAIN W. E. ELLIOT, M.P.

Capt. Walter Elliot Elliot, M.P., for Lanark, entered Parliament for the first time at the last general election as a Coalition Unionist, and has already earned the reputation of being, perhaps, the most brilliant and promising of the new members of this Parliament. Before the war he had a distinguished medical career and went out to France as a doctor in the Royal Army Medical Corps. From 1914 to 1918 he was attached to the Scots Greys and gained the Military Cross twice for gallantry in the field.



MR. W. M. R. PRINGLE.

Mr. William Mather Rutherford Pringle was well known in the House of Commons, before the "Khaki" election of 1918, as one of the most pungent critics of the Coalition Government. Up to that time he was for eight years member for North West Lanarkshire. He was born at Gordon, Berwickshire in 1874 and graduated at Glasgow University, whence he was called to the Bar. In spite of his temporary absence from Parliament, he is still a vital force in politics, as the Secretary of the Free Liberal Organisation.

For a Permanent Coalition Party.

By CAPTAIN WALTER E. ELLIOT, M.P.

The present Coalition is not accidental. It will not dissolve but will on the contrary take its place as a permanent factor in our political life. That this is of advantage to our country; that it is inevitable; that it is but the completion of a process which has already largely taken place—such is the thesis of this argument.

Even before the war the increasing unreality of the Liberal-Tory political strife was causing weariness amongst students of the State. We were coming to the end of an era, slowly, slowly, the nineteenth-century problems were being rolled up and cleared away; and all round, like an audience of hungry giants at the end of a harlequinade, the vast and menacing riddles of the twentieth were beginning to stamp and clamour for attention. The first decade of the new century had largely been occupied by the left-overs of Victorianism. These were mainly political, and in them the old Liberal and Conservative parties had played an honourable if tedious part. But the new generation had already begun to realise almost unconsciously that it was to be the anxious liquidator of the Industrial Revolution, and new party orientations were becoming yearly more evident.

The first definite date may be taken as 1910, the year of the Buckingham Palace Conference. In that year the first seed of the Coalition Party was sowed. It is the greatest tragedy of the century so far that it failed then to come to fruition.

Think what was offered in the lap of the gods. For the Liberals, Home Rule for an unembittered Ireland, a non-controversial measure studied and carried not from a party point of view but in an honest attempt to heal the running ulcer of our Empire. For the Conservatives, a measure of National Service, an honest acknowledgment of the German menace as a deliberate attempt upon the peace of Europe; for us all, four years of time given into our hands, the present war either utterly averted or at least settled in 1914-15 by the great Armies which at last wearily trod our parade grounds for

two years while civilisation declined towards its present anarchy.

We have burned enough leaves of the Sibylline Books; it is no accident that we have combined to preserve these last.

Even in pre-war days, then, the Coalition was emerging; the recent acceleration has simply made clear to everyone the trend of the currents. The problems of government in the nineteenth century were political; those of the twentieth are economic. When we once get Ireland out of the way (a damning reminder of the evils of moth-eaten controversy for its own sake) there will be no clear dividing line between the old Liberals and the old Conservatives; none at any rate that cannot be ignored by honesty of purpose and mutual confidence in the ability of the other to learn by experience. New parties will and must emerge; but they will be divided by definite theories of the State and the purposes of our community. This cannot be said for the difference between the Coalition and the *Wee Free Liberals*, who urge us, as Mr. Asquith did at Glasgow, to "lift up the party banner" more apparently for the beautiful eyes of the dispossessed party leaders than for any contribution they are making to the great issues under discussion.

For the Coalition is no more a novel phenomenon in geography than it is in date. All over the world economic issues are replacing political ones. The Coalition landslide of last December cannot be attributed solely to the unprecedented astuteness of Mr. Lloyd George when we compare it with the similar victory won in these last weeks by M. Clemenceau in France. And this explanation becomes farcical if we consider also the Australian and New Zealand results, where Coalition parties have come back to power by equally sweeping majorities (Australia 80 Senate seats out of 36; compare 1913, *three*).

But survey the Continent; and the same new grouping recurs. You have the Centre Party of the Right; opposite it the Moderate Socialists. These are the alternative Governments while on the

tests for the immediate future. But this can be said, that they have been dared, and the fumes of trial are already smoking. On all we have criticism; on none an alternative policy.

The Coalition is not a local, but a world phenomenon.

If the Coalition did not exist we should require to create it.

Thereafter it will emerge, a Permanent Coalition Party, to front organised Labour and with it thrash out the problems of our century—in short, to liquidate the Industrial Revolution.



Against a Permanent Coalition Party.

By W. M. R. PRINGLE.

The present Coalition is a definite and avowed attempt to supersede the old system of party government. Its ostensible justification is that the suppression of party controversy, which was outwardly observed, and is held to have materially contributed to victory, during the war, is equally necessary for the successful solution of the problems of reconstruction and of peace. These problems are unexampled in their difficulty and complexity and the upholders of the Coalition maintain that it alone possesses the strength, cohesion and statesmanship required for the herculean task.

The composition of the House of Commons indicates that for the time the country accepted this view. The plebiscatory election of December, 1918, confirmed the *coup d'état* of December, 1916. The party system, as it has prevailed in Parliament in the past, is in abeyance. The Prime Minister has in effect attained a dictatorship qualified by sporadic insurrection on the part of a timorous Tory majority to whom his personal prestige is indispensable.

The brilliance of the Prime Minister's electoral success has only momentarily obscured his fundamental failure.

On the eve of last year's election the Labour party "called out" its members from the Ministry and Mr. Lloyd George merely succeeded in retaining the respectable figure of Mr. Barnes with the transient phantoms of Messrs. Parker, Roberts and Wardle. The Labour party has since become growingly hostile, and the antagonism is more pronounced in the country than in the House of Commons.

The attempt to ostracise his old Liberal colleagues on the basis of the vote in the Maurice Division has reacted fatally against Mr. Lloyd George in the Liberal party. The machine is definitely hostile and more than half the party, without reckoning the defections to Labour owing to Liberal divisions, regard his electoral tactics with sullen resentment. The moment he gives an unmistakable sign that he has formed a new and permanent political liaison, even those who are still dazzled by his tinsel triumphs and who

are still deceived by his life service to Liberalism will in large numbers desert him.

Thus while party is in suspended animation in the House of Commons, it is very much alive in the country. The by-elections of the last twelve months have proved that more than half of the electors who take any interest in politics are opposed to the government which claims to represent a united nation. It is only necessary for the Prime Minister's opponents to agree upon an alternative policy—which may prove less difficult than light-hearted Coalitionists imagine—and the Government will, at the next election, sustain a defeat which will be the heavier the longer the dissolution is deferred.

The effort to replace the party system by a permanent Coalition has therefore definitely failed. What are the courses which are bringing the Government as distinct from the system to electoral disaster?

The Prime Minister could have won the election easily on the Armistice. Its glories were still undimmed. But the majority would not have been so overwhelming. Its apoplectic dimensions were due to a debauch of immoral and impossible electioneering promises for which the reckoning is inevitable.

Even his laurels as the man who won the war are beginning to fade. As the factors which produced the final débâcle of Germany are more generally understood, Mr. Lloyd George's share in these events is more justly, if less generously, appraised! The value of Great Britain's military contribution and the extent of her sacrifices will never be minimised. But important as these were, only a poor blind patriot will shut his eyes to the decisive part played by American intervention in increasing the stringency of the blockade, in relieving imminent financial disaster and not least in the summer of 1918, apart from the actual fighting, by the numerical strength of the reinforcements which were hurried across the Atlantic. Nothing is more important for the wise direction of British policy

than a true perception of the function performed by this country in the recent war as compared with the part she has played in former struggles. When this just historic perspective is attained the verdict upon Mr. Lloyd George's proceedings in 1916 and afterwards will be very different from the exorbitant and hysterical plaudits with which they have hitherto been rewarded. As each successive Inter-Allied Conference discloses more clearly European dependence upon America, the process of enlightenment goes on.

Just as his prestige as the winner of the war begins to wane, his performances in the domain of reconstruction, as the Nehemiah of the new Jerusalem, are coming up for judgment.

The Prime Minister can quote a long catalogue of statutes with resonating titles, though it is a suspicious circumstance that he constantly includes in his recital the Franchise and Education Acts, both of which stand to the credit of the last Parliament. The practical value of the Acts of the new Parliament will be the test by which Mr. Lloyd George's Government will be judged.

The Ministry of Health Act has changed Dr. Addison's ministerial title and done little besides. Up to the present the only effect of the Ministry of Transport Act has been to obtain for Sir Eric Geddes £50,000 from the North Eastern Railway Company, who have paid this huge sum without any ostentatious reluctance for losing his valuable services.

A Conscript Act was passed in hot haste last spring. It was introduced to please those, of whom Mr. Churchill is, on his own confession, one, who desired to continue compulsory military service. It was made temporary by way of redeeming the election pledge to abolish conscription. It has been proved to be unnecessary because the Government and its Allies have not yet been able to make peace.

In the early summer a Housing Act was passed. Had it reached the Statute Book under pre-war conditions it would have been an admirable and effective instrument of housing reform. But to deal with the problem of to-day under the

conditions of to-day it is utterly inadequate. Of the 100,000 houses which according to Dr. Addison's old department, the defunct Ministry of Reconstruction, should have been built in the year following the Armistice only 124 have materialised under the Government's Act. This glaring void has been filled by another Act of Parliament. The Housing (Additional Powers) Act was hastily pushed through in the autumn session under the inspiration of Sir Tudor Walters whose destructive criticism has been muzzled by his appointment as Paymaster-General. The houses "fit for heroes to live in" are now to be provided by the rivalry of two Ministers in pushing their respective legislative bantlings.

Land Settlement Acts have been passed and land has actually been bought, but the settlers are few. A Parliamentary answer reveals the fact that two farms to which entry was obtained as long ago as May, 1918, have not yet got their quota of settlers.

The Land Acquisition Act, while it improves and cheapens procedure, yet gives the owner the right to the full market value of his land; while under the Profiteering Act a small shopkeeper who makes the same demand for a yard of ribbon is liable to prosecution. In this connection it is relevant to record that under the Government's scheme for maintaining suitable key industries one firm whose shares were quoted at 10s. before the war has so risen in the financial world that the same shares are valued at over £130.

The obnoxious proposals for the wholesale deportation of aliens accepted by the Government have not been allowed to disgrace the Statute Book owing to the enlightened obstinacy of the House of Lords.

The number of the bills abandoned at the close of the session is not the measure of the Coalition's legislative failures. The much vaunted Electricity Bill was reduced to a shadow. The Sankey judgment advertised their legislative incapacity by demonstrating that they were carrying out a fiscal policy by illegal proclamations for which they could devise

no better legislative sanction than the fantastic Anti-Dumping Bill, now discarded. The abandonment of the Coal Bill involves a serious loss to a depleted Treasury, but is not so serious as the delay in announcing the future policy in relation to the mines. The resulting uncertainty which is stopping all development causes enormous loss not only to the mining industry but to the country as a whole.



Daily Herald

[London

The Coal Impasse.

First Minister (at wits end): "Of course, we might even carry out our pledges, only it would establish a dangerous precedent."

The Coalition's treatment of Ireland is a record of unretrieved disaster. The decisive factor in recent Irish politics was the legislative enactment of conscription in April, 1918. Even though there was no intention of enforcing it, this decision destroyed at one blow the Constitutional Nationalist party, which was then more than holding its own with Sinn Féin, and the hopes of a settlement which the successful labours of the Convention had created. The subsequent promise to legislate on the Convention's Report and to treat the failure of the measure to pass both Houses as a ground of resignation added the necessary touch of calculated hypocrisy to give full effect to their criminal unity.

The plain, indisputable and inexpugnable conclusion is that the Coalition cannot settle Ireland.

Finance has been handled without courage, skill or forethought. Extravagance has been allowed to reign too long unchecked. The funding loan was a failure: week by week the floating debt is being increased. Inflation has been continued and extended with the result that instead of prices falling, as the Prime Minister predicted, they have risen to a height unprecedented at any period of the war.

The Chancellor's taxation proposals have been justified by two inconsistent estimates of revenue and expenditure in a "normal" year, which have only this in common that they bear no relation to the probable course of events.

The latest estimate for this fictitious year, in which direct war charges will be eliminated, shows a revenue based on existing taxation of £804,000,000, being only two millions short of the expenditure. The forecast is erroneous in three respects. The revenue is calculated on the receipts of a single quarter which were swollen by the lavish government expenditure out of borrowed money. The estimate of expenditure took no account of future additional charges, e.g., the increase of £10,000,000 on old-age pensions since granted and the new government housing subsidy. A comparison with the April estimate for a "normal" year proves that the later calculation makes inadequate provision for the debt. The earlier forecast put the charge for interest and sinking fund at £400,000,000; in the later edition it was reduced by £40,000,000, though the estimated total of the debt as at 31st March, 1920, had been increased by £400,000,000. If due allowance is made for the erroneous estimates under the two latter heads, it is obvious that the exercise of the most rigorous economy in respect of non-essential services cannot reduce the future annual expenditure to a figure much short of £900,000,000. For this tremendous outlay a timid and short-sighted Chancellor makes no effective provision. He hides the truth by a disingenuous balance sheet. He hopes to postpone the day of discovery by balancing next year's accounts out of arrears of

excess profits duty and the sale of surplus assets. After that—

The most disastrous failure of the Government is to be found in foreign affairs.

Russia was, in President Wilson's words, to be the "acid test" of allied sincerity. Applying the doctrine of self-determination we had no right to intervene. On the principles of international law, which we fought the war to vindicate, our blockade which has brought untold suffering to millions of women and children had no legal justification. Our action was therefore both legally and morally wrong. The Prime Minister, who is never troubled with theoretical considerations of morality or legality, opposed intervention because he knew it would be futile. He, however, assented to a hopeless adventure in consequence of the pressure of his colleagues, some of whom thought a weak and divided Russia would contribute to the security of our Asiatic possessions, while others believed that Bolshevism was a disease which ought to be extirpated even by an alliance with our late enemies. It is right to add that his interventionist colleagues had the support of the French who have made an insignificant contribution to the joint adventure. £100,000,000 have been wasted and many British lives have been needlessly sacrificed on an enterprise in which no British interest or obligation was involved. British forces in Russia have now been cut down from 40,000 to 2,000, and our further commitments have been limited to £15,000,000. So far from promoting peace, we are only prolonging the agony of Russia.

I pass over the blockade which we in defiance of international law maintained after the Armistice, thereby continuing the war against women and children after the men had laid down their arms, and contributing to that starvation which we are now by our tardy charity striving to mitigate. Nor do I dwell upon the territorial arrangements either of the German or the Austrian peace treaty. They Balkanise Central Europe; they multiply customs barriers; they foment nationality; they aggravate racial divisions; they set at naught the principle of self-determination; they are in short a fruitful seed-plot of future wars.

The head and front of Mr. Lloyd George's offending is to be found in the Reparation Clauses of both treaties. In the case of Austria Lord Robert Cecil has justly and succinctly described them as insane.

Not only are the reparation provisions, which impose a charge of £9,000,000,000 upon Germany, immoral and dishonourable, they are impossible of fulfilment. Mr. Keynes demonstrates this with convincing force in his book "The Economic Consequences of the Peace." He shows that the limit of Germany's capacity to pay does not exceed £2,000,000,000, which could fairly have been accepted as meeting the compensation due under the conditions laid down at the Armistice. Had they limited their claim to this sum the Allies would both have preserved their honour and got the money.

The speeches of French and British Ministers alike show that they have no expectation that these financial provisions will be carried out. Mr. Churchill has stated in the House of Commons that he does not believe that the Germans will be able to pay more than £2,000,000,000. M. Loucheur, in a speech made recently in the devastated area, announced that the French Government intended to apply to Britain for a guarantee of the payment by Germany of her debt to France. M. Clemenceau is not seriously concerned with the compensation to be received; he looks beyond to the consequences of default. When this occurs the French will be entitled to continue indefinitely their occupation of the left bank of the Rhine—a cherished design of French Chauvinists embodied in the notorious secret treaty with Russia in 1916.

Such is the record of the "indispensable" Coalition at home and abroad. It discloses no vision, courage, or statesmanship. Instead of well-considered schemes of reconstruction they have given us hasty, ill-digested and ineffective legislation. Their Budget is a monument of financial ineptitude. Ireland they have driven into irreconcilable antagonism. They have wasted British treasure and British lives in prolonging and aggravating the woes of Russia. In Central Europe they have produced Chaos and called it Peace.

The Problem of the Straits and Constantinople.

By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

We are still in the dark about the date and scope of the long delayed peace-settlement with Turkey, but the Prime Minister threw light on one point in his speech on the 18th December in the House of Commons. He made it clear that the Straits are not to be left under the control of the Ottoman Government. "What is to be done with the Straits?" he said. "Can we leave those gates, which were slammed in our face, under the same gate-keeper? If those doors had been open and our fleet and our merchant ships had been free to go through, the military opinion of a high authority is that the war would have been shortened by two or three years."

This is a fact of great importance for the settlement, but if we extend our survey of the problem to the history of the Straits before the war, we shall go even further than the Prime Minister, and shall possibly conclude that, had the passage of the Straits been free then, the war might never have broken out.

The control of the Straits by an irresponsible or malignant power is an obvious menace in war-time, but in the long run it is probably more harmful as a

permanent factor of economic and consequently of political disturbance in time of peace—as a source of war rather than as a strategic obstacle to operations in a war of which the unsatisfactory status of the Straits in peace time may have been a contributory cause. For the Straits, while only abnormally a scene of naval combats, are in ordinary times important to the world as a highway of international trade.

Geologists tell us that these narrow winding arms

of the sea, which arouse our curiosity as an exceptional phenomenon, are the remains of a river valley and were eroded by its stream before the bed sank below sea-level and the river disappeared. And this account of the origin of the Straits is of more than academic interest. It gives us an insight into their importance today. A current still flows down the



[Photo, G. C. Stranford]

MR. ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

channel into the Mediterranean—so swiftly at times as to impede navigation towards the Black Sea and to enable a naval power in possession to counter-attack assailing vessels by drifting mines—and this current, like the water of the Black Sea itself, is fresh in comparison with the percentage of salt in the water of the Mediterranean, because its volume is made up largely of the fresh water poured into the Black Sea by the great rivers that enter it from all quarters. In fact, if we choose, we can regard the Bosphorus, Sea of Marmora, and Dardanelles as a river still, the Black Sea as a lake into which it broadens in its middle course (as the Rhône broadens in one section into the Lake of Geneva), and the Danube, Dniestr, Dniepr, Don, Rhion, Kysyl Yrmak, Sakkaria, and other rivers that empty into it as the one mighty river's tributaries. At any rate, if we regard the Straits in this light, we shall realise the full measure of their economic importance, for many of the tributaries are recognised in themselves as essential international thoroughfares, yet access to every one of them is barred by the closure of the single channel of the Straits which connects them all with the open sea.

Let us consider first the tributary of the Danube, or rather of the Danube system, for the main stream of the Danube has navigable tributaries of its own. The international importance of the Danube was increasingly recognised during the century before the war, and in August, 1914, the conservancy and port administration of the river from its confluence with the Black Sea to the bend at Galatz and Braila was in the hands of the Danube Commission. Plans were on foot for making the Danube navigable far up stream for at any rate moderate-sized sea-going vessels, and for connecting it by ship-canal with the waterways of the Oder, Elbe, and Rhine. Yet its international importance is immeasurably greater now as a result of the territorial changes of the peace settlement. Before the war, no riverain state, except Serbia, was solely dependent on the navigation of the Danube (apart from transit across foreign territory) for its maritime trade. Rumania had a port on the Black Sea,

Bulgaria ports on the Black Sea and the Aegean, the Hapsburg Monarchy ports on the Adriatic, and Bavaria and Württemberg ports on the North Sea through being confederate States in the German Empire. But the break-up of Austria-Hungary, and the possible loosening of the bonds between South Germany and Prussia, have transformed the situation. There are now two States—the Austrian Republic and Hungary—which can communicate with the sea by the Danube alone; three—Württemberg, Bavaria and Tehecho-Slovakia—which, like Austria and Hungary, have no coast line, and are chiefly dependent on the Danube waterway, though they are better off in having access as well to the systems of the Rhine and the Elbe; two—Rumania and Bulgaria (for Bulgaria has been thrown back into the same position as Rumania by the forfeiture of the Aegean coast-line which she acquired in 1913)—which, in addition to their Danube ports, have ports on the Black Sea, yet have no maritime outlet which enables them to dispense with the passage of the Straits; and one—Jugoslavia—which, though she has secured an Adriatic coast line, is likely to see the natural ports on it annexed to Italy, or at any rate severed from herself, and will therefore be driven to depend largely on the Danubian outlet along her inland frontier, and so on the passage of the Straits, like her purely inland neighbours.

It should be remembered that the basin of the Middle Danube is separated from the Adriatic by great natural obstacles, by parallel ranges of mountains across which railways have only been carried by costly feats of engineering, and that in fact the economic outlets of the former Hapsburg Monarchy upon the Adriatic were facilities secured to international trade by a *tour de force* in defiance of geography—an artificial arrangement which may easily be ruined by adverse political conditions, such as, unfortunately, are likely to prevail in the Adriatic in the immediate future. The Peace Conference, to its credit, has recognised the enhanced importance of the Danube system and has placed it under international control as far upstream as Ulm. We have read something recently in the Press of the steps that are already being taken by the

new Danube Commission. Yet the beneficent consequences to be expected from these arrangements for international trade and the peace of the world will be frustrated if the Straits, through which all water-borne trade between the Danube system and the open sea must pass, are not placed under international control of at least as effective a character as the Danube itself.

So much for the importance of the Straits in the economic reconstruction of Central and South-Eastern Europe, and it will be obvious already that similar considerations apply to the other areas whose sole or chief water communications with the rest of the world pass through the Straits by way of the Black Sea. In addition to the Danube basin, two main areas of the kind may be distinguished, namely Southern Russia and the interior of the Middle East.

Whether or not the southern provinces of the vanished Russian Empire remain united with one another or with other ex-Muscovite territories, it may be taken for granted that sooner or later their economic prosperity will revive, and therewith their international trade. Now this trade, consisting as it has done, and will continue to do, almost entirely in the transport of bulky commodities—in the export of grain and ores and the import of machinery—this trade of Southern Russia is bound to be mainly water-borne, and therefore to pass through the Straits. This was so before the war, when the area was politically incorporated in an empire possessing ports on the Baltic and White Sea coasts. The length of railway transport involved precluded the foreign trade of Southern Russia from passing through Archangel or Riga, and this will naturally remain the case if the old political unity is permanently dissolved. It cannot be argued that the foreign trade of Southern Russia will not pass through the Straits in future. It can only be argued that the volume of this trade may be less, since, with the certain improvement in the status of the peasantry, the internal consumption of South Russian grain will rise. But the possible diminution in the grain export will be more than counter-balanced by the increasing export of ore, and progressively of manufactured products as

well, from the Donetz basin, and the determining factor is that, whatever the precise volume or character of the trade may be, it will be a matter of life and death for this rich and populous South Russian area, which, for an indefinite period, will need manufactured products from abroad, and can only pay for them by products of its own, the Straits being the route by which the exchange must be effected.

Thus if the Straits are not kept permanently open under international control, the world will still be faced with what was one of the chief sources of pre-war tension and unrest and was actually a contributory cause of the outbreak of the Great War in Europe. The old Russian Empire, dependent on imports for so many articles essential to its economic life, was further dependent on the exports from the southern provinces to balance its annual budget of trade. These exports could be held up at any moment if the Ottoman Government chose to close the Straits, and when it did so close them, for military reasons, during the years 1911, 1912, and 1913, in consequence of the Turco-Italian and Balkan Wars, the economic life of Russia was thrown into confusion. The fact that she was economically at the mercy of Turkey, a backward and irresponsible State, apt to be at war and traditionally inimical to Russian interests, greatly fomented the war spirit in Russia before the European War broke out.

A third area debouching on the Straits still demands our attention—an area extending eastwards into the interior of the Eurasian continent from Batum and Rostov-on-Don to the Pamirs and the Ural Mountains. The waterways of this oriental region, which includes the entire system of the Caspian and the Aral seas and their tributary rivers, are connected with the tributaries of the Straits not directly but by two portages overland—the short portage from the angle of the Volga at Tsarytsyn (for which the "Red" and "White" forces have been fighting) and the easternmost angle of the Don, and the longer portage, up the valley of the Rhion and down the valley of the Kur, from the Black Sea at Batum to the Caspian at Baku. The former connects the thoroughfare of the Straits, viz.

Rostov-on-Don, with the Volga and its tributaries, and thereby with the most populous and industrialised regions of Central Russia. The latter connects the Straits with the mines of Georgia, the cotton fields of Azerbaijan and the oil-fields of Baku, and beyond that, after a sea passage across the Caspian from Baku to Krasnovodsk, with the wider cotton fields, the unprospected minerals and the unfathomed oil deposits of Central Asia. Trade has passed up and down this second route since antiquity. But its volume has been immensely increased by the modern means of communication established by the Russians: the Trans-Caspian Railway from Batum to Baku; the pipe line along its track by which oil from Baku wells is pumped into Batum reservoirs; the steamer service across the Caspian; and the Trans-Caspian Railway from Krasnovodsk Harbour to Bokhara, Tashkend, and Ferghana—a railway originally constructed for strategical purposes but soon turned to account for trade. These railways, with their feeders, tap an immense region. Tabriz, the second city of Persia, is connected by them with Batum, Rostov, and Moscow, while it has no railway connection at present with Teheran, and however much the new Anglo-Persian treaty may open up Persian trade in the direction of Baghdad and the Gulf, the rich north-western provinces will probably continue to trade with the world by the shorter route of the Black Sea and the Straits. Erzerum, again, the central city of the ex-Ottoman portions of Armenia, has been connected with the Trans-Caucasian Railway by the Russians during the war, while it is hundreds of miles removed from the nearest railhead in Turkey. And these are the principal routes for passengers as well as for goods.

This survey will have shown any reader who has had the patience to follow it, how vast a movement of trade, and how many threads of international politics are, and will always be, under the control of the master of the Straits; and he will have deduced for himself already that this mastery cannot possibly be left any longer to a single State—even if a more enlightened and better disposed State had been in possession there than Turkey has shown herself to be. The peace of the

world and economic stability of a region extending from Bavaria on the one hand to Bokhara on the other demand that the passage of the Straits shall be placed, both in peace and war, under international control, and, in view of Turkey's record, this surely means that the shores of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles commanding that passage must be exempted entirely from the sovereignty of Turkey, and placed under some separate authority responsible to the League of Nations.

This is the solution necessitated by the world interests involved in the Straits, but these world interests, though their satisfaction ought to be the paramount object of the Peace Conference, are not the only interests it will have to consider. If it is true that the passage can only be internationalised economically by the political internationalisation of territories along its shores, the rights and aspirations of the inhabitants of these territories must also not be disregarded; and this calls our attention away from the problem of the Straits to that of Constantinople, the city in which nearly the whole of the population in question resides. Constantinople, together with its suburbs across the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, is an urban agglomeration of more than a million people; its population is heterogeneous and discordant; the Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Levantine, and Western elements all constitute important local communities; the Turks and Greeks, in virtue of their numbers and their history, are bitter rivals for the ultimate possession of the town, and the competition between them arouses a mild enthusiasm in Christendom and a far more genuine fanaticism throughout the Moslem world. Constantinople as the capital of Turkey is the last monument of a vanished but unforgotten age when Islam had the upper hand, and its symbolic value to Moslem sentiment has increased with the establishment of Christian ascendancy over most of the native centres of Islamic civilisation. The prospect that Turkey may forfeit Constantinople is resented by the public opinion of Islam, especially in India; and feeling is inflamed to fever-point by the question—so often coupled with the political problem of Constantinople, though it ought

to be kept quite distinct—of holy places like the magnificent pi~~er~~ (is it to be mosque still or church again?) of St. Sophia.

We cannot leave these political and religious factors out of account, but to which of them are we to give weight, and in what degree? Take the feelings of the Turks themselves. Their claim will hardly stand the test of self-determination, for they have a bare majority in the urban area taken *en bloc*, and this majority, largely made up of casual dock labour and "official circles," would disappear if Turkey had to transfer her capital to Smyrna or Afium-Kara-Hissar or Konia, which are all more natural centres than Constantinople for the administration of the national patrimony in Anatolia—the sole country, it is to be hoped, that will remain under Turkish sovereignty when the Conference has done its work. Nor can Turkey plead that Constantinople is the necessary seat of the Caliph of Islam, now represented for a large part, though by no means for the whole, of the Moslem world by the person of the Ottoman Sultan. For before the Osmanli Dynasty assumed the Caliphate in 1517, neither the Prophet nor his successors had ever resided in Constantinople. They had reigned at Medina and Mecca, Damascus and Cordova, Baghdad and Cairo, but never in the city which, till less than five centuries ago, was the stronghold of eastern Christendom.

A solution may possibly be found by differentiating between Stambul proper—the triangular area enclosed by the ancient walls on the peninsula between the Sea of Marmora and the Golden Horn—and the suburban quarters of Constantinople outside these boundaries, such as Pera and Galata. If Stambul, but Stambul only, were excepted from the territory to be detached from Turkey and placed under the League of Nations administration, would the remainder of the area, the detachment of which we previously suggested, be sufficient to bring the Straits under effective international control, and safeguard them from the danger of any sudden Turkish coup? That is a question for naval and military experts, but if they could answer it in the affirmative, the political difficulties we have encountered would very largely be

removed. The bulk of the Turkish population in Constantinople, the historic memories of the Osmanli nation, the sentiment of the contemporary Moslem world, the mosques, libraries, palaces and other domiciles of Oriental culture are concentrated in Stambul; the non-Moslem communities and the commerce of Constantinople centre round Pera and Galata. Their conflicting interests might be reconciled by the device, at first sight startling, of making an international boundary of the Golden Horn.

If this suggestion proved, on examination, to be feasible, it might be accepted with relief by all parties except the Greeks. But Greece, though, in the formal claims which she has laid before the Peace Conference, she has abstained from demanding the immediate possession of Constantinople for herself, has only done so on condition that the city shall pass at once from Turkish sovereignty into international control. The Greek claim to Stambul, though weaker than the Turkish on grounds of self-determination (for the Greek element in Stambul, as distinguished from the other quarters of Constantinople, is comparatively small and is practically confined to the district of the Phanar), is far stronger on historical grounds, and inevitably there would be strong Greek opposition to the scheme suggested above. Is this opposition an insuperable obstacle? The diplomatic resources of the Conference should prove equal to overcoming it, and if both Western and Eastern Thracæ, with their broad and fertile territories extending to the Chatalja lines, are assigned to Greece, she ought in return to waive her objection to Stambul remaining under Turkish sovereignty, for under such an arrangement the Thracian Moslems brought under the government of Greece would far outnumber the Stambuli Greeks left under the government of Turkey, while the bulk of the Constantinople Greeks, in the commercial quarters of the city, would still secure the benefits of an international administration. At any rate the writer of this article can see no other possibility of reconciling the vast and manifold interests concerned in the solution of the problem of the Straits and Constantinople.

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

CAN WE SUPPORT A NEW EMPIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

As a result of the war, the British Empire is likely to assume, or has assumed already, responsibilities in Palestine, the former Ottoman sphere in Arabia (except the Hedjaz), Mesopotamia and Persia. The responsibility will not, of course, be equally heavy in all cases. Nominally, at least, a treaty with the independent Government of Persia, or with some prince in the interior of Arabia, commits us to less than a mandate for reorganising the administration of an ex-Turkish vilayet. Yet the fact remains that the total area of these regions is rather larger than that of the Indian Empire, and that, though the population is much smaller (perhaps twenty-five millions at most on a very rough estimate), the racial and religious divisions present the same acute problems to the administrator—problems which in certain instances, such as the custody of the holy places at Jerusalem, the provision of a Jewish national home in Palestine, or the rival claims to the Caliphate, may arouse passionate feeling among vast bodies of people in other parts of the British Empire, and indeed all over the world.

A writer in the *Round Table* (December) points out the enormous extent of these new responsibilities and asks frankly whether the British Empire is in a position to undertake them. "Because we find ourselves in Mesopotamia," he remarks, "and because no alternative to our continued presence there is forthcoming, there seems to be a general acquiescence in the notion that we should stay."

Yet this undertaking, whether inevitable or not, means a change little short of revolutionary in the strategic position of the British Commonwealth. Before the war the Commonwealth was strategically a combination of islands, varying in size from fortresses to continents, and scattered all over the world, but all capable of adequate defence by sea power.

So, Canada, with its thousands of miles of artificial boundary line dividing it from

the United States, required no forts or guns for its defence. India, surrounded by thousands of miles of mountain barrier, was more effectively isolated from the rest of Asia than Italy is isolated from the rest of Europe. And Egypt, entirely surrounded by broad zones of desert or by sea, was no less secure from invasion than Malta or Australia. But this sudden expansion of our dominion over the New East not only reverses our former policy, but involves us in an almost unlimited demand for military precautions.

Mesopotamia, an alluvial basin lying like an arena in an amphitheatre of table-lands, has been invaded more often than any other country in Europe or Asia. She is exposed to invasion from every quarter—from the Persian plateau on the east and from the Central Asian steppes behind it; from the steppes of Arabia which slope down towards her on the western side; on the north from Anatolia beyond the Taurus, and from Europe beyond that; and finally, on the south, from the sea. Akkadians and Sumerians, Amorites and Kassites, Arameans and Persians, Arabs and Seljuks and Mongols, Hittites and Greeks and Romans and Osmanlis have all had their turn before us, following hard on one another and descending on the country from the four quarters of the compass. We cannot expect to be left there ourselves in peace.

On the side of Egypt, too, we have exchanged the natural desert frontier of Sinai for some artificial line to be drawn across the fields and woods and valleys of Palestine and Syria, and have made it possible for trains to run without a break from the Bosphorus to Cairo. Between the Mediterranean and the Paimirs the British Commonwealth is committed to an open land frontier, accessible to military powers in Continental Europe, and therefore requiring defence by land armaments on whatever may be the future European scale.

Our British heel of Achilles may well be found in Mesopotamia, and in the treaty with Persia we already see one momentous consequence of our Mesopotamian commitment. The treaty is

certainly sound from the strategic point of view. But it was followed soon afterwards by the announcement that the Amir of Afghanistan had been released from the obligation laid upon all his predecessors, of consulting the British Government in all matters affecting his foreign policy.

Yet from the British point of view Afghanistan and Persia cannot be dissociated. Geographically they are parts of a single great plateau, and between them they fill the gap that separates India from Mesopotamia. Now that we are established in both the latter countries, any policy applied to one of the intervening states will be abortive unless it is extended to the other. Yet apparently we elected to abandon controls over Afghanistan of forty years standing at a moment when we were working to establish ties of a similar or even closer character with Persia.

Again, according to the terms of the Persian treaty, we have undertaken to reorganise the Persian army, a contract which practically pledges us, on pain of compromising our military prestige in the East, to guarantee Persia's defence. Yet a few days after the publication of the treaty it was announced that our army of occupation was being withdrawn from the Trans-Caucasian Railway (the line from Baku on the Caspian to Batum on the Black Sea), which is the strategic key, in the present lack of modern means of communication in Persia itself, to the vulnerable north-western frontier of that country.

This conflict of two opposing policies is, presumably, the result of the divergent interests of the War Office, the Foreign Office and the Indian Office. But the Cabinet can have no excuse for its failure to co-ordinate our general policy in the Near East. The War Office has been thinking only of demobilising its troops, the Indian Office is trying to gain favour with Islam, and its attitude towards Turkey is consequently influenced by its desire to propitiate the Mahomedan population of India, while the Foreign Office has failed completely to make up its mind about Russia. Yet the whole problem of the Near East must be profoundly affected by the victory or the downfall of Bolshevism. The Bolsheviks are already actively assisting the anti-British agitation in Afghanistan, and if they should succeed in conquering Denikin they will aggravate the unrest on all our frontiers by their deliberate propaganda. On the other hand, if Denikin wins, is he likely to recognise the independence of the non-Russian nationalities in Transcaucasia;

and if he refuses to do so, is it not possible that the Georgians and the Azerbaijanis will join forces and make common cause with Mustapha Kemal, the Young Turk who is successfully leading the insurrectionary movement in the Anatolian and Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire?

Mustapha Kemal's position is exceedingly strong. The demobilised Turkish soldiery is flocking to his standard; and the residue of the Turkish Army's equipment, of which he has taken possession, though, like the armaments of Russia, it might be of little account in the sort of campaign we have become accustomed to during the European War, would go a long way, perhaps last him for years, in the guerilla warfare for which he is preparing. And the Armenian provinces, where his movement began, provide him with an ideal stronghold; for the railways running up into Anatolia from the Bosphorus and Smyrna extend no farther north-east than Angora; the trunk line to Baghdad bends away to the south, and Erzerum, Mustapha Kemal's present capital, is hundreds of miles from the nearest railroad—except on the side of Trans-Caucasia, where the railway system was extended to Erzerum by the Russians during the war and was in great part occupied by British forces after the armistice, but has now been left at Mustapha Kemal's mercy by the withdrawal of these forces from the interior to Batum. But apart from his strategic position, Mustapha Kemal is strong in the active support of the violent Turkish element in Armenia, which fears that the extermination of the Armenians attempted by the Ottoman Government during the war has not produced its intended effect, and that the favour of the Allies may give the remnant of the Armenians the ascendancy of the country; he has the sympathy, open or secret, of the entire Turkish people, especially in districts of mixed population like Thrace, Constantinople and Aidin, which are likely to be severed from the Turkish State in the Peace Settlement; and finally he has at his disposal the vigorous and still wealthy organisation of the Committee of Union and Progress. His star is in the ascendant, and his growing prestige has recently brought a government of C.U.P. complexion into office at Constantinople under the guns of the Allied High Commissioners.

Of course, if America accepts a mandate, Mustapha Kemal's days are numbered. Not only could America crush him with her little finger: his movement would probably collapse at the mere prospect of American intervention, for the Turks have a vivid belief in America's power and justice and goodwill, and are confident that under her aegis, though they would lose their ascendancy, they would not be exposed to reprisals from their former subjects for their atrocious treatment of them—a fear which at present is their strongest inducement to follow Mustapha Kemal's lead.

But recent events practically rule out the possibility of America accepting a mandate for Turkey, and if no one accepts a mandate there appears to be no escape for Ottoman Armenia from falling back (to the shame of the civilised world) under the *de facto* sovereignty of the Turkish Government of Constantinople, or, worse, remaining the seat of a separate and more chauvinist Turkish state set up locally in defiance of the League of Nations.

For the British Commonwealth, either of these latter eventualities is very grave. Mustapha Kemal's country lies directly behind the difficult frontier zone of Mesopotamia in Kurdistan, and if a hostile and fairly organised Turkish State is established there, we shall have a reproduction of the North West Frontier of India backed by Afghanistan. Military retaliation on our part would be almost ruled out by the geographical impediments, while diplomatic pressure, always difficult to exert against Turks, would be doubly difficult in a case where Turkish complicity in our frontier troubles would be notorious but seldom susceptible to proof.

Are we, therefore, to regard as inevitable the situation that has been created by the reckless undertakings of the British diplomatists? Whether we accept a mandate from the League of Nations or merely pursue our present ill-considered policy of intervention, our new continental frontier will have to be defended, if at all, by the old methods and at the old cost.

That cost—in the maintenance of garrisons, in the unobtrusive but perpetual loss of life in border warfare against tribesmen, in the danger of wars on the grand scale with adjoining land powers, and in the annual expenditure of money which the preceding items entail—is bound to thrust itself upon public attention now that the problem of national finance is at last being grappled with by Parliament and the country. It is unlikely that the cost can be met.

Much has been said of the vast economic resources of Mesopotamia that await exploitation, but well informed critics are sceptical even of the possibility of making any such enterprises pay their way. The problem of military defence is even more disquieting.

Can a few dozen airmen really be substituted for brigades of infantry and cavalry? For the moment, perhaps, they may be able to hold as large a territory in awe, but familiarity lessens the terror of air warfare, as Londoners found at the time of the German raids. The raider must continually be

increasing his "frightfulness" to keep up his effect. He must use higher explosives, more poisonous gas, and less discrimination towards non-combatants. All weapons are indiscriminate, but the aerial bomb is much more so than so-called weapons of precision, and the psychology of his opponents compels an air bomber to accentuate the inevitable barbarity of his arm. The employment of the bombing plane in the Middle East will not be confined to border warfare. Already, if reports are true, we have employed it in civil warfare against insurgent members of our Commonwealth in the Punjab and Egypt. A step further, and we shall have made it a regular instrument of our administration. If we take to governing from aerodromes and bringing in our revenue by hovering planes, our rule will have become Oriental and its end will be near. For our power in the Middle East is not founded on force, but on the contrast in the minds of our subjects between the justice and rationality and humanity of our methods and the terrorism of their former oppressors. We have never commanded force enough to maintain our ascendancy by force alone, and if we become addicted to instruments which destroy our ancient prestige and translate our rule into terms of the relative physical strength of governors and governed, we shall fall like the Mogul and the Osmanli, and the golden centuries of our early empire will be written off as an irrelevant interlude in the tragic history of Oriental society.

A new chapter, the writer concludes, is opening in Middle Eastern history.

If America, by one of those abrupt reactions familiar to observers of her political temperament, surprises us by undertaking a mandate after all, we have the fairest prospect, in co-operation with her, of restoring Middle Eastern society to a well-being such as it has not enjoyed for the past eight or nine centuries. If, on the other hand, America continues in her present vein and makes the great refusal, we shall have to consider most searchingly, after reviewing all the factors in the case in their bearing on one another, whether we are able to enter upon the undertaking without her. The treaty with Turkey is not yet signed, and even now it is not too late for us to withdraw behind our pre-war frontiers. Certainly that alternative should be faced and considered by the Government and the country, and the purpose of this article has been to present the case for critical consideration.

Even if America stands aside, he urges, we, who have already put our hands to the plough, may come to the conclusion that we ought not to turn back; but whatever decision we take, let us take it with open eyes, for we are possibly approaching either our greatest political achievement or a catastrophic conflict between the British Commonwealth and the Oriental world.

IS A RISE IN GILT-EDGED SECURITIES COMING ?

There was a general hope among the multitude of people who had invested their money in gilt-edged securities before the war, that the Armistice would bring a speedy recovery from the depreciation that their shares have suffered in the past five years. But during the past year their value has fallen steadily, instead of rising, and in most cases these securities, that had always been regarded as eminently safe for the permanent investor, stood at the end of the year at a lower figure than the lowest point touched during the war. In the *Financial Review of Reviews* (December) Mr. J. Gardner, M.A., discusses the position of these securities in detail, and shows that this apparent depreciation in their value is only the result of a temporary phase of the financial market, similar to that which has followed every war. He quotes the following list of comparative prices:

Security.	Price, July, 1914.	Price, Dec., 1918.	Price, Nov., 1919.
Consols	72½	59½	51½
Argentine 5% 1884	99	93	89
Chinese 5%, 1912	86	84	76
G.W. Railway 4% Debs.	101	83	75
Harrods Pref.	5½	4½	4½
Lyons 4% Debs.	97	71	68
Armstrong-Whitworth 4% Debs.	98	77	73
G.W. Railway Ord.	114	84	85
Canadian Pacific Com.	198	176	178
Guinness and Co. Ord.	350	335	360
Harrods Ord.	4½	3½	3½
Lyons Ord.	6½	5½	5½
Armstrong-Whitworth Ord.	38/9	38/9	37/-
P. and O. Deferred	290	420	670

An analysis of the above list (he comments) reveals the fact that with few exceptions all well-secured fixed-dividend paying stocks were lower last November than in July, 1914, but that in November, 1919, they are lower still, and that the width of fluctuation has been fairly constant. On the other hand, Ordinary and Deferred stocks have followed no well-defined course, but have moved irregularly and independently. Some have steadily appreciated from 1914 to 1919, while others have shown equal consistency in depreciation; others, again, have merely oscillated and now stand near their pre-war level.

The explanation of this disconcerting decline in the value of safe securities is a simple and natural one, and to those who are discouraged by the present state of their securities on the Stock Exchange

and are inclined to sell out at the low price they would now fetch, he addresses an emphatic warning:

Let them remember that the conditions created by the war are entirely artificial, that although there are some companies whose Ordinary shares have enjoyed spectacular rises, and are paying equally spectacular dividends, yet there are others which seemed to be particularly prosperous before the war, yet are now practically defunct. Serious reflection will convince them that the real position is that the prices of certain classes of high yielding speculative shares have recently been inflated by a preponderance of buyers who, rightly or wrongly, think that the income obtainable from better secured stocks is insufficient for their requirements, added to which the country as a whole is suffering from a state of nerves.

The stability of these investment securities has not suffered in any way during the war; they can still be depended upon to bring in their fixed dividends of 3 or 4 per cent. What has happened is that the ordinary shares of many of the large companies which have prospered exceedingly during the war have been paying exceptionally high dividends and consequently are in great demand. But as the war conditions cease there is no valid reason for believing that those high dividends can be retained. People have got into the habit of expecting an unduly large return for their investments, and there has been a "run" upon those which offer a chance of bringing in big dividends. There has been a corresponding rush to sell out investments which pay smaller, but fixed, rates of interest, coinciding with the necessity for many of the middle classes who live upon fixed incomes to sell out part of their capital; and for the time being the gilt-edged securities have depreciated because so many people are determined to speculate, and refuse to consider a safe but smaller annual dividend on their investments. They will not realise that it is impossible for war profits to continue for ever, once freedom of trade and the full effect of competition has been restored.

Mr. Gardner shows how every war has been followed by a similar riot of speculation, which collapses suddenly and invariably produces an immediate rise in the value of safe investments.

The Boer War was followed by an enormous boom in mining shares, the inflation of the South Sea Bubble to bursting point can be traced to the era of speculation which was initiated immediately following the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, while the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 led to an outburst of speculation throughout the whole of the financial world.

In every instance the boom in speculative shares which was accompanied by depression in price of investment securities, was followed by the inevitable slump in the former and recovery in the latter, and if history is true to tradition and again repeats itself, the present period of speculation must soon come to an end, while those who have gone in for a sounder form of investment will reap their reward.

The conditions that follow upon a war inevitably create an intense demand for capital, accompanied by an acute shortage in its supply.

At the present juncture practically all the capital which is available for investment is required for the reconstruction and re-establishment of our interrupted trade and industry, huge sums are required by Government and provincial authorities for the various schemes which are now on hand for the betterment of social conditions; nationalisation, with its attendant expenditure, becomes every day more and more a matter of practical politics, and the liquidation of debts contracted during the war has still to be undertaken. It will therefore be clear that for the immediate future the prospects are all in favour of the demand for capital exceeding the supply—a fact which must delay any marked appreciation in investment securities. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that on practically all the capital now being raised the rate of interest or dividend will certainly be high, and in all probability capitalists will find their new revenue greatly in excess of their expenditure, and once our trade and industry gets going, the stream of surplus income available for reinvestment will rapidly swell, the demand for new capital will fall off and the present depression in investment securities will speedily fade away.

When this will occur, says Mr. Gardner, it is impossible to foretell, but that it will take place sooner or later is as certain as the rising of the sun after a dark night. The record of price movements after every war shows this steady depreciation of investment securities for so long as the speculative boom was going strong, followed by an astonishingly rapid recovery in the value of securities that are safe, but less ambitious.

As practically all investments follow the lead of the Government loans, the price movements of such loans will afford a good indica-

tion of the movement in the Stock Markets generally. If we commence with the peace following the Napoleonic wars we find that Consols in 1815 were at 72½, and that in the following year they fell to 58½; whereas in 1817 they reached 84, and in 1821 they touched 96. The year 1848 was marked by the troubles following the Irish famine and Consols fell to 40—the lowest level for sixteen years, but the following year they reached 98½. The Crimean War lasted from 1854 to 1857, during which time Consols fell from 101 to 86, but by the year 1859 they were again in the neighbourhood of 100.

With regard to French loans it will be seen that whereas at the end of the Napoleonic War in 1815 the Five per Cents. were at 57, and in 1817 at 52, yet they recovered to 67 in 1818, and 85 in 1821. The Revolution in 1848 saw French Three per Cents. at 45, but by 1854 they had recovered to 65. The débâcle of 1870 was followed by the issue of a Six per Cent. loan at 85, but financial recovery was so marked during the decade which followed that it was possible in 1881 to issue a Three per Cent. loan at 83.

Further illustrations are afforded by Spanish Fours, which fell to 29 in 1898, following the Spanish-American War; but were up to 82 only five years later, while they have recently been standing well over 100. The Russo-Japanese War was followed by a general depression in Japanese securities, the internal Five per Cents being quoted in the seventies in 1904. Consequently, however, improved so rapidly that the Japanese Government was in a position to redeem them at 100 in 1910 and issue a Four per Cent. loan in the neighbourhood of par.

To the objection that no former war ever equalled the scale of destruction wrought by this last war, Mr. Gardner replies that the modern world possesses facilities for reconstruction that never existed even half a century ago. It appears morally certain, he declares, "that the recovery in investment values, both in this country and throughout every area affected by the war, will take place in the very near future, and moreover every precedent will be contravened if this recovery, when it occurs, is not sharp and decisive."

It is for this reason that investors are warned that the high returns which they can now obtain on securities of the highest class may not for long be available. As our capital commitments which are now being made become reproductive and the requirements of financiers for reconstruction purposes become satisfied, the demand for fresh capital will be rapidly outstripped by the supply, and capitalists will no longer be able to demand the rates at present prevailing. With these points in view, the investor is advised quickly to make up his mind in the selection of his securities, otherwise he will undoubtedly miss his market.

LORD BRYCE ON THE TURKISH SETTLEMENT.

In an important article in the *Contemporary Review* (January number) Lord Bryce, whose report on the Turkish massacres in Armenia in 1915 is one of the historic documents of the war, gives his views on the future settlement with Turkey. He records the many crimes of the Turks in the countries over which they have ruled, and in particular their wholesale massacre of the Armenians during the war.

With the fall of Abdul Hamid better prospects seemed to be opening. The Young Turk party and the so-called Committee of Union and Progress which led it and governed Turkey till 1918, made liberal professions, proclaiming equal rights for all subjects of the Sultan. But within a few months they planned and carried out a massacre at Adana, and, not without some promptings from German advisers, they formed the design of removing or exterminating all the Christian populations. The Armenians, as the most energetic and industrious part of these populations, were the chief victims. About the middle of 1915, as soon as the fear that Constantinople might be captured by the British fleet had vanished, Talaat and Enver, the two leading members of the Committee, issued orders for the slaughter of all the adult males among the Armenian Christians in the Asiatic parts of the Empire, and for the expulsion from their homes, and enslavement or transportation into the deserts of Northern Arabia and Mesopotamia, of the women and children. These orders were carried out.

Nearly a million persons were killed, many of them with horrible tortures, some, including bishops and other ecclesiastics, roasted to death. An American Consul told me that he saw ravines in the mountains near Kharput full of the skeletons of the slain. Of the women, many were seized by Turkish officials or sold by public auction to Muslim purchasers for their harems, and in those harems most of these hapless victims are still confined. Those children who escaped death were given over to derishes to be made Muslims. Of those, both women and young children, who were deported, the greater number perished on their journey to their places of exile but a few escaped into Egypt, and some three hundred thousand fled into Transcaucasia, a large proportion of whom have since died of starvation.

Forty or fifty thousand survive in the severest distress, near Adana in Cilicia. The Turkish ruffians in power at Constantinople tried, when the facts became known in Western Europe—for the German Government, even when appealed to by the horrified German missionaries, refused either to allow the truth to become known, as it had refused to raise a finger to arrest the work of massacre—the Turkish Government tried to

accuse the Armenians of having given provocation. But these falsehoods cannot impose on any one who looks at the evidence as it has now been brought to light, and sifted. The Christians were slaughtered because they were Christians, whose presence interfered with the Mohammedan character which it was desired to give to all the subjects of Turkey, and whose sympathies might be assumed to be with the Western Powers who were combating their age-long oppressors.

Can any one, Lord Bryce asks, who recalls this long record of oppression, cruelty and bloodshed, any one who knows what misery and poverty Turkish administration, hardly less pernicious to its Muslim subjects than to its Christian subjects, has brought upon countries rich in natural resources, doubt to what conclusions the record points?

The Council of Ten at Paris had no doubt. In their answer to the Turkish delegates who appealed to them in June, 1919, to leave the Turkish Empire standing, they observed that "the Turk has no capacity to rule over alien races. The experiment has been tried too long and too often for there to be any doubt. Neither among Christians nor among Muslims has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered. Never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won by war." This is a gentle way of stating that he has ruined everything he has touched. Every chance given for amendment has been neglected. The condition of the Turkish dominions was worse in 1914 than it had been before the Crimean War; and the country is more hopelessly disorganised now than it was in 1914, with more ferocious passions let loose and a greater difficulty in restoring order or progress, because the most orderly and industrious part of the population has been destroyed.

The only course that can be followed by the Allies, if they have the slightest regard for the welfare of the populations or for the declarations and promises they have repeatedly made during the war, is to put an end, once for all and for ever, to any Turkish rule over Christian races.

Constantinople, the city of two Continents, with its unrivalled strategic and commercial position between two great seas, controlling the passage from one to the other, cannot be left in the hands of the Turk. It has been for a century a focus of political intrigue. It has been for a longer period, the greatest nest of scoundrels the modern world has known. All sorts of greedy and unscrupulous adventurers from every part of Europe and of Western Asia have congregated there and thriven in the fœtid atmosphere which a corrupt Government created. That atmosphere will

THE FIRST YEAR OF PEACE.

In the *American Review of Reviews* (December) Mr. Frank H. Simonds gives an interesting survey of the results of the past year's peace making. "If the Conference of Paris," he says, "was to restore peace in the world, it could only do it by actually bringing the whole world within its sphere of operations."

But precisely as the inability to frame a peace of reconciliation with Germany destroyed one-half of the hope of re-ordering world relations, the similar failure in the matter of Russia disposed of the other half. Against Germany it was necessary to stand in arms, since Germany in the nature of things would only perform the obligations imposed upon her under duress and saw in them injustices such as would move her to new attacks. Against Russian anarchy, Bolshevik madness, it was necessary not alone to take measures for protection in Eastern and Middle Europe, but also in every country Bolshevik ideas were seized upon by a certain fraction of the population and used with terrible consequences to domestic peace.

Thus, all through the Conference of Paris, France and Great Britain, and Italy to an even larger extent, were threatened with internal disorders growing out of a mixture of Bolshevik doctrines with war weariness and exhaustion, while at the same time they had to face the possibility that Bolshevism would conquer the German, the Austrian nationalities, and the Polish people. The reality of the danger was vividly indicated when Hungary suddenly threw herself into the arms of the Bolsheviks.

Again and again in Paris the spectre of Bolshevism created a panic and temporarily diverted the course of negotiations and changed the decisions of the statesmen.

Conceivably all these fears were exaggerated, but what is really important is the influence they had upon events, not the degree to which they were sound or absurd.

Moreover, and this point is cardinal, in failing, of necessity, to make a peace of reconciliation with Germany, in completely failing to arrive at any *modus vivendi* with Russia, the Paris Conference lost its last chance of establishing in the world any new international system. The maximum of possibility was very plainly disclosed by March to be to reach some sort of settlement embodying just recognition of the claims of these nations which in common alliance had defeated the Germans and hope that such a settlement would create a strong group of nations, bound together by recent alliance and by a common will to preserve order in the world and defend one another against attacks coming either from the German or the Russian Bolshevik.

In regard to the League of Nations, Mr. Simonds points out that from the European point of view it represented the *sine qua non* of American participation in European affairs and Europe was eager that America should stay in Europe, to have her immediate and financial aid, and the vital guarantee of her military aid in the case of another German invasion.

For this aid the Europeans were prepared to pay and for them the price was represented in the League of Nations. In turn our representatives called upon our recent associates to make sacrifices to our ideas of a just settlement and a permanent state of justice. We compelled the British to surrender Lloyd George's fantastic figures of German indemnity, made in the heat of his "Khaki" election in the fall of 1918. We compelled the French to abandon all idea of annexing the left bank of the Rhine or even the Sarre Basin. In addition we undertook to compel the Italians to abandon Fiume, the Rumanians to abandon portions of Hungary and Russia, and the Greeks to resign considerable areas in Thrace. Finally we exhausted all our resources in endeavouring to persuade the Japanese to abandon Shantung.

As to the British, they paid the price asked of them. British policy at Paris was inspired by a determination to promote good relations with America at any possible cost. As to the French, they gave up the left bank of the Rhine and agreed to leave the question of the Sarre to a plebiscite fifteen years hence. But the Italians, the Rumanians and the Japanese positively refused to accept our views at any price. With the Japanese we made a more or less complicated bargain, a compromise by which they took but agreed to surrender Shantung, but the Italians and Rumanians would not yield and the Greeks are still unreconciled.

Meantime, French sympathy moved toward the Rumanian, the Italian and the Greek, since France was bound to have an open frontier and a corresponding danger on the German side. Moreover, France had only submitted to American ideas because she had been promised American military assistance in case of a new German attack. In other words, America had offered herself as a substitute for the Rhine barrier to persuade France to abandon this claim. But as French confidence in the actual value of this substitute diminished during the Senate debates on the Treaty, French sympathy moved away from the League of Nations covenant, with its Anglo-French-American alliance detail, toward an old continental arrangement.

In the promise of a new Conference of London to deal with the Turkish question

and in many other less considerable incidents, Mr. Simonds sees the first evidences of "an inevitable decision to go back to old-fashioned methods in dealing with European questions." The truth would seem to be that in 1918 as always in the past there was no short cut to the millennium. After all, the victory of the Allies over Germany did accomplish indirect benefits to mankind.

The war defeated the deadliest peril of Modern History, namely, the German aggression founded upon the German conception of force justified by its own achievements and subject to no limitation imposed by right. It will . . . it may be a century, it may . . . the German attempts to assert his gospel of 1914 again. In this sense we did make the world safe for democracy, but we did not also make it easy, nor did we win victory without sacrifices, the burden of which will weigh upon us for decades to come.

We did something else beside defeating Germany, we set millions of men and women free from tyranny, from oppression, from slavery, political, if not economic. Some 40,000,000 of Europeans alone are now free to follow their language, their customs, their political aspirations. In thus making these millions free, we did not make them angels at the same time, we did not endow them with proper and fitting regard for the rights of their own neighbours. On the contrary long generations of servitude and corresponding lack of political experience have rendered inevitable excesses and stimulated ambitions, which constitute a present menace to the peace of the world and will not soon be banished.

"In my judgment," he declares, "we have touched dead low water mark in the pessimism growing out of the war." Until the present winter has passed there will be real danger of general disorder and possible expansion of Bolshevism.

● If one chooses to compare the territorial changes made at Paris with those made at Vienna a century before, it becomes plain that the Paris decisions were far more in accordance with principles of justice than those in the earlier session. It may be that all division of European territories in accordance with the will of the various races is idle, impossible in many cases, but at least a genuine effort was made in Paris and, on the whole, with success. By contrast, when did the will of the people determine any important decision at Vienna? Provinces were handed back and forth without any regard to right, Italy was turned over to foreign masters, Belgium joined to Holland, Poland partitioned once more, German states reduced or expanded to suit Prussian and Austrian wishes.

Now we have liberated Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, expanded Serbia and Rumania into real states, by putting the Southern Slavs and Eastern Latins under their sway. We have given France Alsace-Lorraine, Italy Trieste and the Trentino, Denmark her Schleswig: we have set free more Greeks. Unhappily, along with this great work, we have called into new vitality old racial rivalries, which slumbered but still survived from earlier periods when the people yesterday enslaved were free.

As a consequence the disputes of the Italians and the Southern Slavs, the Rumanians and the Serbs, the Hungarians and the Rumanians, the Poles and the Ukrainians, the Lithuanians and the Poles continue. It may be many years before they are finally settled. The settlement may bring new wars, but it is not less possible that economic necessities will in due course of time contribute to compelling great as well as small nations to compromise their difficulties.

As to a real world settlement, we shall not have it until Russia achieves some form of order, until Germany conforms to the principles of western civilisation and until the smaller races of Middle and South-Eastern Europe reach a *modus vivendi*.

In so far as the Paris Conference undertook to reorganize the world on a permanent basis and become a sort of permanent body, it failed. It could not punish and placate Germany. It could not crush and tolerate Bolshevism, it could not preserve the solidarity between its component parts, when the several parts quarrelled over details in the settlement.

The alliance against Germany could, in spite of obvious difficulties, incidental to all alliances, make war, because it was equally a matter of life and death for all the allies to defeat the German. No such unifying influence compelled co-operation in peace-making; the Frenchman who would fight to save France from the invading German would not go to Russia to crush Bolshevism. With the coming of the Armistice separate nations automatically resumed their own individualities and the effort to preserve the old conditions failed completely.

But if we are in a state of full reaction to national habit, at the present hour, after the brief subordination of national views to common necessities it seems to me that we can expect at no distant time a new swing toward some enduring basis of association less intimate than appeared possible to many a year ago, but more in accord with historical precedents.

"I do not believe," he concludes, "the United States can permanently regain its old isolation, and I know that Europe has too great need of American association not to seek a new basis of co-operation."

The United Kingdom before the war paid for a large part of her imports by the interest due on her investments in the States and by services rendered. Many of those investments have gone, probably for ever; and instead thereof we find ourselves burdened by a heavy debt which requires the payment of interest by us to the U.S.A.

If the debts of the Allies are readjusted in some measure these payments would be reduced, and in passing it should be noted that, since payments by America to her own

bondholders would be an internal affair, America would not damage her own Exchange unduly. But what of the services? The bulk of these consisted in the carrying of the goods of other nations by British ships. Now we have lost heavily in shipping, whereas the States have greatly increased theirs so that much of our carrying trade has vanished.

Unless, therefore, America is willing to encourage and help the United Kingdom and France to increase their carrying trade, this method of paying for our imports from the States will vanish.

THE CHURCH AND PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

The criticisms levelled against Spiritualism at the recent Church Congress at Leicester have provoked a reply from Sir Oliver Lodge which, if it leaves the whole question much where it was, is at least temperate and dignified. Writing on "The Attitude of the Church to the Phenomena known as Spiritualistic" in the January *Hibbert Journal*, Sir Oliver charges the Church with being in the position of a living organism that has cast its shell, but has not yet found a substitute.

In its doctrine of the Last Things the Church at the present epoch is in the position of having cast its medieval shell,—it no longer believes in the fixity of eternal fate at death, nor in two extreme regions in the hereafter, one of "bliss unending," and the other of "eternity of woe,"—but it has not constituted for itself any new form of words, nor any creed of equal strength; and accordingly it is acutely sensitive to any attempts at such a doctrine, made by those whom it must regard as quacks: that is, people who trespass on an outlying fringe of the theological domain,—the scientific explorers who enter upon it without prejudice or presuppositions, ignoring all desires and longings and medieval learning, and setting to work carefully and critically to ascertain what the truth really is.

"The real question is the old one—what is the truth?" There are many who say that the Church "cannot put itself in the position of an unprejudiced investigator unhampered by causes and promises of belief"; that it "must resist to the uttermost all crude and unsanctified attempts to pass through the barrier of death and to report what really

lies beyond." But, instead of preserving their present attitude of "uncertainty and feebleness," the clergy can—without committing themselves, so to say—at least decide what their attitude shall be if things prove true after scientific investigation. Sir Oliver admits a difficulty here; there is a division in the scientific camp.

There are some who think they know beforehand that these phenomena are impossible and absurd. They would even put the civil law into action to stop the enquiry if they could. Dogmatic prejudice coupled with a desire to persecute, to expel new truth under the name of heresy, is unfortunately no exclusive privilege of theologians. This fact increases the Church's difficulty, no doubt. If every scientific man taught the same thing, probably the Church would see its course clear. But that never happens,—in the early stages of a subject it never will. In the days of Galileo there were scientific and philosophic as well as clerical opponents. In the early days of Charles Darwin there was plenty of scientific hostility. When Liston began his beneficent work he was ridiculed by the medical profession. Unanimity is not to be expected. The plain man must judge for himself about the reasonableness of the contending factions.

While first-hand investigation of phenomena is recommended for certain individual members of the Church, the advice is that the Church as a body should "proceed hypothetically."

Sir Oliver deals next with certain specific criticisms. Power to foretell the future is at present *sub judice*; but predictions, which are usually inferences from the present, are everybody's right.

and no special claim of infallibility is put forward by Spiritualists. Again here is the alleged discrepancy between messages from a single communication received through several mediums.

Every communication through a medium is necessarily sophisticated by that medium. It is like light coming through coloured glass. In some cases the colour is slight—but I have never known it absent. Even when glass appears perfectly transparent to ordinary vision, spectrum analysis of the transmitted beam shows large tracts of opacity. It is a subject on which I must write more, but the S.P.R. has always allowed for sophistication and unconscious bias. We have had the same communicator speaking or writing through a large number of mediums, and though he conspicuously preserves a common element, the kind of message is never quite identical. The same note may be sounded on a flute, a violin, or a trumpet, but there will be differences of tone; and in that simple case the harmonics which affect the quality are known. In more complicated cases the laws have still to be ascertained.

The statement that "it is plainly easier to get in touch with foolish and frivolous than with deep and serious spirits" is countered thus: "It may be easier for foolish and frivolous persons to do so, but this is not the experience of ordinary sane and healthy people." Again, there was raised "the further question whether the higher and purer spirits desire to be called upon to communicate."

Is then the communion of saints a one-sided communion? Is it supposed to be limited to

spirits who are not high and pure? Is prayer to meet with no response? Surely we have on record a statement of some authority that the Highest is "more ready to hear than we to pray, and is wont to give more than either we desire or deserve." If so, then, whatever may be the case with intermediate grades, sufficient elevation in the scale of existence does not seem likely to render the comparatively lofty ones less accessible to the needs of sorrowing humanity.

Then comes a strange assertion:—

(c) "Certainly few communications have come from convinced Christians to convinced Christians."

What on earth can be the foundation for this statement? I do not know. If by "convinced Christians" are meant Churchmen, and if Churchmen refrain from giving opportunity for communication because they are forbidden by the Church, then the statement may be true. But certainly, if we understand the words in their ordinary significance, the assertion agrees with nothing in my experience. If the Church, or any branch of the Church, forbids prayer for the dead, it doubtless is understood to forbid communication likewise. If the condition of the dead is either exaltation into the presence of God or else degradation into association with devils, we may well feel afraid and ashamed to disturb them. In the latter case indeed the fear of hearing from them may be intense!

Finally comes a plea to remember that communication, human as well as super-human, has not yet reached its ultimate possibilities. "The miracle of one generation becomes the commonplace of the next."

THE FUTURE OF INDIA.

The first step in the direction of Indian reform has now been taken, and everybody will watch anxiously for the next few years the working of an Act that is admittedly tentative and experimental. In this connection, an article on "The Problem of India," contributed by Mr. Lajpat Rai to the December number of the *Modern Review*, is worthy of attention; not less so because it expresses the view of an extreme Indian Nationalist. He begins by combating the assertion that India is one of the "backward" races. "Caste and privilege rule in the United States as much as in India. . . . No nation in the world can claim an

"idealistic state of society in which everything is of the best." In certain matters India shows to advantage. "Even with the advance of drunkenness under British rule we are yet a sober nation. . . . our standards of life much simpler and nobler. In India capitalism and landlordism have not yet developed to the same extent as they have among the civilized nations of the West." Before the British came, "though there was a certain amount of rivalry and competition between the different castes there was much more co-operation and fellow-feeling than there has ever been in the West."

Next comes a warning to his fellow-reformers:

We are on the high road to a "distinctly industrial civilization." In fact the principal complaint of our political reformers and free trade economists is that the British Government has not let us proceed on that road, at a sufficiently rapid pace and that in doing so they have been dominated by their own national interests, more than by our own good. We saw that other nations were progressing by following the laws of industrial development, and quite naturally, we also wanted to prosper by the same method. This war has opened our eyes as it has opened those of the rest of the world and we have begun to feel that the goal that we were seeking so far led to perdition and not salvation. This makes it necessary for the Indian politicians and economists to review their ideas of political progress. What are we aiming at? Do we want to rise, in order to fall? Do we want to copy and emulate Europe even in its mistakes and blunders? Does the road

to heaven lie through hell? Must we make a wreck of our ships and then try salvage?

The writer considers the present Government of India as "a government of capitalists and landlords, of both England and India"; and there is a possibility of the new Act "giving too much power to the 'profiteering' class." He asks for "proofs" of the contention that the scheme is in the interests of the general masses.

We can ask them for proofs by insisting on and agitating for the immediate legislative relief of the ryot and the middle classes. We should adopt the aims of the British Labour Party as our own, start educating our people on those lines and formulate measures which will secure for them *real freedom*, and not the counterfeit coin which passes for it. It will require years of education and agitation, but it has to be done, no matter whether we are ruled by the British or by our own property holders.



STARVATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

Professor Masaryk, the President of Czecho-Slovakia, declared the other day in describing the plight of Central Europe, that "it is a question of the export of merchandise or of population." Sir William Goode, the British Director of Relief in Vienna, gives a graphic picture of the situation in the *World's Work* (January). If the peoples of the new Allied and other nations, he declares, cannot obtain foreign credits for raw materials with which to start their industries, they will be without livelihood and will be forced to emigrate to other countries. For millions of them even the possibility of emigration does not exist. They are faced with the dread of starvation from day to day.

Even if credits are arranged, says Sir William Goode, there is a vicious economic circle which has to be broken.

Owing to decreased production there is an actual shortage of coal in Europe; consequently the depleted supply of railway waggons in good repair becomes congested because there is no coal for the engines to move them; the industries slack up or cease because no coal arrives; exports are not forthcoming, and the countries have no exchange with which to purchase in foreign markets the food or raw materials on which they rely to maintain existence.

In continuation of this vicious circle is the lack of repair material in the few countries where railway waggons are to be found in fair proportion to requirements. The vicious circle is never ending. In countries where there is a surplus of, say, sugar there is not sufficient coal to manufacture it for export.

Take the case of Poland, where most of the pre-war capital was locked up in Russian concerns and where there is to-day no means of paying for raw materials or for the replacement of machinery wrecked or stolen by the Germans. If credits could be obtained for purchasing wool, 75 per cent. of Poland's textile trade could probably be restarted. As credits are not available, there is a scarcity of clothing with a consequent decrease in the production of Polish coal because the miners are inadequately clad and cannot therefore work to their maximum capacity.

And for lack of Polish coal people die in Vienna. This vicious circle of coal, rolling stock, and finance is responsible for an almost complete breakdown of inter-trading and exchange in Central Europe.

As regards the food position, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and Austria are all confronted with large shortages which in the case of Hungary is estimated by its Government to amount to over one

million tons between now and next harvest. In Hungary the position has been aggravated by the requisitioning of food supplies during the recent Rumanian occupation.

In nearly all Central European countries the normal cereal productivity has been reduced by at least one-third, or more, by the lack of cattle and thus of manure, of imported fertilisers and fodder, with consequent grave deficiencies in milk and meat. Yugo-Slavia, thanks to the rich territory ceded under the Peace Treaty, has a surplus for export of cereals, mostly maize, and pigs. Rumania has also a considerable wheat surplus to sell.

The natural markets for these surpluses would be those neighbouring States where a deficiency of food exists. Unfortunately, however, neither the currency of Austria nor of Czecho-Slovakia is of any particular use to the Yugo-Slavs, who quite naturally desire to sell their surplus food supplies for dollars, pounds sterling, or francs in order to establish credits for raw materials with which to restart their industries. The Austrian krone, which was formerly worth about 24 to the pound sterling, has now fallen to about 400 to the pound.

The only alternative to paying for supplies in currency is reversion to the elementary barter principle, but, unfortunately, the States with food to sell can exist without those manufactured articles which are all the countries in want of food are able to offer. This overwhelming currency difficulty is also illustrated by the case of Poland, where there are simultaneously in circulation Russian rouble notes, German mark notes, Austrian notes, Ukraine notes, Polish mark notes issued by the Germans during their occupation, and Polish mark notes issued by the present Polish Government.

Assuming even that some financial or barter scheme could be found by which these Central European countries could purchase foodstuffs from their neighbours, there still remain the almost insuperable difficulties of transport.

States on the Danube—the main avenue of traffic—fear to send barges out of their own territorial waters lest they should be appropriated by their next-door neighbour. Just as on land the British Tommy is the only safeguard for a train of supplies, so on the Danube one of Admiral Troubridge's British minelayers with a little British midship in command is the only guarantee of safe conduct.

Supposing you overcome all these difficulties, the unexpected is then liable to knock the bottom out of your calculations. The other day, on the Yugo-Slav frontier, trains of food supplies arranged by the Allied Relief Missions and all properly paid for by the Austrian Government were on their way to

mitigate starvation in Vienna. At the last moment the Yugo-Slav Government clapped on an export duty of 10 per cent. and refused to permit the trains to go forward unless that tax was paid in foreign exchange. I ventured to take international law into my own hands, and, thanks to the resourcefulness and intrepidity of a couple of young British Army officers, those trains arrived in Vienna.

Another interlocking difficulty as between food and transport is the persistent flocking of peasants with eggs, sacks of flour, live geese and ducks, and all kinds of agricultural produce into the towns. In snow, rain or any kind of weather, you can see not only the inside but the roof of every railway carriage thronged with this quacking crowd of food speculators.

Their traffic has assumed such proportions as to make legitimate railway travelling almost impossible. What it means in the problem of food distribution will be apparent when I tell you that a train of 40 carriages, full of these picturesque profiteering pedlars, can only carry as much food as could be put into four ordinary railway trucks.

Sir William Goode gives the following appalling picture of his own recent observations in Vienna. "I feel," he says, "as if I had spent ten days in the cell of a condemned murderer who has given up all hope of reprieve."

I stayed at the best hotel, but I saw no milk and no eggs the whole time I was there. In the bitter cold hall of the hotel, once the gayest rendezvous in Europe, the visitors huddled together in the gloom of one light where there used to be forty. They were more like shadows of the Embankment than representatives of the rich.

Vienna's world-famous Opera House is packed every afternoon. Why? Women and men go there in order to keep themselves warm and because they have no work to do. I never realised before the physiological merit of gregariousness.

In a room I had taken as an office—with one small fireplace, empty—I made several experiments at working in overcoat and with blankets for the staff when the thermometer inside was only one degree above freezing point. Finally I determined to get wood enough to light the one small fire for two days. It cost me 970 crowns, which, to the Viennese, is still equivalent to about £30 or £40.

Do you wonder that the well-to-do people in Vienna are burning their furniture to light their stoves? Can you imagine how the poor live, or try to live? It is not unusual to see the traffic in one of the main streets which leads to the cemetery held up by hearses. Nine-tenths carry the bodies of children.

It seems to me that you cannot trifle with starvation and privation in Central Europe such as prevails to-day in Vienna without running the risk of a carnival of Bolshevism which would probably not be confined to this continent.

Over 2,400,000 tons of foodstuffs, at a cost of £100,000,000, have been delivered in European relief since the signing of the Armistice, of which by far the greatest share was borne by the United States.

Our own part was limited by our almost empty purse. Nevertheless, the British Government was able to allot £12,500,000 towards relief in Europe, apart from credits to Allies, and out of that I have been able to provide, in addition to railway material for Poland and Roumania and food for Serbia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and other countries, as much as 250,000 tons of British shipping, which was mostly utilised for carrying relief supplies provided by the generosity of the American nation.

That British shipping was simultaneously being employed generously will be evident when I tell you that between September, 1918, and August, 1919, over four-and-a-half million tons of foodstuffs alone were delivered to France and Italy by British vessels. These relief measures have by no means ceased.

Emergencies such as that in Austria, he declares, cannot wait for the growth of the League of Nations.

Little nations generated by the self-determination incubator of the Peace Conference are likely to disappear even before they are old enough to sow their wild oats. A comprehensive and far-reaching financial arrangement must be quickly arrived at by the Allied and Associated Governments, unless half of Central Europe is to be a desolate waste of seeding thistles.

Great Britain has already borrowed, in partnership with France and Italy, 48 million dollars from the U.S. to feed Austria. I daresay we could borrow more, and further discount our own exchange, but that would be only a palliative which in the long run would do neither Austria, ourselves, nor the world any good. It is not a case of saying to the United States: "We will not do anything now if you will not." The fact of the matter is that we cannot do anything which is in the least likely to be effectual unless the United States is also prepared to extend her credits in proportion to her means.

Personally, I am inclined to think that the nations participating in some such comprehensive scheme of credits will in the long run suffer no material disadvantage. Of one thing I am quite certain, and that is that if Central Europe and the new nations are allowed to stew in their own juice the whole world will suffer.

In any case, whatever remedy may be adopted, it will involve on both continents a demand for common sacrifice and for common stimulation of production. To use Mr. Hoover's blunt expression, "Europe must work or starve."

A VISIT TO THE NEW POSEN.

In the *Cornhill* (January) an anonymous lady writer gives an interesting, but somewhat prejudiced, account of a visit she paid to Poland in company with Mr. Morgenthau's mission to investigate the pogroms of Jews. She describes the intense hatred of Jews of every class that has grown up throughout Poland since the Armistice, and tells of the violence that they have had to endure at the hands of their neighbours. Herself the daughter of a Jewess, she took great pains to discover the views of this relentless hostility towards her race, and at last found the cause of it.

Their tiny business was nearly at a standstill because they were not allowed any fresh supplies, and no Gentile will accept a Jewish man as a labourer. And here at last I found the clue, the possible explanation of this overwhelming wave of hatred against the Jews.

"But the Germans gave us work," said the younger man, "and they did not treat us badly."

"Do you mean to say that you worked for the Germans while they were in occupation of Warsaw?" I asked in amazement.

He shrugged his shoulders. "Yes; what else were we to do? There was no business to be done, and in these poor quarters we were on the brink of starvation."

So that was it. They had not the strength to stand out against German temptation in the face of hunger and want, and now the Poles regarded them all as traitors, though political thought of any kind was far, very far, from these wretched people.

The Jewish problem is the most acute issue in the internal politics of Poland. The attitude of the Jews themselves varies considerably, many of them placing all their hopes on England as the chief friend of Zionism, which offers them a chance of escape from the hatred of the Poles. Others wish to remain as Polish citizens, either with or without their own distinction of national institutions in the country. There is also a large group of definitely pro-German Jews, whose number is steadily increasing, and they desire to be counted as Germans and to conceal the fact that they are Jews, at any rate by race.

She could find little change in the Posen of to-day, re-visited after an absence of ten years.

Even the moral atmosphere seemed to be the same, the same strain of irritability and antagonism between three different races, so clearly marked that they cannot escape from

each other, but must constantly meet in the street, the café, and the restaurant; the same militarism, which we are forced to breathe in compressed form wheresoever we may turn.

The military authorities are, of course, in absolute command of the town, and nobody is allowed to remain in the streets after 11.45; it was 9, and even 5, some months ago. The passport has always to be carried on the person, and may have to be produced at any moment for legitimation.

Although their pay is enormous—the Polish common soldier drawing a much higher rate of daily pay than the Prussian officer received in the time of the war—the troops have become lawless, or, rather, being in absolute power, they like to take the law into their own hands, the authorities notwithstanding.

In spite of their excellent fighting discipline, the Polish soldiers have got drunk with success, and their morals have broken down entirely. Many of them are just illiterate lads from the plough, and it is too much for their balance to be constantly fêted as national heroes. No doubt—unless, indeed, Bolshevism itself enters their ranks—matters will settle down.

The civil authorities in Poland, she says, are still very backward. But we must not forget that they have first to create the very machinery of administration, and that none of their men are trained in any of the public services, except in the most subordinate capacities; whilst some of their highest officials were just small tradespeople in the days before the war.

Unfortunately, they have not learned from the mistakes of either of their former masters, and Prussian arrogance and Russian corruption combine to place the Polish administration on a very unsound basis. Bribery is rife at Posen, and if you want anything to be done for you or granted to you by the authorities, you have to pay through the nose, whether your grounds be just or unjust.

Everything is frightfully expensive at Posen, she declares, not only because the value of the Polish mark has fallen to even 20 per cent below that of the German mark, but also because most articles, especially clothes, have to be smuggled across the frontier.

Unfortunately for Poland, says the writer, the gulf created between her three component parts, through the fact of belonging for more than 100 years to three different master-countries, has not yet been bridged over.

The Poznan Poles loathe the idea of being governed through Warsaw and subordinated to "Congress Poland"; and instead of

uniting themselves whole-heartedly with the former Russian Poles, they emphasise on every possible occasion the fact that these latter "are so far behind" themselves in education and general level of intelligence. As Poznan cannot now be the capital of Poland, the whole of its population, Christians and Jews alike, have the sincere conviction that all her knotty problems could be solved if Poznan, West Prussia, Silesia, and, possibly, part of East Prussia, were welded together into an independent State, the Duchy of Poznan, with an autonomous government having its seat at Poznan.

Her impressions of German people whom she met in Poland are curious and illuminating. No one, she says, knew till nearly Christmas, 1918, that Germany had asked for an armistice, and they would not admit even now that she was conquered.

"The Allies," they told her, "knew what they were doing when they concluded the armistice. France was dead beat, her *morale*

was breaking down entirely, and Foch was well aware of the fact that another week or so would have finished off his army; they would have mutinied if he had not allowed the fighting to be stopped. And, moreover, the German army was on French soil when the armistice was concluded, you cannot deny that. So we might, perhaps, put it that it was a draw, but in reality we have beaten you; you could never have crossed the Rhine and maintained yourself on German soil."

They were simply too stubborn to see that since they accepted our terms, the result could not possibly be called "a draw," however much they might complain about injustice and hardship. But my opponents had not yet finished. "And still," they went on, "we were the conquerors in the true sense of the word, we and not you; and it is ridiculous to call it even a draw. Have you been able to devastate our country as we have devastated Belgium? Have you destroyed our industries and brought our mines to a standstill, as we have done in France? Ah, after all, that counts most now that the war is finished."



Dolly Graphic

[London]

"Reformed"—But still he throws the same old shadow.

THE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY.

The first article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for January is a survey by Lord Ernle of the work of the Women's Land Army. Officially, the Army ceased to exist on November 30th last; but such was its success in the service of Agriculture that steps are being taken to form a self-governing Land-workers' Association among all those interested in women's work on the land. Lord Ernle traces the career of the Land Army from its inception. Efforts had been made to secure the help of women in agricultural work since 1915, but it was not till January, 1917, that a Women's Branch was set up under the Board of Agriculture, a land uniform chosen, and a two-fold appeal made for recruits. This appeal was issued, first to village women for their part-time service, and secondly to women in both town and country, asking them to join a mobile Land Army, to give their whole time, to go anywhere or undertake any agricultural work at the direction of the Board.

One has heard something of the difficulties encountered in the early stages of the movement. Here they are recapitulated. First came the conservatism or the unreasoning prejudice of the farmers. Moreover, except in the northern counties and some parts of Wales, rural feeling regarded agricultural employment as "something improper for women." It was no small part of the ultimate achievement of the Land Army workers that, by their enthusiasm, they succeeded in dignifying this kind of labour in the estimate of others. Then, particularly in the case of the mobile Army, there was very great difficulty in finding the necessary accommodation. At first the services of the village women were hard to obtain. In their quiet rural homes they had not fully realised the war. But the mobile section had to face even greater difficulties. In addition to the obstacles already cited, discouragement and disillusionment had to be combated. There was drastic sifting and re-sifting of the material. But at last their opportunity came.

The tide turned permanently in their favour, subject to the ebb and flow of climatic or seasonal emergencies. After the summer of 1917, the demand increased, especially in

dairying and stock-work. It culminated after the call-up of men in April-June, 1918. In September of that year the Women's Land Army reached its highest figures at any one time; 16,000 were working on the land. If the War had been prolonged, and if the drain on man-power had continued, the Board had satisfied itself that, in the last resource, women could be trained to do a great part of the work on farms; that if more recruits were asked for, they would be forthcoming, and that farmers would not reject their aid. To those who were called upon to address country meetings during those three years, it was interesting to note the change of feeling on the subject of women on the land. In March, 1917, any allusion to it was received in silence or with disapproving grunts. Three months later, there were interjections for or against their employment. Then came an interval when the subject was received with applause, more or less slight. There followed the period of confidence, when any reference to the work of women on the land was hailed with sympathetic cheers. The final stage was reached, when the real gratitude of the farmers was expressed in the call for "three cheers for the women." The Land Army and the village women had won. Their grit and endurance had told.

The system was extraordinarily elaborate. Local administration was conducted through the Women's County Associations, Committees and Sub-Committees, under the Women's Branch of the Board of Agriculture. District selection committees, with whom sat representatives of the Employment Exchanges, interviewed applicants for enrolment. Then there were organisations for the distribution of outfit, and training centres of various kinds. The standard of physical fitness was high; "out of the 45,000 women who responded to the appeal, 50 per cent. were rejected."

The experiment has proved that there are particular branches of agriculture for which women have special aptitudes.

In dealing with horses their light hands compensate for any want of strength. They excel in milking and dairy work, and the standard of cleanliness which they have introduced is a valuable asset. A woman's secret with animals seems to be that to her they are not machines but individuals; in intercourse with dumb creatures she has found companionship; even a sow is a "Jemabel" or an "Isabel" according to character and behaviour. In the lighter branches of field work and of forestry women have done admirable work. On market gardens their services have been invaluable. In stock-raising, which was fast becoming a rare agricultural art, they have proved most proficient; the

light muslin mask which they introduced as a protection against the dust is but one instance out of many of the intelligence which they have generally brought to bear on the industry. In driving motor-tractors they have done at least as well as men. Here also light hands tell. As drivers they have shown themselves, not only skilful and enduring, but economical.

But there were very few branches of agriculture which women did not put their hands under the pressure of war emergencies, and if they did not actually excel in these, they proved themselves to be at any rate capable.

HOW A LEVY ON CAPITAL WOULD WORK.

"The most revolutionary things are possible in this country if only one finds the right formula for them. We have, for instance, been living under a Soviet system of government for the last two or three years. After some three years of violent opposition to the idea of a levy upon capital, it now appears that it might quite easily come in under the name of a levy upon war profits."

So says Mr. Emil Davies, the well-known financial writer, in the *English Review* (December), in an article that contains much interesting evidence about the feasibility of a levy on capital. He quotes the cases of two men of his acquaintance, each of whom had at the end of 1914 an invested capital of a little below £50,000.

The first one, being guided by his banker and pinning his faith to gilt-edged investments, finds his capital now reduced to about £30,000. A levy on him of, say, 20 per cent. would produce towards extinction of the National Debt the sum of £6,000, and would leave him the possessor of a fortune of £24,000.

In the second case, that of a more astute or better advised man, many of the Government and municipal investments held were sold at a loss soon after the outbreak of war, and the proceeds reinvested gradually in shipping, brewery, and industrial shares, with the result that the owner finds himself now in possession of a fortune of something like £120,000. Suppose that, with a graduated capital levy, the percentage that case No. 2 had to part with was double that of the first, viz., 40 per cent. The State would receive £48,000, which seems very burdensome indeed compared with the £6,000 payable by his co-investor, but it would leave No. 2 with a fortune of £72,000, as against the other's £24,000. Yet the outbreak of war found both possessed of the same amount, and neither was an Army contractor.

I know of a blouse manufacturer who, before the war, had a net income of a few hundred pounds, but last year made over £9,000. This man also had no Government work, but the entrance of millions of women

into industry led to such an increased demand for his products that he is now the possessor of two very fine motor-cars. Another case known to me is that of a man who, early in 1915, borrowed two or three thousand pounds, started a small shipping company, and, owing to a series of losses by enemy submarine action, in the course of which several sailors lost their lives, told me in the autumn of 1917 that he had become worth over half a million.

What is suggested, says Mr. Davies, is that just as we have an ordinary income tax on a graduated scale with a differential rate upon unearned income, there shall be a general levy upon capital, with an additional levy (super-levy) upon a certain proportion of capital increment that has occurred since the end of 1913.

Let us take the general levy first. Each member of the community liable to income tax, i.e., each person in receipt of an annual income in excess of £130, should be called upon to render a return of the capital value of his assets, less liabilities, such as mortgages, etc., as at a certain date. A datum line can be fixed and the capital levy be payable only on a sum in excess thereof. This datum line might be fixed at, say, £2,000, plus £500 for each dependant, but where any such allowance is claimed for a dependant, his or her capital would also have to be included in the calculation—in other words, the family capital would be taken as a unit. In the case of a man having, say, to support a wife, a mother, and four children, i.e., a family of seven persons, the first £5,000 of the aggregate capital would then not be subject to levy. Furniture and household effects, to a value not exceeding a fixed proportion of the capital, say, 10 per cent., might also be exempt.

A graduated scale might be adopted, say, 10 per cent. on the first £5,000 upon which the levy is payable, 12½ per cent. on the next £5,000, 15 per cent. upon the next £5,000, and so on in steps of 2½ per cent. for every £5,000 right up to 100 per cent., which would mean that all capital held by any person in excess of £185,000 would fall to the State.

These details are, of course, the proposals of an extremist. But Mr. Davies

has thoroughly practical suggestions to offer in regard to the administration of the levy. He would wholly exempt all "purely community-owned undertakings, such as national dockyards, municipal undertakings, public boards and trusts in which no shares or profit-participating securities (as opposed to loans or debentures) exist, and any funds of endowments or organisations, the revenue from which is wholly devoted to philanthropic, charitable, and educational purposes."

Corporate bodies to which this did not apply, such as City Guilds or Livery Companies, an industrial insurance office, a co-operative society, trade unions and private partnerships, would have to be assessed by the Inland Revenue Authorities, with the right of appeal to a specially constituted tribunal, the basis of assessment being that portion of the assets income on which is, under the existing ~~provisions~~ already liable to income tax. Thus, if the Primrose League or the Labour Party derives income from investments it is liable to income tax thereon, and those of its assets, revenue from which is, or would be thus liable, would be subject to the levy.

Joint-stock companies would require a different method, and he suggests that the German proposals should be imitated, which reckon as liable to levy the whole of the assets after deduction of the original capital and indebtedness.

It is fair that the capital of a company should be deducted, because the market value of the greater portion of the shares, i.e., those held by persons who are subject to the levy, will have been reckoned as assets of the individual holders, who will have to pay the levy in respect of them at rates varying according to the size of their fortunes. On the other hand, to meet conditions in this respect, where, during the past few years, hundreds of companies have capitalised reserves by distributing them in the form of bonus shares, it will be necessary to limit the exempted capital to the amount of cash or its equivalent that has actually been put into the company in exchange for such securities during, say, the past five years. Failing this, the big magnates in every industry will have been successful in putting into reserves, &c.—~~and so on~~—until such time as it is possible to do so, vast sums which, if paid out as dividends when earned, would render individual fortunes liable to a capital levy.

Since the capital levy upon companies cannot well be done on a graduated scale,

as in the case of individuals, it would appear desirable to levy a flat-rate of, say, 10 or 20 per cent. upon the surplus assets arrived at as described above. This basis should be applied to all corporate bodies in respect of that portion of their assets which becomes subject to levy.

How can the capital levy be paid? Mr. Davies answers that the payment can be made in ten or even twenty annual instalments.

After all, what is the alternative to a capital levy?

It is that the whole community shall be burdened for generations with a crushing load of taxation; in order to save the pockets of those of us who stayed at home during the war and either retained or increased our wealth (otherwise we shall not suffer much from the capital levy), the millions of soldiers and sailors who fought to protect us and our property will, with their children, have to work harder in order to pay the interest on the debt. They risked their lives for a few shillings a week; we, at most, lent, at 5 per cent. and over, part of the wealth they fought to protect! It is also extremely important that debt should be cancelled while money has a low purchasing power of, say, ten shillings to the pound, rather than wait to have it paid off when the pound buys, say, fifteen shillings' worth of commodities; in the latter case the burden upon production will be 50 per cent. greater.

If nothing of this nature is done, I prophesy so serious a financial breakdown that the present governing class will give up their job in despair, leaving it to a Labour, or possibly a revolutionary Government to tackle a situation that may well be almost irremediable. The recent Labour disturbances are merely the first of a series of struggles whereby the rich on the one hand and the mass of the workers on the other are endeavouring to place the burden of the war upon each other.

On paper, Mr. Davies argues, the wealth of the nation has increased from round about 14,000 millions in 1913 to about 20,000 millions; on paper! Most of that paper which confers a lien over a great part of the labour of the workers of the country, is held by a comparatively small section of the community. Until at least one-half of that paper is wiped out—deflated—we shall have neither industrial peace nor increased production.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

In foreign affairs practically the only subject interesting German opinion was the protracted negotiation, drawn out with note and counter-note, between the German Government and the Supreme Council at Paris concerning the signing of the protocol to the Peace Treaty on the question of reparation for the Scapa Flow sinkings, and the various contraventions of the Armistice. Of these latter a considerable number had been established and although on the question of Scapa Flow the Germans at first appeared anxious to meet the Allied Case with a disclaimer of responsibility for the action of Admiral Reuter, their attitude changed when the British produced documents showing the foreknowledge of the Germans in the matter. After this the German delegates took up a much more yielding attitude, and towards the end of the month, which nevertheless closed without any definite conclusion or ratification, the discussion appeared to have narrowed itself down to a dispute over the details of reparation, the principle being fully conceded. Naturally, the whole matter being, as was emphasised day after day in the German Press, one of vital import for Germany's economic life, it was followed with the closest attention by German public opinion and, so far as this can be judged from the newspapers and reviews, the extreme Right treated the exchange of notes in a spirit of unbending arrogance; the remainder of the Press, in particular the governmental organs, such as the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Vorwärts*, watching events carefully and appearing ready to make concessions when opportunities of doing so without loss of dignity presented themselves. For it is worth noting that a considerable factor now in the German Government's attitude to the Entente Powers is the popular feeling in Germany, and that an inclination to the Right had to be met by a corresponding display of firmness and independence.

It seems clear that the somewhat re-

actionary tendencies which began to manifest themselves in Germany during November have received a set-back as the result of the publication of what are commonly and conveniently styled the "Kautsky revelations." So many of these and so much comment upon them have been published in the British Press that it is not worth noting them at length. But the issue, not only of the Kautsky book, which, able as it is, constitutes only a selection of the diplomatic material he has been enabled to examine, but also of a very extensive collection in four volumes of all the most important documents themselves—this deserves to be chronicled as an historical event of the greatest interest and importance. Not only are we thus provided with an extraordinarily complete dossier of unexceptionable value and accuracy as the policy pursued by German statesmen, the Emperor with his absurd but by no means unimportant or negligible marginalia included, but the German people have been given a first-class motive for congratulating themselves on their Revolution of November, 1918. The comments of the Conservative and National Liberals on the perfidy of Kautsky were to be expected, but apart from these the effect of the publication appears to have been a sobering one. Its influence will probably not be exhausted for a long time to come.

The most important article on foreign politics in the German December reviews appeared in the leading Berlin review, the *Neue Rundschau*, from the pen of Professor M. J. Bonn. In it he dealt with the part played by the German Peace Delegation at Versailles and made a remarkable attempt to prove that the responsibility for the nature of the terms accepted by the German plenipotentiaries did not lay with those delegates who signed the fateful document or with those even who advised signature, but with those who awakened in the Allies the certainty that the extremely hard terms would be accepted:—

The question of the guilt for the peace will give just as inexact an answer as that the guilt for the war if one looks for a reason during those days when the outward plutions were determined. The real reason concerning the peace was not taken at Weimar on June 21st or 22nd. It was her arrived at in the days from May 29th ending-in of the German counter-proposals to June 18th (reply of the Allies), Paris. During these days the Allies, after d struggles, decided to uphold their final proposals with few alterations, ause they considered certain their acceptance by a responsible German Government.

Professor Bonn then submits to a rough examination the condition of the ious countries who had combined to w up the Allied terms of peace. He scribes France as being filled with the ultation of victory, but with the deadly r of economic ruin, England as having n through the experience of an election en on the basis, if not actually won on basis, of a certainty of obtaining innities; the position of President leon, firm in speech as to the practical plication of his principles, but wholly able to carry them out, whether from k of a strong constructive sense or his omission to undue influence. This ant that America, in Professor nn's opinion, did not pursue the rse it had originally intended. In : circumstances, however, Germany s not entirely without allies. There re many idealists in all Entente ntries, and when the terms of the aty became known it was on such that mpfession was produced which was culated as likely to be of assistance to rmany in bringing about a considerable ification of the Treaty.

The idealist critics of the Treaty in land, France and the United States re under a serious disadvantage. They l to confess that the result of their tests would have been a delay in the clusion of peace, and the most eminent ong them therefore withheld their icisms until the German delegates had en their Government's decision. art from this one point, however, it was a time obvious that the Allies were by means all of one mind, and even those o were agreed on the adequacy of the ms were not at one on the desirability refusing to yield on certain points and is risking the necessity of renewed

military activity. In the words of Dr. Bonn, "a close front on the Allies' side was only to be secured if the same was not the case with us." Professor Bonn then sketches the course which, in his opinion, the German Government should have pursued. It should, in the first place, have decided Yes or No. Of these two it might very well have decided on No, for the dangers which such a decision might have meant to the national welfare would in all probability not have exceeded the dangers arising from the Treaty as it now stands. But there was no decision and, after a period in which English circles—and Dr. Bonn supports his case by quotation from leading organs of British liberal opinion—were quite willing to make concessions if only the resumption of warfare could in any way be avoided, there came a sudden end to all apparent feeling in favour of conciliation.

What was the cause of this? There was first of all the attitude of the German Independent Socialists and the belief, or rather the certainty, only too clear, that the German Government were in considerable fear of this party. Next there was the impression, gleaned in Berlin and Weimar by numerous Entente newspaper correspondents and agents and transmitted either to newspapers or governments, that the German Cabinet was not in agreement on the question of to sign or not to sign. It was owing to this indecision, resolving itself, all too openly, into a reluctant determination to sign, that M. Clemenceau was enabled to convince his colleagues that the Germans would sign the Treaty practically as it stood. And so the disaster came. It is certain that the arguments put forward by Professor Bonn—although perhaps a good many will consider them a matter of crying over spilt milk—will arouse a great deal of attention in Germany.

The most important events in Germany's domestic affairs during December were the breakdown of the attempts to unite the two sections of the Social Democratic Party and the drawing up of a definite programme of the Democratic Party (formerly the Progressive People's Party). In regard to the first it will be recalled that considerable hope was entertained in November that a way would be

found of bringing the separated Minority and Majority Parties together again and Scheidemann, in particular, in certain public utterances, appeared to regard the prospect of reconciliation as very bright. But in December an event occurred which postponed a favourable issue for the negotiations, may even be found to have ruined them for ever. This was the general congress of the Independents, held at Leipsic in the first week of the month. A resolution was adopted, the purport of which was to condemn the so-called Second Internationale and approve the entry of the party into the Third—which, it should be pointed out, is a mere edition of the Russian Bolshevik Party supported by tiny minorities in all countries, even in the vast majority of Socialist parties. The resolution was by implication a spiteful attack on the whole Majority position, and it is not surprising that the principal organ of the Party, *Vorwärts*, should, in an article by its former editor, Herr Stampfer, express its determination to fight to the last the resolve of the Independents to force upon the German people a dictatorship, not even of the proletariat but of a very small and subversive section of it.

A fairly comprehensive account of the Democratic Party Congress is given in the party-organ, the *Demokratische Deutschland*, for December 21st. From this and from the newspaper reports it may be gathered that the programme of the party, now definitely laid down, no doubt with a view to electoral possibilities, runs somewhat as follows:—

In international relations justice and right, and not power and might, shall be the decisive factors. Self-determination is upheld, and in accordance therewith a revision of the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain is demanded. German elements at present divided from Germany are to be re-united. The return of the German colonies is called for, also the establishment of a League of Nations with Germany and Austria included.

The party's attitude to problems of domestic politics is a liberal one. It demands the setting up of a unified school, that is, the exclusion of the different types of schools at present existing in Germany, and the carrying through of the complete separation of Church and State. In economic affairs the party takes up its stand decisively on the foundation of private enterprise, but the introduction is demanded of a new labour code according to which the worker shall be

placed in a position of equality with the employer. "In place of the 'industrial subject' shall come the 'industrial citizen.'"

The differentiation from Social Democracy is clear and in German Democratic circles the congress and the party programme there drawn up are hailed as a step forward. At present the German Democratic Party, like middle parties all over the Continent, is in a weak position, its place being taken by the Socialists or the Catholic Centre. But it is not improbable that the next elections will see its strength in the National Assembly greatly increased and in this event the programme just outlined will become of the highest practical interest. It may be noted that two or three important articles in Friedrich Naumann's old paper, *Die Hilfe*, notably one by the present Editor, Wilhelm Heile, in the number for December 18th, deal with the Democratic Party Congress. Evidently the event was calculated and intended to be of far-reaching importance. Party politics are not dead in Germany; since the revolution, in fact, they may be said to have acquired greater potential life than ever.

An interesting article in the *Hilfe* for December 4th concerned itself with the new clause in the Constitution on the industrial councils (*Betriebsräte*), for the definite regularisation of which a bill is being introduced. The intention of the German Government is evidently to transform the idea of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, which were such a prominent feature of the days of Revolution, into machinery for assisting the industrial organisation of the country, and a valuable article in the pro-Majority Socialist *Sozialistische Monatshefte* for December 8th dealt with the question of the "Role of the Industrial Councils Bill in the building up of production." The writer, Julius Kaliski, finds that in all the discussions of the proposed measure, the idea of an organisation to assist production has receded more and more, and he makes an attempt to bring it forward again. The country, he says, requires a body by which production can be stimulated and all disputes liable to interrupt production smoothed over. The popular assembly is not sufficient and a new and far-reaching organisation must be established, a kind of parliament of labour. If

the industrial council idea, in the form of a mere concession to revolution, fails to achieve this, it will be worse than useless. The matter is one that we, with our projects of Whitley Councils and Industrial Courts, will follow with considerable interest.

The remainder of the German reviews for the month are occupied with comparatively academic subjects. The other leading Social Democratic review, the *Neue Zeit*, for example, is largely occupied with giving highly interesting chapters from the story of Friedrich Engels' life in Great Britain—a most useful chapter of biography of the Socialist pioneer; the famous Jesuit review, *Stimmen der Zeit*, a most important organ of German Roman Catholic opinion, has a scholarly essay on "Russian Monasticism"; the *Literarische Echo*, which maintains the high standard of pre-war days, deals with the principal German literary, dramatic and artistic publications of the month and gives important reviews of literary developments in foreign countries—not this country, however, one is somewhat surprised to note; the younger literary review, *Die Neue Schaubühne*, for December 1st, contains a noteworthy article on contemporary German lyric poetry. An artistic event which, though not discussed in any of the reviews, is worthy of note, is the opening of Max Reinhardt's new theatre in Berlin.

FRANCE.

The French reviews for December and January deal sparsely with political questions; after the elections there is a lull in home politics, and only a few problems arising out of the Peace settlement meet with literary attention. In the *Revue de Paris* (December 15th) Admiral Degouty discusses "The equilibrium of naval forces in the Baltic." He finds that the "Mediterranean of the North" was recognised as being of critical importance from the middle of the war onwards, and prophesies that its rôle will be still more important in the near future.

History shows that Germany has made repeated efforts to expand along the eastern shores of the Baltic and obtain the mastery of this sea. She succeeded

in getting the Great Belt closed by the Danish Government, and this fact was of enormous importance to her during the war, when she had only the Russian Fleet and a few British submarines to reckon with. To-day, the Allied naval force in these waters is almost wholly English; but there are three or four French destroyers and a couple of American cruisers. The writer proceeds to examine the naval possibilities of the nations with interests in the Baltic, and comes to the conclusion that when Germany attempts to resume her sway there—he assumes that she is bound to make the attempt—a league of these nations, with Sweden at the head of it, should undertake the task of curbing Teuton ambitions. He insists that even now there is an enthusiastic desire on the part of Germany to compensate herself in the north-east for what she has lost or failed to gain in the south and west. Moreover, in spite of the temporary condition of affairs, she is still, owing to her past successes in political penetration and intrigue, "the strongest naval power in the Baltic."

Just as the Frenchman, when talking about "his late enemy," the German, is liable to see red, so is he disposed to find in the ordinary politeness of a nation in which he is personally interested a rose-coloured enthusiasm for France and all things French. Dr. Simon's narrative "With the French detachment in Palestine and Syria," contributed to the *Revue* for December 1st, exemplifies this little foible. The story, which is written in diary form, extends from September 18th, 1918, to the date of the Armistice, and is a very pleasant account of travel—without much fighting—in interesting lands among fascinating people. But it appears to a British mind to make rather too much of the reception given, say, by the Syrians to the French as "liberators"—an impression that one can voice the more freely now that the Anglo-French dispute over Syria has been so amicably disposed of. In the same issue M. Fernand Maurette gives a very well-informed account of (late) German East Africa under the title of "East Africa and the British Empire," written from the standpoint of an interested, but not too keenly interested, spectator. Referring to the mandate for this territory M. Maurette

that even the fermentation of liquor is due to an outside agency. He went on to apply this principle to his experiments in all the chief diseases affecting animals, and ultimately to those of human-beings. He seems to have recognised from the first that "spontaneous generation" had to be killed before the road was clear for his own theory, and all his experiments were directed equally to the destruction of the rival doctrine and the establishment of his own. In certain respects he was severely handicapped by his own diffidence. How should he, not being a qualified physician, but only a chemist, prescribe for the healing of the human body? And what could he do for animals when he had never been trained as a veterinary surgeon? He was embarrassed when, at the time of the success of his hydrophobia treatment, people wrote to him from all parts of the world, begging for his advice as if he were a veritable consultant. His place was the laboratory; his business, experimental verification.

Pasteur's mind was purely scientific. Yet in several ways he differed from the typical scientist. His work was scrupulously positive and accurate, but he never gave himself up to what he called "the enchantment of science," and a stiff philosophical doctrine such as Positivism found in him no disciple. Positivism suggests altruism, and inspires patriotism and a love of humanity: qualities which were the very corner stones of his own character.

But he found it lacking in one great point. "Positivism," he said, "does not take into account the most important of positive notions, that of the Infinite." He wondered that Positivism should confine the third within limits. "He who proclaims the existence of the Infinite—and none can avoid it—accumulates in that affirmation more of the supernatural than is to be found in all the miracles of all the religions; for the notion of the Infinite presents that double character that it forces itself upon us and yet is incomprehensible. When this notion seizes upon our understanding, we can but kneel. . . . I see everywhere the inevitable expression of the Infinite in the world; through it, the supernatural is at the bottom of every heart. The idea of God is a form of the idea of the Infinite. As long as the mystery of the Infinite weighs on human thought, temples will be erected for the worship of the Infinite, whether God is called Brahma, Allah, Jehovah or Jesus; and on the pavements of those temples, men will be

seen kneeling, prostrated, annihilated in the thought of the Infinite."

This "intellectual humility" did not deter him from a just appreciation of his own achievements; it merely rendered him immune from undue exaltation over a success or morbid self-condolence over a failure. He accepted his election to the French Academy quietly, as a right justly conceded, as a tribute rather to Science than to himself. On the one occasion when he stood for the Chamber of Deputies, his rejection caused him no pangs, but something akin to a feeling of relief. Patriotism, the impulse to do something more in the way of personal sacrifice for the country he had already served in the Franco-Prussian War, dictated this solitary excursion into politics; the decision of the electors, he felt, relieved him of the obligation.

His qualities of heart and hand, his domestic virtues, his generous patriotism, his power of applying from logic to research, his intense humanity, his sympathy with and kindness towards humbler fellow-workers in the same field as himself, his modesty, charm, patience and fortitude are all illustrated in this excellent biography. If Louis Pasteur was not—as an anonymous writer once said—"the most perfect man who has ever entered the Kingdom of Science," he was at least one of the few great world scientists of the new age who, through themselves and their works, have brought a new light and a new beauty into that ever fascinating and beneficent realm.

SOME RECENT FICTION.

The two new novels of Mr. Johan Bojer, which Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have lately published prove, without the shadow of a doubt, that another novelist who deserves a European reputation has appeared. The first of these, *The Power of a Lie* (7/- net.), is the story of two men in a Norwegian village. One of them, a narrow, successful farmer has in a moment of weakness made himself surety for a man who has just failed in business. The amount which he will have to pay is not large, but he fears having to confess his folly to his wife. Then a rumour is put abroad, without the old farmer's intention, that the

bill which bears his signature is a forgery of the other man's. Almost without knowing what he is doing he allows this view to be accepted until at last he is forced to swear to it in a court of law. He wins his case and the other man goes to prison. The direct point of interest in the story is that while the farmer after his bad action becomes not only more respected in his native town but also in fact a better, kinder fellow, the man who has been wronged, through brooding on his injury and convincing himself that the whole world is against him, deteriorates rapidly into something far worse than he had been before.

The second novel, *The Face of the World* (7/- net.), shows also an apparent psychological injustice. It is a study of an idealist. And it shows how a man sincere and passionately sympathetic with the cause of the injured throughout the world brings upon himself and those whom he loves nothing but tragedy. He goes up north to live and work in the arctic circle and falls in love with a young girl who lives in a lighthouse. He marries her and goes with her to Paris to study further in his profession—he is, by the way, a doctor. But the girl loves happiness—not in any bad sense—and the idealist is too full of the world's sorrows to be able to give it her. After he has returned to Norway, leaving his wife, who by now has learnt to love another man, behind, he works in the slums for some years. But thence until the end of the book unhappiness for himself and others dogs his footsteps. And the unhappiness is not, one feels, even as Job's was an outside thing that is thrust upon him, but the outcome of his own character.

In both cases the moral, if one can talk of Mr. Bojer drawing anything so didactic as that, appears to be that happiness while it follows logically on character is not the simple result of virtue that copy-books would have us expect. But there is, of course, far more in it than that. The character-drawing in these two novels is wonderfully clear and truthful. And both stories are told with a simplicity of means and a profundity of thought and feeling that are the mark of a fine novelist.

The Shrieking Pit, by Mr. Arthur J. Rees (John Lane, 7/- net.), is one of the

best shockers (worthy almost to be ranked with those of Mr. Sax Rohmer's) of the year. It is a pure detective story. Its interest is the undiluted interest of curiosity. And the way in which the false scents are laid and the genuine clues are included for the expert reader to pick up is immensely ingenious. It all concerns a horrible murder that has been committed in a lonely inn on the East Coast. And the evidence is piled up thick against a young officer whose strange conduct seems for long to be utterly inexplicable. Naturally we have no intention of revealing the mystery. The wise reader will treat the book as an exercise in the art of detection himself, and though he will probably fail, he will enjoy himself acutely in the process.

Miss Elizabeth Robins, who has made a name for herself in many directions, has in *The Messenger* (Hodder and Stoughton, 7/- net.) this time made the experiment of writing a spy story. It is a good one too. The characters—even the character of the German governess, the chief spy, herself—are interestingly drawn characters in themselves. The chief fault to be found with the book is that the spy is discovered too early in the book in her true colours. Still there are many thrilling episodes on both sides of the Atlantic and one in its waters, and if we lose the excitement of detection we gain the excitement of the chase. Incidentally there are some very acute sketches of men, women and officials in war time that in themselves are delightful.

M. Georges Duhamel's *Civilisation* has now been translated by T. P. Conwill-Evans and published by The Swarthmore Press (6/- net.). Its success in France has of course been immense, and with the possible exception of M. Henri Barbusse's "*Le Feu*" it has undoubtedly been the book of the war in that country. The translator has done his work well throughout. He has omitted "*Les Amours de Ponceau*," and toned down certain details and phrases which in his opinion would have been impossible to reproduce in the English language. And in doing this he is justified by the fact that he wants the book to be read by all sorts of people. The beauty of these short hospital tales, are far

more than merely realistic, is often of a profoundly moving kind. While anyone who is interested in the League of Nations could do far worse than spread copies of the book broadcast throughout the land. As anti-war propaganda nothing could be more effective.

WAR'S ADVENTURES.

The romance of escapes has been considerably enriched by the Great War. We have had many tales of brave men getting away from the prison camps of Germany and by dint of superhuman exertions and undying courage reaching a haven of safety. There have been other escapes in more distant theatres of the struggle, each containing its own element of the marvellous, each contributing its quota to the sum of British achievement. Yet it is safe to say that the escape related in *The Road to En-dor*, by Lieut. E. H. Jones, I.A.R.O., and Lieut. Hill, R.A.F. (John Lane, 8/6 net.), has a strange and unique character that distinguishes it from all the rest. Most escapes by prisoners of war are wild dashes for freedom. The plan is outlined; and the filling in of the details is left to chance. In the escape of Lieuts. Jones and Hill from the Turkish camp for prisoners of war at Yozgad, virtually nothing was left to chance. The great scheme was worked out in detail, stage by stage, before each stage was entered upon.

Lieut. Jones, who tells the story, originated the scheme. It all arose out of a "spiritualistic" séance held at his suggestion for the entertainment of his fellow prisoners at Yozgad. The camp had been feeling bored to death, and the new diversion "took on," especially when intelligible answers began to be received through the mediums—Lieut. Jones and an Irish Doctor—operating the "Ouija" board. But it was Lieut. Jones who, tired by protracted failure, faked these answers; with such skill, too, that he deceived not only the audience but even his "companion-medium" into believing them genuine. The success of his "Spook" started a train of reasoning. If his fellow-officers, sober-minded Britishers as they were, could be gulled, why not his Turkish captors? Hill's "mediumistic" powers were the talk of the camp, and the Commandant's inter-

preter Moisé, known as "The Pimple," had already shown curiously in the "séances." Presently, Moisé intimated that the "Spook's" services might be very useful in the matter of a certain treasure, buried by an Armenian, which the Commandant was anxious to lay hands upon—of course, without his superiors at Constantinople knowing anything about it. This little confidence gave a starting point for operations. The Spook should inaugurate the treasure-hunt.

Moisé proved greedy and gullible, but the Commandant was shy and circumspect. However the latter had to be converted to faith in the Spook's powers before he could be used for the ultimate purpose in view—that of conniving at the projected escape by one means or another. So the Spook, through his "medium," organized a series of preposterous, laughable treasure-hunts. Things turned out marvellously "according to plan." Then Lieut. Hill was brought in as an ally, and his faculty for conjuring tricks materially aided the "Spook's" campaign. Working step by step upon the Commandant's credulity, the two "mediums" finally won him body and soul. The "Spook" became his deity. He allowed it to run the camp, to run him, even to dictate his official despatches. In the end the two conspirators got themselves transferred to Constantinople, and repatriated from Constantinople as "mad." They only just failed to bring off a more direct plan of escape, involving their transport to Egypt by Turkish hands and the kidnapping of the Commandant and his servant.

The detail of the plot is amazingly worked out: a marvel of calculating coolness and courage in the face of ever-present danger of the fraud being discovered, which would have meant death or worse to both the men involved.

For sheer fascination, stories of our flying men yield to none in the domain of war literature. Doubtless, this is because they are more personal than most others. The flyer's business is of course his squadron's, as the infantryman's is that of his battalion; but at the same time he is always "on his own," and his successes or failures have a personal element

net found in mere mundane war records. Essentially personal is Captain Wedgwood Benn's narrative of his flying adventures on no less than five fronts, entitled "In the Side Shows" (Hodder and Stoughton, 12/- net). Captain Benn saw service in the Dardanelles, Egypt, Palestine, the Adriatic and Italy, first in the Yeomanry, then in the Naval Air Service, and finally with the R.A.F. attached to the Italian forces on the Piave. His book both reveals not a little that is fresh and interesting in the story of these "side shows." The narrative of his sea plane work in the Eastern Waters, and on shore, suggests, for example, the immense importance of that arm to the combined naval and military operations leading up to the final expulsion of the Turks from Palestine. His account of the Adriatic Barrage, designed to limit the operations of Austrian submarines to a circumscribed area within that sea, is a phase of military history that so far has hardly been touched upon. Best of all, there is a thrilling account of spy-dropping from an aeroplane in enemy territory—a

record of work in which the writer was associated with Colonel Barker, V.C. The flight for this purpose was undertaken by night, direction being given by a series of light signals, each one being called up as required, and extinguished as soon as the next was "picked up," so as not to attract hostile attention needlessly; and the "agent" was dropped by means of a parachute on the further side of the Austrian lines. Dispositions were made so that the agent fell, if possible, among his own friends in the occupied territory; but there was always a terrible risk, both then and afterwards, as the exciting story of the plucky Italian dropped by Messrs. Barker and Benn plainly shows.

Captain Benn's rôle in the Air Force was that of an observer. But he observed many things other than military, as well: peoples, places, monuments. In fact, part of his record reads like a tourist's impressions on a holiday jaunt. Through all, he is the civilian soldier and, we must add, the politician soldier. With his general conclusions on "militarism" few people will disagree. One is all too well aware



A FUNERAL OF BRITISH PILOTS.

Photograph dropped by the Austrian Flying Corps ("In the Side Shows," p. 250).

of the kind of unreasoning obedience exacted by the Army, of the waste of men and material that the system imposes. It is only too true that the real problem was not to find men, but to find work for the men to do; though this was equally a problem of the war-time Civil Service. It is doubtless a reasonable deduction that the national power for work has been materially reduced by the inadequate employment of five millions of civilians in this way during the past five years. Nevertheless, we find a difficulty in believing in Captain Benn's "Senior Officer" who told his men that the Prussian plotting for world-power "started with an affair called the Hanseatic League." Such a Senior Officer is at any rate not typical, and should not be quoted in support of a charge of general educational deficiency.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE IN THE MAKING.

In *The New Revelation* Sir Arthur Conan Doyle described "the first dawn of the coming change!" In *The Vital Message* (Hodder and Stoughton, 5/- net.) he tells us "the sun has risen higher, and one sees more clearly and broadly what our new relations with the Unseen may be." A promised land stretches before us, is at our very feet, which when attained "will make all our present civilization seem barren and uncouth." He declares that our views of science, of religion and of life are destined to undergo profound modifications, and the form of these changes, and the evidence upon which they will be based, are briefly set forth in *The Vital Message*, so simply, tersely and incisively that no would-be student of the New Psychology can fail to grasp their import.

The causes of the Great War are religious, not political, says Sir Arthur. He draws a vivid picture of the state of the world before "this thunderbolt struck it," and asks whether an examination of the records of the wickedness of man in the past could surpass or even equal the story of the nations during the past twenty years—Russia with her brutal aristocracy and drunken democracy,

Belgium and the Congo, Putumayo where British capitalism, if not guilty, condoned outrages by its lethargic trust in local agents, Turkey with its recurrent massacres—the "heartless grind" of factories, where work assumed "a more unnatural shape than the ancient labour of the fields," the organised materialism of Germany, and everywhere the utter negation of everything possible of association with the living spirit of Christ. The bright spots, says Sir Arthur, are mainly found where "civilisation as apart from religion" has set up hospitals, universities and organised charities. The churches had become "empty husks which contained" no spiritual food for the human race, which had to be awakened, and made to feel that we stand "upon a narrow knife edge between two awful eternities"; and that here and now we must finish with make-beliefs and face those truths which only indolence and vested interests have obscured from our vision.

"Fiction is true—truer than facts" is the keynote to the collection of "stories of this world and the next," the sub-title of Mr. Allan Clarke's *When the Hurly-Burly's Done* (Dent, 6/- net.). Truths "embodied in a tale" will enter at doors closed to more serious efforts, but the writers of truths in the form of fiction should be careful that they do not misinform their readers. The tale that gives its title to the volume is an account of the meeting of a Frenchman and the German whom he had killed in the spirit world in which the German, having studied the occult, acts as guide to the Frenchman who refuses to believe that he is dead.

"My friend," said Strasseman, "you have much to learn. The war has finished you as it has finished me and my English friend here. We will put it to a scientific test. Just dash your fist into my face and you will find it go through it as through a spectral face which it is. Go on, I sanction the blow in the name of science, because I know that it will demonstrate to you your lately acquired immateriality."

"Anything to oblige," said the Frenchman, and he drove his hand at the German's face. The Frenchman felt no collision, no resistance. His hand went through the face as through air.

The fallacy involved here is that both were "spirits" to whom spirit substances

TO ALL MEN

WE appeal to all men to recognise the great spiritual force of love which is found in all and which makes us all one common brotherhood. In spite of sacrifice and devotion there is dissatisfaction and unrest in all lands. Consciously or unconsciously men are seeking for a new way of life. They cry for a bond which shall unite the world in freedom, righteousness and love; that shall liberate it from its suffering, its hatreds, its disunion. They cry for a religion of life, for an active spirit of peace on earth, of goodwill to men.

Through the dark cloud of selfishness and materialism shines the Eternal Light of the Christ in man. It can never perish. This Light of Christ in the heart of every man is the ground of our hope, the basis of our faith in the spiritual unity of all races and nations. Because we have been blind to this essential fact of life we have failed in social and international relations and are now in confusion. The profound need of our time is to realise the everlasting truth of the common Fatherhood of God—the Spirit of Love—and the oneness of the human race.

We have used the words of Christ, but we have not acted upon them. We have called ourselves by His name, but we have not lived in His Spirit. Nevertheless the Divine Seed is in all men. As men realise its presence, and follow the light of Christ in their hearts, they enter upon the right way of life and receive power to overcome evil by good. Thus will be built the City of God.

We stretch out our hands in fellowship, sympathy and love across frontiers, lands and seas. We call upon all men everywhere to unite in the service of healing the broken world, to bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

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CONTENTS

THE ECONOMIC FUNCTION OF
THE FINANCE-HOUSES.

Ellis T. Powell, LL.B. D.Sc.

THE FINANCES OF EGYPT AND

THE SUDAN Percy F. Martin, F.R.G.S.

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR. J. Gardner, M.A.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN METHODS

OF COAL-MINING, AND THEIR

RESULTS. John B. C. Kershaw, F.S.S. F.I.C.

MODERN METHODS OF INVESTORS'

BOOK-KEEPING.

C. R. Stiles, F.S.S. F.R.G.S.

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is as matter to physical beings. As a "spirit" once put it to me, "an astral door is an obstacle to an astral body, but non-existent to a physical body." Spirits can pass through material walls but are barred out by astral walls. "When the waters went over me" is so superior to the rest of the stories that one is inclined to accept its inspired origin.

Claude's Second Book (Methuen, 6/- net.), with a remarkable introduction by Dr. Ellis Powell, will be eagerly read by those who know his first book, and by all who wish to extend their knowledge of life in the "hither-hereafter." It contains, as did the first various suggestive, if as yet unverifiable, hints and statements which promise to throw light upon many points still obscure.

Patience Worth, by Casper S. Yost (Skeffington, 7/6 net.), is in some respects one of the most remarkable books that has appeared in recent years. There is no reason for doubting the account of its genesis, namely, that two women were amusing themselves with planchette one day when it wrote:—

"Many moons ago I lived. Again I come.
My name is Patience Worth."

The compiler of the book is neither a Spiritualist nor a Psychical Researcher, only a "newspaper man, whose privilege and pleasure it is to present the facts in relation to some phenomena which he does not attempt to classify nor to explain." The records include "conversations, maxims, epigrams, allegories, tales, dramas, poems." Most of them are of no little beauty, and of a character that may reasonably be considered unique in literature." The volume before us justifies this high claim.

ANGLO-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1861-1865.

The United States and Great Britain have been compared to two near relatives who are constantly finding fault and bickering with each other, but who, in virtue of the family tie, are never likely to reach the point of an irremediable quarrel. Happily, the day of a definite break

in the friendship now seems further off than ever before; a better understanding and a mutual tolerance have been begotten of the war. But there was a period, that of the war between North and South, when the bad feeling very nearly reached its climax in an open rupture. In this connection, the account of *Anglo-American Relations, 1861-1865*, by Messrs. Brougham Villiers and W. H. Chesson (Fisher Unwin, 7/6 net.), is opportune and valuable.

The book examines, with commendable fairness, the prime reasons for the irritation set up in America by the action of our Government. First of all there came the proclamation by the North of the blockade of the Southern coast. This was followed by the immediate declaration of our neutrality. In other words, we at once recognised the belligerent rights of the South. The action was strictly correct, but the Southerners were regarded as "rebels" by the North, and to the latter we appeared simply to be condoning rebellion. Subsequent incidents tended to confirm the American belief in our pro-Southern bias. But, above all, the underlying reason for the American exasperation was the belief that British opinion generally was hostile to the cause of the union. Yet whatever might be said of the British ruling classes, the mass of British opinion was far from unsympathetic to the North in the early stages of the struggle. But it did not realise at first that the cause of Emancipation was bound up with that of the Union. Lincoln's proclamation was necessary to render this opinion articulate, and to direct an overwhelming flood of sympathy towards the North.

Mr. Villiers tells the diplomatic story of those days well and eloquently. Here, as ever, "secret diplomacy" nearly ran this country on to the rocks. Mr. Chesson's part in this book is confined to an essay on the "Voices of the 'Sixties" in this country, as they were affected by the Emancipation propaganda. A series of very interesting letters shows that some of the finest English minds of the time either doubted the sincerity of Lincoln's intentions or disbelieved the possibility of Emancipation through union.

The Treatment of Consumption, Asthma, Bronchitis, and Nasal Catarrh

THE EDWIN W. ALABONE TREATMENT.

ARTICLES are frequently appearing in the newspapers and magazines, written by persons who, whilst they deplore the serious loss the United Kingdom sustains annually through the ravages of consumption, hold out no hope of a cure being found. What these people write regarding tuberculosis naturally tends to have a very depressing effect on consumptives who are unfortunate enough to read pessimistic statements. We hasten to say that the belief in the impossibility to cure phthisis is absolutely without foundation, and the sooner the established fact that consumption can be cured is everywhere promulgated the better it will be for the masses.

It is not due to the much-vaunted open-air measures that we are enabled to state that victims of consumption can be restored to health and strength, but to the specific treatment for phthisis and allied complaints promulgated by Dr. Edwin W. Alabone, which undoubtedly offers the best possible chance of cure. It has been put to the severest tests, and its success has been phenomenal, especially in view of the fact that so many of the patients cured have not commenced the treatment until the eleventh hour, after their cases had been given up as hopeless in other quarters.

As we have before mentioned, any reader who happens to be personally interested in the vitally important question of the cure of consumption should acquaint himself

with the *modus operandi* of the Alabone method of treatment. It would certainly be worth his while to do so.

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[FEBRUARY, 1920]

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, February 7th, 1920.

Parliament Reassembles.

Parliament reassembles next week after a recess which has lasted six weeks, and the Government, which was in a sufficiently uncomfortable position at the end of December, has lost credit more hopelessly than ever in the interval, while it is faced by a series of critical questions that give cause for greater anxiety than any which have arisen since the Peace with Germany was signed. The enforcement of the Peace Treaty has become more difficult than ever owing to the growth of a bitter hostility towards the British Empire in America, which has also led to a refusal to take any active steps towards financing reconstruction in Europe. The German Government, encouraged by these developments, is at present trying how far it can go in defiance of the Allies, and has lately refused to give up the eight hundred war criminals whose surrender has been demanded by the Allied Conference in Paris. The financial situation in Central Europe has been made more serious than ever by the refusal of the United States to sanction any considerable loans for the re-establishment of industry in the demoralised and bankrupt countries of Europe. The Foreign Exchanges have fallen against Europe to an unprecedented extent, and the decline in the value of the pound sterling has accelerated its pace to an astonishing degree even since the beginning of February.

Labour Leaves the Coalition.

In the domestic situation the Government is no less unfortunate. The Coalition has been severely weakened, first by the revival of hopes in the old Liberal party that has followed upon Sir John Simon's spirited candidature in Spen Valley last month, and the return of Mr. Asquith to the political arena in Paisley, where his prospects of election are distinctly favourable; and also by the resignations of the two Labour Ministers in the Coalition, which have made it almost impossible for the two other Labour members of Parliament who hold minor positions in the Government to retain their present offices. It is no longer possible for the Coalition to claim that it represents anything more than a somewhat enlarged and modified version of the old Unionist Party. It has been definitely opposed by the Labour organisations since the General Election, and the few Labour representatives who have remained in its ranks have long ceased to speak with any authority for the present attitude of the Trade Unions. Those members of the Labour Party, like Mr. Clynes and Mr. Henderson, who had held office in the Coalition during the war have been among the recognised leaders of the Opposition throughout the present Parliament; and now that Mr. Barnes and Mr. Roberts have finally withdrawn from the Government, the Coalition must regard itself as definitely opposed to Labour. Nor can Mr. Lloyd George's claim to represent

even a considerable proportion of the Liberal Party be any longer maintained. Sir George Younger, that astute organiser of the Unionist Party, whom Mr. Lloyd George invited to take charge of his political arrangements at the last General Election, skilfully secured the selection of Unionist candidates to contest seats for the Coalition not only in Unionist constituencies, but in a large number of seats which had previously been held by Liberals. Consequently the present Parliament, which nominally contains a majority of some three hundred Coalition members, is predominantly a Unionist house; and the hundred and fifty Coalition Liberal members who gave their support to the Prime Minister at the General Election find themselves in a position that becomes continually more compromising to their Liberal principles. If Mr. Asquith is returned for Paisley, the Prime Minister's ambitions of achieving the leadership of Liberalism, in co-operation with his present Unionist colleagues, will have lost all chance of fulfilment.

Mr. Asquith and Paisley.

Mr. Asquith's candidature at Paisley is the most important contest that has arisen since the last General Election, and while it is by no means certain that he will win the seat, public sympathy has grown steadily in his favour because of his courage in undertaking a campaign at the age of sixty-seven, upon the issue of which both his own future and that of his Party must depend. There is also considerable resentment against the Government for insisting upon his opposition by a Unionist candidate, for Mr. Mackean, who has been selected by the local Unionists as their candidate, has not the slightest chance of winning the seat. At the General Election, the Government showed a wise generosity in declining to take any part in the contest which resulted in Mr. Asquith's defeat. No official encouragement was given to the local Unionist who opposed him, and if it had not been for the initiative of the Unionists in East Fife Mr. Asquith would have been returned unopposed for his own constituency. When Colonel Sprott decided to take the field against Mr. Asquith in East Fife, he was not even

given the official testimonial or "coupon" from Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law, although he stood for the seat as their avowed supporter. In the present contest in Paisley there were excellent reasons for extending this same generosity towards Mr. Asquith's candidature. The vacancy arose through the death of Sir John McCallum who, although he agreed to support the Coalition, refused stubbornly to contest the seat except as a Free Liberal. He was returned to Parliament by a considerable majority over his Labour and Unionist opponents. When the seat fell vacant it became evident that if Mr. Asquith still retained any intention of returning to Westminster, he could not refuse this opportunity if he were invited to stand by the local Liberals. The success of his principal lieutenant, Sir John Simon, in his courageous attempt to rally the forces of Liberalism at Spen Valley, where he polled more votes than the Government candidate and very nearly as many as the Labour candidate who won the seat, showed that there was still hope for any vigorous and able Liberal in a suitable constituency; and the fact that Paisley is the first Free Liberal seat that has fallen vacant since the General Election created a situation in which Mr. Asquith was obliged to take big risks. After a good deal of discussion, the local Liberals in Paisley decided unanimously to invite him to become their candidate, and he accepted their invitation at once.

Mr. Bonar Law and the Contest.

Labour already had a popular local candidate in the field in Mr. Biggar, who is well known in the district as an active member of the co-operative and Trade Union organisations. He contested the seat in the interest of Labour at the last election, and put up a spirited fight. In view of the success of Labour at recent bye-elections he had good reason to be confident of his return for the seat, and in an old Liberal constituency like Paisley, it was only natural that the forces that are opposed to Labour should be represented by a Liberal in the contest. Once the local Liberals had decided to invite Mr. Asquith to be their candidate, the Government had no valid excuse for intervening.

A straight fight between Mr. Asquith and the Labour Party was to be expected, and the result would have been highly significant. As the local Liberal association had been unanimous in their invitation to Mr. Asquith, the Government could not reasonably have put forward a Liberal supporter of their own. The local Unionists, of whom Mr. Coats, the head of the famous cotton combine, is the most prominent figure, immediately decided to run a candidate of their own. But his prospects have never been regarded seriously. Everyone knows that Mr. Mackean has no chance of winning the seat, and his sole object in standing for the constituency must be a desire to keep Mr. Asquith out, even at the price of handing over the seat to Labour; and Mr. Bonar Law's gratuitous intervention on behalf of Mr. Mackean is obviously inspired by the same motive. In all its recent conflicts with Labour, the Government has naturally been more directly opposed to the policy of the Labour Party than to the moderate but progressive policy for which Mr. Asquith stands, and its decision to support Mr. Mackean can only be described as a vindictive attempt to prevent Mr. Asquith's return to Westminster.

Parliament Needs Leadership.

It is by no means certain that the Government will have succeeded in defeating Mr. Asquith, even after they have split the Conservative vote. The prejudice against him and his party is still very strong, and apart from the personal considerations in the present contest, it is certain that no Free Liberal in an industrial constituency could hope to win against Labour at the present time. On the other hand it is felt everywhere that Mr. Asquith's return to Westminster would embarrass the Government more than the election of almost any other politician, and would provide the divided forces of the Opposition in the present Parliament with an experienced and able leader. As the contest has progressed, this point of view has become more and more prevalent, and a great many critics who have no special faith in Mr. Asquith as a politician, or even in the traditions of his Liberal Party, feel that they would be sincerely glad of his return to Westminster, because the

Labour Party and the small band of Free Liberals headed by Sir Donald Maclean have failed hitherto to restrain the financial extravagance of the Government, or to counteract the reactionary tendencies of the Coalition, simply because they have not a leader capable of facing the Government on equal terms. However dilatory and ineffective Mr. Asquith's leadership of the first Coalition may have been, his Parliamentary gifts are beyond dispute, and a vote of censure against the present Government on such a question as the financial debate at the beginning of the Autumn Session would be a much more formidable trial for the Government if it were moved by Mr. Asquith with the support of such diverse elements as the Labour Party, the Free Liberals, and the younger school of Unionists, who are led by Lord Robert Cecil, than any debate that the Government has yet had to face. Time after time Mr. Lloyd George has been able to disarm the forces of his critics by a sheer triumph of Parliamentary oratory. But he has been able to do this largely because the Opposition has been practically destitute of debating power.

Mr. Asquith's Prospects of Success.

For these reasons it is fully possible that the determining body of public opinion which has been voting for Labour candidates at all the recent bye-elections may decide this time to vote for Mr. Asquith instead of voting for Labour. Mr. Biggar is a popular figure in Paisley and an admirable representative of the typical Trade Union officials, and if he were opposed by a candidate of lesser stature than Mr. Asquith, his success would be a moral certainty. But for the unattached voters there is a great deal to be said for the argument that Mr. Biggar in Parliament would be able to make very little impression, whereas Mr. Asquith would be a very powerful stick with which to beat the Government; and there are many supporters of the Labour Party who feel that the cause of Labour as against the Government would be better served by Mr. Asquith's election than by the return of a local Trade Unionist. These broad considerations will really determine the result of the election, which has been watched with greater interest than any

bye-election of recent years. If it results in Mr. Asquith's return, the duration of the present Parliament will almost certainly be shortened considerably. Paisley itself is a typically Scottish industrial constituency, and the speeches and declarations of all three candidates have been eagerly listened to and discussed with characteristic thoroughness. An interesting feature of the contest has been the part played in it by Mr. Asquith's daughter, Lady Bonham Carter, who has shown unexpected powers of platform oratory, she has given valuable support to her father as a speaker and a canvasser, and promises to become one of the earliest women members of Parliament.

Has Liberalism a Future?

In an exceptional degree the Paisley election may be described as an event of national importance, for it not only threatens to curtail the life of the present Parliament, but is an important test of the strength of one of the old political parties in Britain. If Mr. Asquith is successful, there is no doubt that Liberalism will revive to some extent, for it will be no longer a reproach against any Liberal candidate that he supports a leader who is unable to win a constituency. A remarkable sign of the times was the offer by a Coalition Liberal in Bristol to resign his seat in favour of Mr. Asquith in the event of his failure at Paisley. But if he fails at Paisley, he will be less likely to win anywhere else, and his future as a politician is at stake in the present contest. Even supposing that he returns, it is unlikely that there will be any great accession of strength to the Liberal Party at the bye-elections. His speeches at Paisley have been remarkable for all his well-known skill in exposition, and they have defined with admirable clearness the official attitude of Liberalism towards all the important questions of the day. He is in direct conflict with Labour on the question of nationalisation of the mines, and on this issue he probably represents the popular opinion in resisting such a proposal on the ground that it would hand over an immensely important and prosperous industry to the probability of mismanagement under State control. The war has created an intense distrust of bureau-

cratic management among all classes, and the sole convincing argument in favour of nationalisation at the present time is the certainty that industrial unrest will continue so long as the mines are left subject to private management. But the miners can offer no real guarantee that strikes will cease under State control, and the other Trades Unions are by no means entirely convinced of the necessity of enforcing nationalisation. The middle classes, who represent nearly as large a proportion of the electorate as the manual workers, regard the proposal with real dislike. They are already ground down with taxation and have no wish to incur the liability of a further drain upon the financial resources of the State merely to satisfy the prejudice of the miners against a form of industrial control which is normal in almost every industry, and which is certainly more likely than is State management to produce profits and the economies that alone can bring down prices. At the same time they fully share the distrust and suspicion of Labour towards profiteering, and they believe, rightly or wrongly, that the coal owners have profiteered as successfully as any other industry.

The Miners and Nationalisation

Between their dislike of State Control and its prospect of mismanagement, and their suspicion of profiteering by the coal-owners, the middle-classes are undecided as to whether nationalisation of the mines, or a refusal to embark upon so enormous a gamble as State ownership of the coal industry, would be the lesser evil. Mr. Smillie and his able understudy Mr. Frank Hodges have been calculating upon this state of indecision, and rely upon stampeding the Government by the threat of a miners' strike, and upon bluffing public opinion into the belief that the miners will refuse to accept any compromise. They are in fact employing the same methods that were used with conspicuous success by Sir Edward Carson and his Ulster friends in their determination to convince public opinion that civil war would ensue if they did not obtain the terms they demanded. Mr. Smillie has introduced a new factor into the controversy by suggesting, with characteristic

shrewdness, that the enormous profits which are now being derived from the export of coal at prices far above the estimates of the Board of Trade, should be used by the Government to bring down prices all round. His interview with Mr. Lloyd George on February 6th has led to no conclusive result, although the Prime Minister has stated in a carefully guarded speech that his opinions have been modified to some extent. Nevertheless he refuses to consider nationalisation on principle, and adheres to his support of the Government's own scheme, based upon Sir Arthur Duckham's proposals, which favoured the purchase of all mineral rights by the State but would leave the control of the industry in the hands of its present owners. Mr. Smillie, as might have been expected, declares that Mr. Lloyd George's attitude is unsatisfactory; and the question of what the miners will do will become critical in the next few weeks. A special Trade Union Congress is to be called during this month to decide what action shall be taken to compel the Government to nationalise the mines.

The Attitude of the Triple Alliance.

So the question of direct action comes into prominence once more, but this time it is likely to be considered in a different spirit. The railway strike showed that no strike was likely to meet with success if it were not based upon a clear issue in which public opinion was definitely on the side of the workers. It also led to a conflict within the Triple Alliance because the Miners and the Transport Workers had not been consulted before the Railwaymen had decided to go on strike. Consequently no one section of the Triple Alliance is now likely to resort to a strike unless the other two sections of the Alliance are prepared to go on strike together. Within the past month the railwaymen have finally agreed to accept the revised terms offered by the Government, and an attempt by the extremists among the railwaymen to stampede the Union into a rejection of the terms failed, after a disturbing week during which another railway strike seemed to be fully possible. While the railwaymen are, therefore, satisfied with the settlement of their own grievances, the

Transport Workers also are unlikely to favour a strike. During the month they have agreed to submit their claims for wages and hours of work to a Select Committee of the Inquiry, similar to the famous Coal Commission over which Mr. Justice Sankey presided last Spring. This Court of Inquiry has actually been constituted, with Lord Shaw as its Chairman, and the dockers' representatives have already been engaged in stating their case at great length and with remarkable ability. Their decision to take part in the inquiry was one of the most hopeful signs of a desire for industrial peace. The Commission has been set up under the Industrial Councils Act that was passed during the last session, and the fact that an important union like the dockers has shown itself willing to make use of the Act, is likely to set a precedent for other similar inquiries which may yet become the recognised method of settling all industrial disputes that are of national importance.

Another Industrial "Crisis."

Neither this pacific attitude on the part of the dockers, nor the readiness with which the railwaymen agreed to accept their own settlement, points to any likelihood of concerted action by the Triple Alliance. Nationalisation is regarded by many of the Trade Unions as an unnecessary and questionable demand, and there is little reason to believe that the miners will be able to carry the whole of trade unionism with them on the issue of nationalisation alone. For the miners have obtained full redress for their own grievances about wages, and their working day was reduced last summer from eight hours to seven. They contend that the Government, in promising to act upon the findings of the Sankey Commission, was morally obliged to accept the principle of nationalisation if a majority on the Commission recommended it. But while there was a clear majority on the question of wages and working hours, there was nothing like a consensus of opinion in favour of nationalisation. There was a large minority, composed of miners' representatives, who were in favour of it, and there was a no less decided minority opposed to it. There

were three other reports, one of which was the work of Mr. Justice Sankey himself, which suggested various compromises. In the circumstances, the Government can safely rely upon public opinion to support them in resisting the miners' demand, if any attempt is made to enforce it by recourse to "direct action." However, the plans of the direct actionists have been very carefully laid, and a concerted movement has been in preparation for a considerable time which has aimed at producing an industrial crisis, that would involve as many trade unions as possible, with the support of the co-operative societies; and the intention of those who have directed the agitation has been to precipitate the crisis at the end of February or early in March. There are signs already that such a crisis is in active preparation now, and the next few weeks may easily be marked by a renewal of industrial unrest. It is said that some of the co-operative societies have been laying in enormous supplies with a view to meeting all possible eventualities. But the agitation is mainly the work of the miners' union, and although it is being assisted by sympathetic leaders in the other unions there is not much reason to fear that they will succeed in their object of bringing about a general strike.

Conditions in Europe.

But if the Government has no cause for immediate anxiety about the attitude of Labour, and can await without trepidation Mr. Asquith's return to the House of Commons if he should be elected at Paisley, the constitution of Europe and the political relations between the United States and ourselves are so serious as to call for a much finer type of statesmanship than the present Government has displayed. Europe has made practically no progress towards economic revival, and the plight of Austria and Poland, and to some extent Germany also, grows steadily worse. The impossibility of obtaining coal has led to an enormous mortality in the towns among the half-starved and shivering populations who have no means of keeping themselves warm in the depth of winter. It has had an even more widespread effect in preventing any industrial revival. There is not enough coal avail-

able in Central Europe even to keep the railways supplied, and as transport is paralysed it is impossible to get coal carried from one part of Europe to another, however urgent may be the need for it. Consequently, unemployment is still widespread all over Central and Eastern Europe, while an intense feeling of rivalry and antipathy has grown up between the agricultural and the urban populations, and the peasants refuse to supply the townspeople with food. Meanwhile, the cities are still living to a great extent upon alms, and imports are pouring across the Rhine in enormous quantities for which there is no prospect of early payment except by a mortgage on the future industrial capacity of the devastated countries. It is not surprising that the foreign exchanges have fallen almost irretrievably against the countries of Central Europe and that promises of repayment at some undefined date in the vague future—which is now almost the only possible basis of their credit—are not accepted anywhere unless upon terms that make trade almost impossible.

The Collapse of European Credit.

It is a dismal task to watch from month to month the fulfilment of anticipations that we have been bitterly reluctant to record. But for months past it has been perfectly apparent to anyone who has observed the trend of economic and political developments in Europe, that credit was rapidly approaching a collapse all over the Continent, and that unless far-reaching measures of financial reconstruction were quickly adopted, all hopes of restoring the solvency of countries that were weighed down with a burden of excessive imports would be at an end. In the past month events have been moving rapidly towards such a crisis. Already Austria is living to a great extent upon the charity of the world and is receiving her imports as gifts to keep her from utter starvation, since there is nothing by which she can pay for what her people need even to keep them alive. Five millions out of the seven millions that comprise the population of her present shrunken area live in the towns; but their industries are at a standstill for lack of coal and of raw materials. In Poland, which is one of

our own allies and specially under the protection of the Allied Powers, the situation is similar. Death from famine and disease is solving the problem of existence for hundreds of thousands of the town-dwellers of Central Europe. And up to the present we have apparently conceived no plan by which the situation is to be relieved. It has grown far worse during the past month than it was when last we reviewed the progress of events. The German exchange, for instance, has definitely collapsed. Throughout the past year it was maintained at a level which fell gradually but still admitted of trade, although it was upon ruinous terms. The German mark, nominally equal to our shilling, had ceased to be capable of buying more than threepence or twopence worth of our goods, while its value was still less in the United States. But at any rate its value was fairly constant, although it tended to decline still further. This month, however, it has fallen with a rush, and a pound of our money will now buy anywhere between 300 and 400 marks, instead of the nominal exchange value of 20 marks. Trade under such conditions is unthinkable, and can only be conducted as a bold form of speculation. As for Austria, the exchange stands at roughly 1,000 krone to the pound.

• But the most serious **Three Dollars** and symptomatic de- **to the Pound.** cline in the foreign

exchange has been the swift depreciation of the sovereign in New York. Last month we noted the alarming growth of a downward tendency in the American exchange, and expressed the opinion that it would fall still further. The subsequent developments have been intensely dramatic. At the time of writing there is no sign of a real recovery in the exchange, and the pound sterling, which used to buy nearly five dollars' worth of American goods, has touched a low water mark at less than 3½ dollars. It is by no means impossible that it will fall still further till it touches three dollars, or even lower. However serious for us such a situation may seem, it is still more serious for France and for Italy, against whom the exchange has fallen still further in proportion to the decline of

our own exchange. In relation to the rest of Europe our own position was never so favourable. Our industries are working at top speed, and now that the iron-moulders' strike has been settled, unemployment in Great Britain scarcely exists. Our manufacturers have more orders for their goods than they can possibly cope with, and every country in Europe is offering us almost any terms if we will only guarantee them rapid delivery of what they need. Yet even so, the volume of our debts in the United States is so immense that we cannot trade there except at a discount which makes our pound worth barely thirteen shillings. And our imports from America are absolutely indispensable to us. Cost what they may, we must pay the price if we are to be fed, and if our industries are to be kept supplied with their raw materials.

U.S. and an International Loan.

There is no uncertainty as to the immediate cause of this sudden convulsion of the

American exchange. If anything like normal conditions is to be restored it has become essential that all countries that have been affected by the war, that are burdened with heavy war debts, or that have accumulated a large adverse balance of imports over exports, should band together at once and promise each other mutual co-operation during the next few years. A great international credit fund must be created to which every country that benefits by it will have to guarantee its support. Each country must agree to pledge whatever valid securities it can offer against whatever advances of credit it may require from the Central International Fund. Such advances would be carefully scrutinised by the financial advisers of the Credit Fund before they were sanctioned, and they would be issued only against first-class securities and for clearly defined purposes of reconstruction. That, in broad outline, is the essence of the scheme which is suggested by every financial authority in Europe who believes in the necessity of re-establishing the foreign exchanges on a proper basis. But it is perfectly evident that since America not only is the principal creditor of Europe, but has a direct responsibility, as one of the greatest of the belligerents,

for the present chaos and devastation, she must take an active part in such a scheme. We can see no valid reason why America should not be asked to agree to a redistribution of the aggregate War Debts of all the Allies and bear her fair share of the total burden in proportion to her wealth. As she sacrificed fewer men in the war than did the other Allies, and suffered no devastation, she would still have escaped more lightly even under a proportionate distribution of the Allied Debts. But this is a much wider scheme than that which we have just outlined. It merely suggests that in order to rectify the foreign exchanges between the different countries, and especially between America and Europe, an International Credit Fund should be created for the next few years until the European countries have had time to revive their industries and to produce goods that they can export in exchange for their imports. Unless such measures are taken, Europe cannot possibly avoid bankruptcy. She is, in fact, on the brink of bankruptcy already. And if bankruptcy spreads all over the Continent, not only the British Isles but the United States also will be involved in a disaster that will not be remediable within twenty years. Every competent financial critic in Europe admits that the situation cannot be interpreted otherwise, and in the United States also voices are being raised in indignant protest at the refusal of America to lend any assistance in the greatest crisis in modern history. The *New Republic*, for instance, puts the case admirably when it says that the American traders offer their goods to Europe at a fair market price, but in demanding payment they insist upon counting our money at a discount that already exceeds 30 per cent. in the case of Britain, and 50 per cent. in the case of Italy and France.

Yet the American Government has definitely refused to sanction any further loans to Europe, and its attitude shows that there is little hope, for the present, at least, of converting the United States to a different view. For this attitude the main responsibility must rest upon Mr. Herbert Hoover, the late Food Adminis-

trator of Europe under the Supreme Economic Council. His recent declarations, which are in fact difficult to reconcile with his opinions expressed while he was in Europe, have not only created a strong prejudice against lending further assistance to Europe, but have led the American public, which recognises him as the supreme authority on all questions affecting the needs and the reconstruction of Europe, to believe that the facts of distress and economic difficulties have been grossly exaggerated. Mr. Hoover's position is all the more important because his name is being freely canvassed by both Democrats and Republicans as a likely candidate for the next Presidential election. He is the last man who would attempt to win votes by any sort of bid for popularity, and we dismiss at once the suggestion that his recent anti-European attitude has been inspired by the desire to win favour in the United States as a thorough-going American. Mr. Hoover has no political ambitions, and it is probable that he will not even become a candidate in the Presidential elections if there is not an overwhelming demand from all parties for him. His recent change of attitude towards Europe is due partly to his own theories of individualism in economics and partly to his annoyance with the propaganda of Sir Geo. Paish in the United States. He is thoroughly American in his belief that industrial development and the entire economic reconstruction of Europe must depend upon the initiative and enterprise of European business men. Any form of subsidy or state assistance from without is therefore to be considered as a demoralising and retarding influence. Mr. Hoover insists that the American Relief Commission was withdrawn from Europe last autumn deliberately, in order to compel the Continental countries to find their own salvation through the necessity of choosing between work or starvation. But Mr. Hoover ignores the fact that, with the best intentions in the world Europe cannot revive her industries without importing immense quantities of raw materials and the machinery essential for industry from abroad, and for transport. These commodities have been pouring into Europe for many months past, but the

demand is still far from satisfied. The result has been such an excess of imports over exports that the ordinary reserves of private credit have become exhausted, for no country can continue indefinitely to export goods for which payment cannot be made within a reasonable time. Consequently, the foreign exchanges have collapsed, and they cannot possibly be re-established without the co-operation of all the Governments that are affected.

**Sir George
Paish in
the U.S.A.**

Sir George Paish has been lecturing in America for several months on behalf of the "Fight the Famine Council," and his unofficial propaganda on behalf of a colossal American loan to Europe has created such acute controversy as to become a menace to our relations with the United States. Although his Mission to America has been entirely unofficial and is actually regarded with disfavour by the British Government, yet his position has been ambiguous. For his eminence as a financial authority is mainly due to the fact that, as one of the editors of the *Statist*, he was invited by the British Treasury to act as their expert adviser during the war, and this fact has naturally been emphasised wherever he has gone in the United States. He is reported to have declared in the course of several lectures and interviews that America must provide credit to the extent of 3,000 million pounds to finance the reconstruction of Europe, and such statements caused intense resentment in New York. It was in reply to these lectures by Sir George Paish that Mr. Hoover sent his first telegram to the New York business men analysing the situation in each of the impoverished countries, and concluding that the responsibility of the United States was no more than to "assist the bread supply of less than 5 per cent. of the European population." He followed up this telegram some days later by declaring that America should grant no more loans to Europe but should merely agree to defer the payment of the interest due upon her previous loans, for three years. It is to be presumed that he would hesitate to demand compound interest on the debt if such a deferment is granted. But even so this attitude is

not a generous one; and it must be remembered that his opinion not only influences the policy of the American Treasury but, very naturally, serves to satisfy the conscience of the American people. Put in plain language, Mr. Hoover's attitude is a flat refusal to consider any question of using American public credit even to rectify the foreign exchanges, although the present ratio of the exchanges makes it literally impossible for Germany or for Austria to import at anything like fair prices what they need. Needless to say, such an attitude precludes any intention of considering a redistribution of the War Debt, but blandly assumes that America is entitled to retain her position as the creditor of all Europe, although her advantage is directly due to the fact that her Allies spent their last resources upon the war while the United States was earning vast profits out of supplying them with munitions and food.

Mr. Glass Advises Against Further Loans. Mr. Hoover must bear a direct share of responsibility for the collapse of the exchanges during the past month. After denouncing Sir George Paish, who appears to have shown a serious lack of tact in his methods of propaganda, Mr. Hoover then made the unusual suggestion that America should refuse to grant any further subscriptions even to the relief of starvation in Austria unless the Allies would guarantee to cancel that part of the Peace Treaty which prevents Austria from forming any sort of alliance with the neighbouring states. There is much justice in the contention that these provisions have forced Austria into bankruptcy and make it impossible for her to recover. But Mr. Hoover's direct appeal to the American people to withhold even their private charity from Austria as a means of forcing the Allies to revise the peace is a new departure in international relations. Moreover, it is an important indication of the outlook of a typical American upon European politics. That outlook found a scarcely less disconcerting expression in the letter from Mr. Glass, the Secretary of the American Treasury, addressed to the American Chamber of Commerce, which described as "impracticable" all suggestions for

international measures to stabilise the exchanges. His letter contained a long dissertation upon the necessity for Europe to reduce her own expenditure, to get back to regular work and to increase her scale of taxation until revenue could be made to balance her expenses. Mr. Hoover, at any rate, has had actual experience of the conditions of Europe since the war, although he has badly underated the gravity of the situation that has arisen within the six months since his own return to the United States. But Mr. Glass has no such experience at all, and his homily on the virtues of steady work and thrift has been received with bitter indignation throughout Europe. His letter, however, was symbolical of the present mood of America, and the Ways and Means Committee of the Senate refused only a few days later to sanction even the totally inadequate loan that he had recommended, and they have advised the Senate to reduce it by more than half.

America's Export Trade Endangered.

The result of this reaction against Europe in the United States made itself felt immediately in the foreign exchanges. But, fortunately, the sensational decline in the exchanges has created more of a panic in New York than in London. Within a few days after the sovereign had begun to fall heavily, the Lancashire cotton spinners suddenly decided that they would cancel their orders for American cotton, as the discount with the exchange, below 3.80 dollars would increase the cost too exorbitantly. At once the American cotton trade became alarmed, and at the time of writing there is apt evidence of an altered frame of mind in the United States. It is already easy to foresee the effects of a European bankruptcy, and the American firms who have been preparing for several years past to export their products to Europe on an unprecedented scale are rapidly realising that they will have enormous stocks left upon their hands if Europe is not able to buy them as fast as they can be despatched. Mr. Vanderlip, the American banker, who was one of the first Americans to understand the gravity of the crisis in Europe, and who confessed

from his own failure to appreciate the position until he had actually visited the Continent, has just issued a grave warning to the United States on the necessity of stabilising the exchanges. If America does not lend her active co-operation, he declares, then "the exchange situation may sharply call a halt on our exports. Even now ships are going to Europe without their full cargoes." Once this fact has been plainly understood there should be no difficulty in arriving at measures that will rectify the present lop-sided condition of the exchanges and facilitate the resumption of normal trade all over the world.

A Compromise with the Republicans.

But the attitude of the United States is seriously complicated by the political uncertainty that still prevents the ratification of the Peace. Another month has passed and the Treaty is still unsigned by America. However, there is at last a real hope that a settlement is in sight, and the credit for this improvement in the situation is due almost entirely to the courageous intervention of Mr. William Jennings Bryan and of Viscount Grey. Exasperation with the deadlock that had arisen through the conflict between President Wilson and the Senate had reached such a pitch that a split occurred in his own party. Mr. W. J. Bryan, the former Democratic candidate for the Presidency, who still commands a very considerable influence throughout the United States and appears to possess the secret of perpetual youth as a politician—for in spite of a long succession of defeats he has always succeeded in returning to public life without being discredited—decided that President Wilson was mistaken in his refusal to compromise, and actually undertook a tour through the United States to urge the Democratic Party to enter a conference with the Republicans in order to get the Peace Treaty signed. President Wilson, still confined to his sick room and unable to take any active part in politics or even to meet his own friends in consultation, remains obdurate in his refusal to consider the reservations upon which Senator Lodge has persuaded the Senate to insist. Meanwhile public opinion of all parties in America is united

upon the necessity of getting the Peace Treaty ratified in some form or other; and the President is left almost without supporters of any kind in his determination to stand by the Treaty in the form in which he brought it back from Versailles. The Senate are prepared to pass the Treaty, roughly speaking, with the proviso that America shall not be liable to uphold all the territorial arrangements that it embodies; and they are resolute in their refusal to participate in the League of Nations in its present form.

Lord Grey's Letter to 'The Times.' Lord Grey has stated the case for the American objections to the Treaty, and also discussed the bearings of those objections upon European politics, in a letter to the *Times* that is likely to become famous in history. His intervention in the controversy was frankly irregular by all the traditions of diplomacy. But his position was somewhat exceptional. He went to Washington, not as an ordinary Ambassador, but as an Envoy Extraordinary in charge of a special mission until a permanent Ambassador should have been appointed. Moreover, he was never able even to present his credentials at Washington because of the President's illness, and he was obliged to return to London after a prolonged stay, during which he had not been able to discharge any of the official duties of his mission. Nevertheless, he had ample opportunity for getting to know the real trend of American opinion. His letter to the *Times* a fortnight ago made these facts quite clear. After a sympathetic analysis of the attitude of American opinion towards the Treaty, he examined each of the reservations demanded by Senator Lodge, and concluded that they could have accepted practically without modification by the British Government. This semi-official pronouncement by Lord Grey has been actually an even more severe blow to the hopes of President Wilson than was the defection of Mr. Bryan. It has cut the ground completely from under his feet; for the sole justification for his refusal to compromise over the Treaty was that the Allies would never agree to the Lodge reservations. Lord Grey's manifesto declares for their acceptance, and Presi-

dent Wilson has made no secret of his anger that the letter should have been published without his knowledge. Lord Grey cannot expect to be interviewed again at Washington during the remainder of Mr. Wilson's Presidential term. But his decision to violate diplomatic precedents has been justified by its results beyond the most sanguine expectations. It has been a cruel blow to President Wilson at a time when he is fighting a desperate battle, but the President's attitude has been so far divorced from public opinion both in America and throughout the civilised world, that even those who owe him most gratitude for his services during the war are obliged to declare their disagreement with his present policy. The effect of Lord Grey's letter in the United States has been astonishing, and it is a magnificent tribute to his own reputation for integrity and practical idealism. It has almost broken the deadlock into which the Treaty had fallen, and the Senate have hailed it, not with any expression of party triumph, but with a sense of relief that shows how great is the anxiety to be freed from the responsibility of standing between Europe and the final return to peace.

Anti-British Propaganda in America.

But while we must make every allowance for the general reluctance of America to intervene in the politics of Europe, we cannot ignore the definitely anti-British influences that have concentrated their energies unremittingly before the defeat of British policy. President Wilson's failure is due as much to the organised hostility of the Irish-Americans, in alliance with the German-American vote, as to any other cause. And for that relentless hostility of the five million Irish-Americans the British Government has to thank its own senseless oppression of Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George has allowed Sir Edward Carson and the reactionary influences in the Coalition to force him to challenge the Irish people. They have met the challenge, and their leaders, escaping from British jurisdiction in their own country, have transferred their activities to America and are prosecuting a remorseless vendetta against us there. And for the time being

they have beaten us with ignominy. They have captured the American Senate, their influence is working against us in every State legislation, in every public movement in the United States; and their power to injure us grows increasingly dangerous and menacing. The most dramatic proof of their influence was given a few weeks ago when Mr. de Valera was given the freedom of New York, which had been conferred only a few weeks

before upon the Prince of Wales and the King of the Belgians. Enormous sums of American money have been subscribed to the Irish Republican loan, which has already raised nearly five million pounds. Our enemies have succeeded not only in reviving the old anti-British prejudices in the United States, but in demonstrating beyond question that our professions of Liberalism and of faith in the doctrine of "self-determination" are insincere.



Evening News

Those Mysterious Messages.

[London.

David: "Funny thing Bonar, the same message keeps on coming through every time!"

Diary of Current Events

FOR JANUARY.

Jan. 1.—A provisional settlement of the dispute between the West End Managers and the Theatrical Employees' Union was arrived at.

Jan. 2.—Delegates of the Iron Moulders came to a provisional arrangement with the Masters, subject to a ballot vote. The terms included an advance of 5s. a week, no victimisation, and resumption of work by January 19th.

Twenty armed men raided the Central Post Office at Limerick and stole between £2,000 and £4,000.

A seven days' armistice was arranged between Esthonia and the Bolsheviks. The agreement recognises Esthonian independence and determines its frontiers.

Jan. 3.—The Speu Valley by-election resulted in the return of Mr. Tom Myers (Labour) by a majority of 1,718 over Sir John Simon, the Independent Liberal. Sir John Simon's majority over the Coalition Liberal, Colonel B. C. Fairfax, was 2,110.

Three hundred armed raiders attacked Carrigtohill Police Barracks, near Cork.

February 1st was fixed for the de-control of British butter.

The capture of Tsaritsyn by the Bolsheviks was announced.

Four thousand Communists, including many Russians, were arrested in the United States.

The American Anti-Saloon League has resolved to devote £10,000,000 to a prohibition campaign in the British Isles.

Jan. 4.—The terms of the Government's offer to the Railwaymen were made public. They include an increase of 100 per cent. over the average pre-war rate as a minimum, and a scheme of joint control.

Six Egyptian Princes of the Royal House have issued statements demanding complete national independence.

Jan. 5.—Two public reports from the Select Committee on National Expenditure were issued. One of them criticises the finance of the national shipyards.

The Allied Council decide to insist on a minimum reparation of 300,000 tons from Germany for the Scapa Flow scuttling.

The Fortress of Drinak has been captured by a combined attack by the Poles and Lithuanians.

The Department of Justice in the United States has unearthed a Bolshevik plot to produce financial chaos in Anti-Bolshevik countries by the issue of millions of counterfeit bank notes.

Jan. 6.—Denikin's armies have been cut into two parts by the Bolshevik wedge which has now been driven as far south as the Sea of Azov, at Mariupol.

Jan. 7.—Sir J. Byrne, Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, was dismissed.

An Agreement was announced between France and the Emir Feisal, whereby France consents to the creation of an Arab state, including Damascus, Hama and Aleppo, and the Emir acknowledges the French "mandate" for the whole of Syria.

The Governor of New York State in a message to the Legislature urged that the prohibition law should be rescinded and a fresh appeal made to the electors.

Jan. 8.—The Unionist Anti-partition League at Dublin passed a resolution that no measure involving the partition of Ireland will solve the Irish problem.

Lord Astor stated at a luncheon that whereas the Ministry of Health had estimated originally that at least 500,000 new houses were needed, the number had now been put at 800,000.

Jan. 9.—The Railwaymen's Conference rejected the Government's proposals, and referred them back to the Government.

The Rugby branches of Iron-founders' and Core-makers' Societies have put forward a suggestion for a Court of Inquiry to investigate the serious position which has arisen in the industry owing to the Moulders' Strike.

According to a Bolshevik message, "the remnants" of Admiral Kolchak's First, Second and Third Armies have surrendered. Sixty thousand prisoners have been counted. Their troops have captured Novo Tcherkaak, the capital of the Don Cossacks.

Jan. 10.—Fighting has occurred at Dover between men of two Irish Regiments and the Worcestershire Regiment.

At Tralee an attack was made on Sergeant Sullivan, K.C., by eight armed and masked men. No one was injured.

The protocol to the Peace Treaty was signed at Paris, and the state of war as between the Allies and Germany came to an end.

- With reference to the reparation for the Scapa Flow scuttling, the Allies undertook to reduce their demands to 300,000 tons or even less if the necessity is shown.
- A Bolshevik report states that Admiral Koltchak has been arrested by his own soldiers.
- Jan. 12.—A gift from the *Daily Mail* of a £1,000 a week to the funds of the Pearl Company's agents now on strike was announced.
- Thanet towns have claimed £435,000 as compensation from Germany for damage done during the war.
- A revised statement of the conditions governing trade with Germany and other late enemy states has been issued by the Board of Trade.
- Mr. E. Spencer Grey (Senior Official Receiver in Bankruptcy) has been appointed Controller of the clearing office for debts due from and to Germany, which has just been set up.
- The list of German war criminals whose surrender has been demanded has been reduced from 1,000 to 800 names.
- News was received that the French liner *L'Afrique* has sunk 50 miles from La Rochelle.
- Elections for the French Senate have resulted in a victory for the National bloc. M. Poincaré obtained an almost unanimous vote in the Meuse department.
- Professor R. H. Goddard, of America, has invented a rocket alleged to be capable of rising to heights beyond the earth's atmosphere, "possibly even to the moon."
- Jan. 13.—Viscount Grey of Fallodon arrived in this country on his return from America.
- General Sir Charles Townsend has tendered his resignation to the War Office.
- In Berlin a demonstration took place against the Government Bill in regard to Employees' Councils. An encounter ensued in front of the Reichstag between the demonstrators and the military, and several persons were killed or wounded.
- Jan. 14.—Mr. G. H. Roberts, in an interview at Hull with representatives of the fishing industry, suggested the formation of a representative body, to include various branches of the industry for the purpose of controlling fish prices in co-operation with the Food Ministry.
- At the inquest at Lythan, on the body of Kathleen Elsie Breaks, who was found shot on the sandhills near St. Anne's on Christmas Eve, Frederick Rothwell Holt, an ex-Army officer, was committed for trial at the Manchester Assizes on a charge of murder.
- M. Leon Bourgeois was elected President of the French Senate after a third ballot.
- Jan. 15.—Railwaymen's delegates decided by a narrow majority to accept the Government's offer.
- Executives of the Unions involved in the Moulders' Strike recommended the men to accept the employers' offer of an advance of 6s. a week. Another ballot is to be taken.
- In Paris, the Hungarian Delegates received the terms of their peace treaty.
- A memorial urging an international conference for the purpose of examining the world's present economic situation, and suggesting remedies, has been issued to the Governments of the States concerned.
- The Cairo Committee of the Zaghlul Delegation has issued a statement declaring that Lord Milner's Note does not constitute a basis of negotiations.
- Jan. 16.—Lord Ashfield (Sir Albert Stanley), speaking on the congestion of London traffic, advocated the construction of underground roads for fast motor traffic.
- The first meeting of the League of Nations was held in Paris under the presidency of M. Leon Bourgeois.
- M. Clemenceau, having been defeated in the preliminary congress by M. Deschanel by 408 votes to 389, withdrew his candidature for the French Presidency.
- Jan. 17.—Mr. G. H. Roberts announced that the Food Ministry would automatically come to an end next August.
- Mr. "Pussyfoot" Johnson made his first public re-appearance at a meeting at Westminster. A number of interrupters were ejected.
- M. Paul Deschanel was elected President of the French Republic, obtaining 734 votes out of 838 recorded.
- There has been another serious conflict between the French and Arabs in Syria, the former being forced to retreat.
- In the United States, Prohibition came into legal effect.
- Wales beat England in the International Rugby Union football match at Swansea by 19 points to 5 points.
- Jan. 18.—M. Clemenceau placed his resignation and that of his Cabinet in the hands of M. Poincaré. M. Millerand was asked to form a cabinet.
- On the terms of the Hungarian Peace Treaty becoming known the city of Buda Pesth went into mourning.
- Jan. 19.—It was stated that the Government intend to dissolve the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
- The Federation of British Industries state that there is reason to doubt whether the increase in railway rates and demurrage charges is legally enforceable.
- A general strike of railwaymen over the whole of Italy was declared.
- The German evacuation of Sleewig is proceeding slowly.
- Jan. 20.—The Food Controller advised representatives of the milk trade to set up a body which should be charged with the task of keeping down prices.

It was announced that Lord Shaw is to be Chairman of the Court of Inquiry for investigating the claims of the National Transport Workers' Federation.

The Conference in Paris broke up.

The Jugo-Slav delegates having declined to accept the Supreme Council's proposals for the settlement of the Adriatic question, the Council declared either that their solution must be accepted or the Pact of London would be put in force. The prospectus of the new Exchequer Bond issue was published.

Jan. 21.—Mr. Asquith was selected as Liberal candidate for Paisley.

Lord Haig was presented with the freedom of Manchester.

In Harcourt Street, Dublin, Deputy Assistant Commissioner W. C. F. Redmond was murdered on his way to his hotel.

The Supreme Council in Paris held its last meeting.

As the result of Dr. Renner's visit to Prague, a political agreement has been reached between Czecho-Slovakia and Austria.

Jan. 22.—The Prince of Wales was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society.

A formal invitation from the Paisley Liberal Association, to stand as their candidate, was received by Mr. Asquith. The Pearl Agents' strike was settled on the basis of a minimum wage of £3 a week.

The ballot of the Moulders showed a majority in favour of accepting the employers' offer. The men accepted a weekly increase of 5s.

The Allied Governments have recognised the Armenian Republic of Erivan.

In his statement of policy to the French Chamber of Deputies, M. Millerand fore-shadowed considerable taxation of war profits.

Mr. Hoover has notified his willingness to accept nomination for the American presidency from either the Republicans or the Democrats, "if offered upon a Liberal platform."

23.—The agreement between the Pearl Assurance Agents and the Company was signed.

A deputation from the British Federation of Medical and Allied Societies represented to Dr. Addison that a public inquiry ought to be held into the working of the National Insurance Act.

Frederick Holt was committed by the Lytham magistrates for trial on the charge of murdering Mrs. Breaks.

The Netherlands Government declined to give up the ex-Kaiser, stating that the traditional right of asylum forbade them to comply with the Allies' request.

Jan. 24.—Motor-cars are to be provided for Scotland Yard detectives in accordance with the sanction granted by the Home Secretary.

Jan. 25.—Lord Halsbury celebrated the 70th anniversary of his call to the Bar.

For the past year American exports exceeded imports by £801,600,000, which figure constitutes a record.

Jan. 26.—Mr. Asquith opened his campaign at Paisley.

An official announcement was issued of the appointment of Colonel Weigall, M.P. for the Horncastle Division, as Governor of South Australia. Captain Stafford V. Hotchkiss, M.C., was selected as the Coalition candidate in the ensuing by-election.

Lord Haig was made a freeman of Sheffield and an honorary LL.D. of the town's university.

Albert Edward Redfern was committed for trial at Leeds for the murder of Mr. Oates, branch manager of the Yorkshire Penny Bank.

Herr Erzberger was wounded by a shot fired at him by a student outside the Criminal Court in Berlin.

The ex-Kaiser has written a letter in which he complains of having been deceived by his Ministers, and stating that he has no desire to return to Germany.

According to Senator Lodge, the Republicans will accept no change in the reservations in regard to Article X. and the Monroe doctrine.

Jan. 27.—The resignation was announced of Mr. George Barnes, the Labour member of the Cabinet.

Mr. Asquith addressed his first open meeting at Paisley.



Wahre Jacob

[Stuttgart

The German Cinderella.

The Entente despises and ridicules the German Nation.

- It was announced that the Cabinet has decided to introduce a new Coal Bill. The scheme for the re-organisation of the Territorials has been approved by the Government. The Special Reserve is to be retained.
- For the second time, Sergeant Sullivan, K.C., was attacked, while travelling from Cork to Tralee.
- Jan. 28.—Mr. Lloyd George received a deputation from the Miners' Federation. He stated that an independent auditor was investigating the finance of the industry, and his report would be submitted to the Federation in a week.
- Jan. 29.—According to the Yugo-Slav reply to the Allies' note, the Belgrade Government is prepared either to take a plebiscite on the Adriatic question or to submit the case to arbitration.
- General Yudenitch has been arrested.
- Mr. Asquith, at Paisley, declared himself in favour of the State acquisition of mining rights and royalties, but did not favour State control and acquisition of the mines.
- Dr. Vaida Voevod, the Rumanian Prime Minister visiting London, called on Mr. Lloyd George.
- General Headquarters, Great Britain, which was established in consequence of the war in 1916, officially ceased to exist. The price of milk in London was reduced to 11d. a quart.
- The Italian Railway Strike was settled.
- In Football (Rugby) England beat France at Twickenham by one goal and one penalty goal to one try.
- Jan. 30.—The new Dublin Corporation elected Alderman Thomas Kelly, now in Wormwood Scrubs, as Lord Mayor.
- Mr. Walter Long, speaking at Trowbridge, defended the Government's policy, and Lord Robert Cecil, at Cardiff, in answer to certain American critics, denied that the League of Nations was a buttress to British Imperialism.
- At the Mansion House, London, Lord Beatty, Lord Haig and Sir Hugh Trenchard appealed for support for the new ex-officers' association.
- Mr. Churchill outlined the Government scheme for the constitution of the new Territorial Army.
- The Conference of American Senators on the Peace Treaty was reported to have broken up.
- Jan. 31.—In a letter to the *Times*, Viscount Grey explained the attitude of America to the League of Nations.
- Sir Auckland Geddes received a deputation of Yorkshire worsted spinners who came to the Board of Trade to protest against the publication of the interim report on worsted yarns.
- London University has been presented by Messrs. G. B. and J. B. Joel, of South Africa fame, with £20,000 to endow a University Chair of Physics at the Middlesex Hospital Medical School.
- A list was published of 21 of the chief German naval and military officers wanted by the Allies for offences against international law.

OBITUARY.

- Jan. 1.—PAUL ADAM, French journalist and novelist, 57.
- Jan. 2.—THE RIGHT HON. SIR FRANK LASCELLES, G.C.B., G.O.M.G., G.C.V.O., Ambassador at Berlin from 1895—1908, 78.
- Jan. 4.—SIR THOMAS FRASER, Emeritus Professor of Materia Medica in Edinburgh University and Honorary Physician in Ordinary to the King in Scotland, 78.
- Jan. 7.—PROFESSOR HEINRICH LAMMASCH, International jurist, a former Prime Minister of Austria, 67.
- SIR EDMUND BARTON, First Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, 71.
- Jan. 8.—SIR HENRY M. FLOWDEN, formerly Senior Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab, 80.
- Jan. 10.—SIR JOHN MCCALLUM, Liberal M.P. for Paisley since 1906, 72.
- Jan. 11.—FATHER JOHN N. STRASSMAIER, a noted Asceticologist, 8.
- MRS. MARGARET GIBSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., a distinguished Oriental scholar.
- Jan. 16.—SIR GEORGE DALHOUSIE RAMSAY, C.B., 91.
- ALFRED PARSONS, R.A., and President of the Royal Watercolour Society, 72.
- Jan. 17.—THE REV. DR. ISAAC GREGORY SMITH, 94.
- Jan. 21.—THE RIGHT REV. BERNARD WARD, Roman Catholic Bishop of Brentwood, 63.
- Jan. 22.—THE REV. EDMOND WARRE, D.D., late Provost of Eton College, 82.
- Jan. 23.—SIR ROBERT FOLLETT STONE, K.C.M.G., H.M. Deputy-Marshal of the Ceremonies, Foreign Office, 67.
- Jan. 24.—LORD PLUNKET, 56.
- Jan. 26.—JOHN WILLIAM GULLAND, 1st Chief Liberal Whip, 86.
- CHAS. R. C. LYSTER, M.R.C.S., a leading expert on X-ray and radium, 60.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as others see us."—*BURNS*.



Peace in Europe.

[Munich

D

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS.



Kladderadatsch.

Wilson's latest calumny against Germany.
 Wilson's Physicians: "He has all his faculties about him, thank God. He is lying and
 slandering again, first-rate!"

[Berlin]



Kladderadatsch.

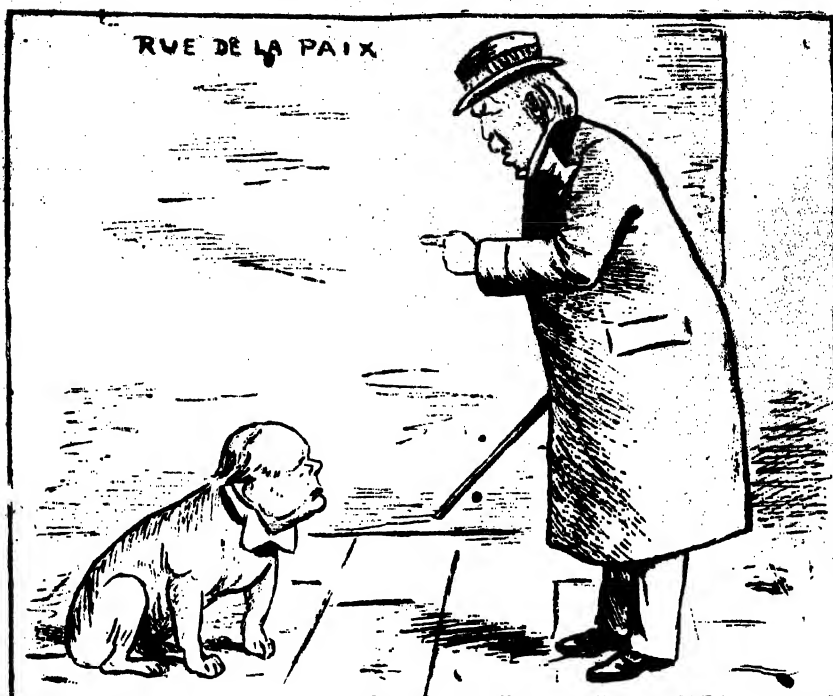
Germany and the Entente.

"Now, Michael, just take off
 your coat."



[Berlin]

"Next, please, your trousers—"



Westminster Gazette

Too much dash.

[London

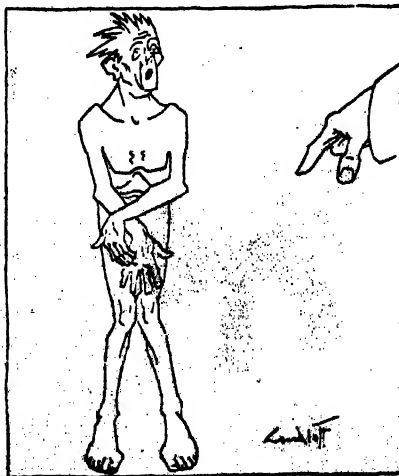
Mr. Lloyd George : Look here ! I can't have you dashing about after me like this ! You'll get yourself into trouble and me too. You'll have to be tied up !



Kladderadatsch

Germany and the Entente.

"—and the Shirt."



Bertal

" And now just empty your--
purse ! "



[Les Hommes du Jour]

A New Front.

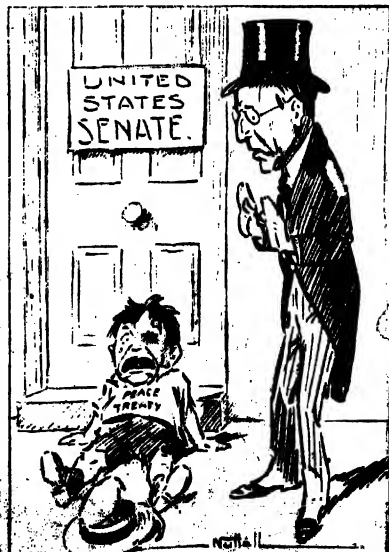
[Paris]

The proprietors of Russian bonds are forming a volunteer Army to recover "themselves" their money from the Bolsheviki. Pichon makes them a speech.



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

The Bootlegger.

[Melbourne Punch]

[Melbourne]

That Poor Peace Treaty.

Papa Wilson:—"Good gracious, after the treatment it has received its own father doesn't know it!"



Der Wahre Jacob

[Stuttgart]

The Dismissal of Peace.

The last shot of the world war was fired in Paris. There was a loud report followed by a kick, wherewith the too festive Angel of World Peace was dismissed.



Ruy Blas

The Peace Treaty.

[Paris]

"And you know, this time, it will *not* be a scrap of paper."



Blanc

The Versailles Treaty.

"That's it: there it is in force."

"—Force ???"

[Paris]



Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton U.S.A.]

Spoiling his fun.



Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford]

Old King Coal.

While coal remains scarce in British cellars, it is being shipped abroad. It has been stated that 4,000 tons of best Yorkshire coal was sent during one week to Continental ports and to London, while coal workers on reaching their homes found fireless grates.



Hindi Punch]

[Bombay]

**Perversity and obstinacy; or Asinine
Stupidity in Extremes.**

The Indian Extremist and the British Extremist have waded with each other in braying at the Joint Report and the Indian Reform Bill.



[Daily Express]

[London]

Auckland had a little lamb with wool that tried to grow,
But everywhere that Auckland went the profiteers would go!



[Courier Journal]

[Montreal]

Reading between the Lines.



[The Looker-on]

[Calcutta]

Not having any?

"The formation of the Anti-Peace-Celebrations Publicity Board was announced at a Public Meeting in Delhi."—(Associated Press.)



Bradford Daily Telegraph

[Bradford]

"The Sea hath its Pearls." The pearls do not fall, however, to the Pearl Insurance Agents.



Daily Mail

[London]

"Please, Mr. Stork."

John Citizen: "Hi! Couldn't you drop another one of those down here?"

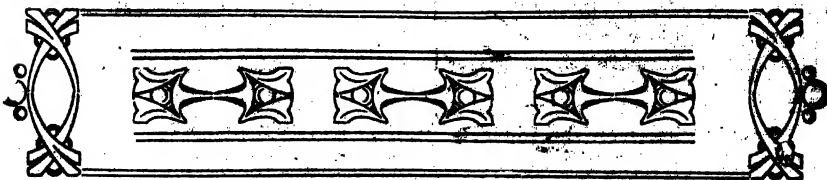


De Notenkraaker.

[Amsterdam]

The Presidential Election in France.

The Conqueror Conquered.



A Cabinet Divided : A World Adrift.

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

(Our Special Correspondent in Paris).

In order to understand the full significance of an article written by myself in another place during the past month, an article in which I merely put in a clear light the utterly irreconcilable differences which exist between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, it is necessary to look at the whole surprising world-situation.

The split in the British Cabinet is not something new : it has long been known to all well-informed people ; but there has been a strange conspiracy of silence. Why the revelation of the truth should have caused a sensation is one of those mysteries with which politics abound. People know perfectly well what is happening, but it is tacitly agreed to keep all eyes closed. When somebody opens them there is a great outcry and commotion, and statesmen and political writers run this way and that, and denials and denials of the denials, and explanations and explanations of the explanations, are issued and there is a deuce of a pother. With the swarm of statements I have nothing to do. It is only necessary to repeat quietly but emphatically that not only is it true that the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War hold diametrically opposite opinions upon the question of peace or war in Russia ; but everybody who has had five minutes' conversation with them knows it and is simply being ridiculous in pretending that it is not so. My present purpose is, how-

ever, to show how exceedingly serious is this tolerance of divided counsels, of contending opinions, and how, while there are two voices in the British Cabinet, while we have the policy of the pendulum, disaster swiftly approaches.

This is not a mere matter of domestic politics for consumption at home. While the politicians wrangle but will not separate, while the most amazing insubordination is permitted by the Prime Minister, events are on the march. About all the attempted combinations of parties, the preparations for the General Election which we are assured is coming, I have little to say. These are subjects of hot discussion which only concern Great Britain. But there are others which concern humanity, and it is these which arouse the terrible disputes which may have the most dreadful consequences. Once upon a time—does it not read like a fairy story?—cabinets were guided by principles. If a member of the Cabinet did not accept the principles of his Chief he resigned. He had nothing to do in that galley. But now we have changed all that. Coalition means that you take oil and water and put them in the same bottle, you take Yea and Nay and join them in unholy matrimonial bonds. Whether Mr. Lloyd George is white and Mr. Churchill is black, is not my point. I only ask where we can expect to be conducted if we have one driver pulling to the right and another driver pulling to the

left. Reconciliation? When men have mentalities which are so completely in antagonism they cannot be, in the intellectual sense, reconciled.

Some bright official has coined the term "departmental policy" (it sounds like a Churchillism). "Departmental policy" is the new method of Government. Your Prime Minister declares his own policy. But that in no way binds the departments. There is no reason why "Peace" should not be translated into "War" in the War Office. This is only one example out of many that I could give of the bland contradiction and complacent confusion that have prevailed in and between the Ministries and the Ministers. New parties are in process of formation, ostensibly to fight against Socialism, to fight against Liberalism, to fight against Conservatism, to fight against anything and everybody; but the true cynical recipe for making new parties of the Birkenhead and Churchill brand is to take a little of everything, to compound a heterogeneous mixture, to shake together all these ingredients of Liberalism, Conservatism and even Socialism, label it National Party, and hope that the innocent public will swallow it without asking what it is. Is it not time that Mr. Lloyd George, who has undoubtedly the keenest brain in European politics, came back to realities, declared for plain principles, and invited those who disagree with him to leave him, instead of allying himself with the most compromising bedfellows?

But my purpose is to survey a broader prospect. I want to show why it is that there is at this moment one statesman in office in Europe who supremely matters—I leave out Lenin since Russia is outside our Western world—and that statesman is Lloyd George.

He is the sole survivor of the group of politicians upon whose shoulders rested the weight of the world in Paris. He is the only man of genuine perceptions, of generous instincts, with the necessary prestige. He can be—and he alone can be—the saving arbiter of affairs. But while he works with a divided Cabinet, while he allows his personal judgments to

be perpetually thwarted, he is false to his own self, he is false to his mission, he is false to mankind.

Consider the situation in France. The new President, M. Deschanel, in a few days will take up his residence in the Elysée. He has his own views about foreign affairs—for example, he is certainly friendly towards Italy and that is more than can be said, not of his predecessor, but of another famous French figure—but it will nevertheless be some time before his influence will be felt. He is a man of impeccable neck-ties and of properly creased jackets. He means, of course, that he will not care to do anything daring. M. Poincaré was a real power, but in spite of a reappearance through the trap-door he too will take some time to learn his new part. M. Clemenceau has taken his political virtues and his vices off the stage, and no longer naps and raps out dogmatic assertions. M. Millerand found himself rocking on a stormy sea, and he and his successors will have to bale desperately hard to avoid shipwreck. M. Pichon who before his departure from the Quai d'Orsay had sunk into kindly obscurity, and who now effaces himself, like a man in the Club, behind the newspaper he happens to direct, was, at any rate, a real person. If you go into the Quai d'Orsay you find that M. Dutasta, the Secretary of the Peace Conference, has departed, and only a tiny secretariat remains. Where, too, is M. Berthelot? We used to discuss even in official circles whether M. Berthelot, the permanent official who directs French foreign affairs, was the genius that some people supposed, or the occult source of certain errors in policy; at least he knew the ropes, and to be told that he was taking a holiday—a holiday when urgent problems of life or death are in the balance!—gave us a shock. Was there ever such a clean sweep in any country? If M. Clemenceau had not folded his arms and waited for the Presidential laurel wreath in such a lofty manner, he would not have frightened the deputies and senators into the belief that he was a new Napoleon, he would have not have been defeated, continuity would not have been broken. As it is, there is certainly no one in France who could for a moment oppose a sound

positive policy proposed by Mr. Lloyd George. What was rather stupidly called the Anglo-Saxon hegemony, the Anglo-Saxon peace, would now be realised.

For the other countries do not count. The neutrals do not pretend to interfere. Poor little Holland pluckily stands up on the specific question of the delivery of the Kaiser on a charge not hitherto framed to a court not hitherto constituted. Spain is preoccupied with Catalonia, and is wondering whether Tangiers cannot be made a Morocco-Spanish port in return for a little grace being granted to France for the repayment of the 420 million pesetas now due—and which France at the present rate of exchange cannot pay—but otherwise she is not particularly interested in the European imbroglio. Italy is diplomatically confined to the Adriatic. When I see Signor Nitti I am lost in admiration that he can remain half so cheerful when the Socialists compel him to receive Bolshevik Ambassadors and the Nationalists worry him about Fiume, and the Yugo-Slavs scowl fiercely from over the way, and his own people ask for coal and cheaper food and do not want any new wars to end war—by ending mankind, I presume. Clearly Italy can put no one up who could compare with the British Premier.

Of the new nations it is only necessary to say that for want of what I may call a super-national policy, clear guiding principles laid down by a Supreme Council, (how it was scoffed at, the idea of a Super-National Council, and yet it is exactly for lack of a higher collective organisation that the world is now adrift!), they are all in the most deadly economic difficulties, they are all on the point of flying at each other's throats.

A French writer asks dolefully what will be the fate of Europe if, as a result of the peace, there should break out simultaneously and suddenly three wars. The particular wars he chooses, to point his moral and adorn his tale, are (1) A war between Poland and Russia, with Estonia and Lithuania (who fear the establishment of "la plus grande Pologne") coming in on the side of Russia; (2) a conflict on the Danube

between monarch-making and Socialist-slaying Hungary on the one hand and Austria and Czecho-Slovakia on the other (to say nothing of the Hungarian grievance against Rumania, which has taken Transylvania); (3) a war between Italy and Yugo-Slavia (which would, of course, postpone any idea of strife between Rumania and Yugo-Slavia over the question of the Banat of Temesvar). I am merely quoting. The statement is probably far too gloomy. Yet there are people who would dissent from it on the ground that it is too optimistic: that there are not three but a dozen wars in prospect. There is Asia—but of that we will speak later.

Add to this troubling spectacle—and without being Cassandra one can certainly see the possibility of the direct calamity,—the financial crash which must come upon us if the warnings are not heeded, and you will see that the blessings of peace are indeed turning into ashes in the mouth. I have written in this review sufficient about the financial and economic situation of the world during the last two months, and all my prophecies are coming true, but to illustrate my present point I call attention to Germany. There is certainly no statesman in Germany big enough for his job. Certain speculators whom I met hurrying across Belgium before the treaty was signed, in order to buy up German marks, must be repenting their bargain to-day. The theory was that the mark must at once begin to go up in value. We see it descending until it has become practically worthless, and one financial expert with whom I discussed the position takes strongly the view that there will soon be nothing left for Germany but to go bankrupt in this sense—that she will be obliged to make a new issue of paper money, calling in the old at a low rate, so that she may make a fresh start. Here I have reason to believe the view of Mr. Lloyd George is that everything must be done to help Germany on to her financial feet again. The Reparations Commission, which I saw the other day moving into the Hotel Astoria in Paris, will be obliged to face the facts, to realise that the total ruin of Germany means the imminent ruin of France (already the franc is 47 or 48 to the pound), and the imminent ruin

For and Against International Free Trade. C

In his recent book, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," Professor Keynes, who held the position of representative of the British Treasury on the Supreme Economic Council at Paris, declares that Europe is threatened with bankruptcy if steps are not taken quickly to establish complete freedom of trade between all countries. Even in France where the tradition of protective tariffs is strongest, there is now a widespread demand for Free Trade as the only means of supplying her industries with the raw materials necessary for their revival, and of bringing down prices. A similar demand is finding expression in every country that is suffering from under-production and prices inflated by the excess of demand over supply. On the other hand, manufacturers declare that they will be driven out of business by foreign competition under unrestricted free trade. The consumers demand the removal of restrictions in order to bring down prices. The producers declare that such a short-sighted policy would produce widespread unemployment in a few years. In the following articles the arguments on both sides are discussed by expert authorities of opposing schools.



MR. BROUGHAM VILLIERS.

Mr. Villiers has written a number of books on social and political questions. "The Opportunity of Liberalism" (1907) aroused considerable interest at the time. Since then he has published, through Mr. T. Fisher Unwin, "The Socialist Movement in England" (1908), "Modern Democracy" (1912), "Britain after the Peace" (1917), and in collaboration with Mr. W. H. Chesson "Anglo-American Relations, 1861-5," reviewed in last month's number of the *Review of Reviews*. Mr. Villiers is a strong Free Trader and has been, since its foundation, a member of the Independent Labour Party.



[Photo Elliott & Fry]

MR. ERNEST E. WILLIAMS

Mr. Williams has been known since 1896 as a frequent writer and occasional speaker on the Tariff question. In 1903 he initiated, and became Hon. Secretary of, the Imperial Tariff League, which a few weeks later blossomed out into the Tariff Reform League. Mr. Williams is now a practising barrister; but before he settled down to the Law he was assistant-editor and leader-writer on the *Standard*, and besides issuing such Tariff Reform propaganda as "Made in Germany," "The Foreigner in the Farm Yard," "The Case for Protection" and "The Tariff Dictionary," conducted memorable controversies on this question with Mr. Harold Cox and others.

The Case for International Free Trade

TRADE REFORM

By BROUGHAM VILLIERS.

In the long conflict between Free Traders and Protectionists in this country one aspect of the question, more vital than any other, has often, I fear, been forgotten. The bread and butter side of things has tended to absorb Free Traders in the national, the material, the practical, to the detriment of the ideal aspect of their cause. Cobden himself never lost sight of this ideal, which has now become the most immediate and practical issue of all. "It has often struck me," wrote the great Free Trader, "that it would be well to engraft our Free Trade agitation upon the Peace movement. They are one and the same."

For at the bottom of the controversy it is not merely two fiscal policies that are opposed. Even more than this, it is two conflicting views of human life, of the relations of man to man the world over. The philosophy of Free Trade in dealing rationally with one subject gives an inspiration in others to which it is hardly possible to set definite boundaries. To the question: should the relations of mankind be essentially friendly and mutually helpful, or must they of necessity be antagonistic? the Free Trader, in effect, gives one answer and the Protectionist another.

Nobody, I think, will deny to-day that the preservation of the peace of the world is the most important of all questions; indeed the growing acceptance of this truth has already brought converts to Free Trade from the most unexpected quarters. It is felt that we cannot afford to let causes of friction, economic or other, grow up between nations lest friction breed war, for we have learnt that war is national suicide. And Protective tariffs are manifestly a cause of friction at least. They hamper and are intended to hamper trade, and inevitably rouse angry feeling in those with whose business they interfere. Any one must have felt this who has seen his business interrupted altogether, or turned aside into other channels, through some new tax imposed by a foreign country, to which

he has been selling his produce. He is justified in being angry, and it will be well if his anger is confined within the bounds of reason. But this is unfortunately not always the case. Too probably he will seek for some method of reprisal, without duly reflecting on whether the reprisal will hurt himself more than his enemy. I came across an amusing illustration of the way in which poor human nature sometimes reacts to tariffist injuries. The United States Government by raising its tariff on biscuits injured the trade of an English manufacturer who used to send some of his produce there. He became a Tariff Reformer, and advocated a retaliatory tariff on American goods. If he had got his way, we should have had a tax on American corn, with the certain effect of raising the price of his raw material, flour, and making it still more difficult to export biscuits. Thus, the first effect of a protective tariff is to create groups of people among the foreign traders affected by it who are ready for some measure of retaliation. This, I am convinced, had more than anything else to do with such popularity as the Tariff Reform movement obtained in this country. Everywhere we were met by people who wished to hit back at Germany, and it was most difficult to convince them that, while a British tariff would certainly hurt the Germans, it would hurt us much more. Nor was this all. The narrow-minded French system, with its preferential tariffs designed to prevent rival nations trading with the great Colonial Empire of France, was one great cause of the fear Germans had of the "strangulation" of their trade. That is why Germany so bitterly opposed the French annexation of Morocco, for as soon as they were guaranteed the "open door" in that country the Germans withdrew their opposition and the crisis subsided. Meantime matters had been made much worse by the Tariff Reform movement here. If we, with our vast dominions, were going to adopt the French system, the Germans felt, naturally enough, that their trade would be

"strangled" and their rapidly growing population ultimately starved.

It is not surprising, then, to find that there have been many tariff wars among the Protectionist nations of Europe. The introduction of a higher scale of tariff in Italy, in 1888, led at once to such a war with France. Each country imposed heavier duties on imports from its rival. Both suffered heavily, the trade falling off at once from five hundred to three hundred million francs. It lasted ten years and must have brought ruin to thousands, as well as a great deal of ill-feeling between Frenchmen and Italians. Fortunately, it had had time to be forgotten before the outbreak of the world war, or Italy might have come in against France as a member of the Triple Alliance. Similar, but shorter, tariff wars occurred between Germany and Russia and between France and Switzerland in the 'nineties to the serious injury of trade and the general promotion of ill-feeling.

Unfortunately a Protective tariff injures more than it irritates the people at home, while it irritates even more than it injures people abroad. At home it raises the cost of living and hampers industry in general for the benefit of a few favoured trades. It is a system of robbing Peter to pay Paul, only in this case there are many Peters and few Pauls. It cannot increase, on balance it always considerably reduces, the total wealth of the nation. Twenty Peters contribute a shilling each to give one Paul half a sovereign, and only the Free Trader has vision enough to see that half the money has been lost in the process. Meanwhile, Paul is pleased, he lobbies in the House of Commons, organises in the country, heckles Parliamentary candidates, perhaps resorts to sheer bribery to keep the system going, while the Peters do not understand what has happened clearly enough to organise in their defence. To the foreigner, however, the new tariff, while it does less actual injury, has no compensations; he is merely angry, looking out for an opportunity to hit back, and when any cause of friction between his own country and the "foreigner" arises, is easily influenced by the militarist and the jingo.

There are three reasons only why one country should desire dominion over

another: national pride, military strength, and freedom of trade; and the first two are in modern times based very largely on the last. An outlet for her exports was essential to Serbia, and it really mattered to the well-being of the Serbian peasant that Austria put a heavy duty on his swine at the best of times, and could absolutely prevent his exporting them at all whenever, for political reasons, the Austrian Government chose to prohibit it under the pretext of "swine fever." A trade outlet through Belgium is necessary to West German manufacturers, and though access to Antwerp was not denied to them the jealous protectionist spirit prevailing in Europe for the last half-century helped to convince them that only by holding command of Antwerp could they be sure that this freedom would continue. The British Navy was no hindrance to their trade in time of peace, but it might be a very different thing if the Tariff Reformers got their way and our Navy were used to defend a system of preferential trading throughout a quarter of the world. These things supplied food to the German spirit of aggression. Of course it is a perfectly senseless thing to wish to impose your "Kultur" on a foreign nation; we cannot guarantee, however, that among the millions of any nation there won't be found many people fools enough to desire this. But if we cannot get rid of fools altogether, we can at any rate so order things that sensible people who only desire to earn their living in peace and quietness have no real, tangible reason for joining them. It is hardly too much to say that International Free Trade would remove all rational, as distinct from merely sentimental, causes of dispute between nations.

Though International Free Trade would probably have prevented the World War, there seemed very little likelihood, as things were then, of its being adopted. Still less likely did it appear to most people during the progress of the war itself. On the contrary, the Protectionists everywhere thought their chance had come. "Behold now is the accepted time!" preached the *Morning Post*, and countless lesser lights of the Press echoed the cry to a chorus of approval from Chambers of Commerce as well as excited partisans on recruiting platforms and else-

where. The fever of the time affected even Free Traders, and F. Naumann, an old Free Trader, wrote a book in favour of a Zollverein of Central Europe, while the Government of Mr. Asquith accepted the Paris Resolutions. Now there is one golden rule for the man who would like to understand what is really happening in a time of public excitement: that is "pay no attention whatever to what party politicians are saying or to the comments of the political Press." In such a time, if you pay any heed to the newspapers at all, look only to the news columns and especially to items in obscure corners which the editors hope you may overlook. Anyone doing this might have seen that while people were shouting for Protection for the United Kingdom, Continental Protection had been shattered to pieces. From the very outbreak of the war, when, be it noted, they wanted money more than ever before, the nations of Western Europe began to suspend their food taxes wholesale. Within a year such a break-up of the European tariff system, carefully built up during years of peace, had occurred as the most optimistic Free Trader would hardly have hoped for in a century. Western Europe which went into the war Protectionist has emerged from it nearly Free Trade. For the nonce Free Trade is not a project, it is virtually a *fait accompli*.

It is difficult to see how this can be altered, at least for a long time to come. Central Europe is starving: it is crying out for food. Some system of international rationing of overseas supplies will have to be adopted. In Russia and the late enemy countries power has passed from the old Protectionist rulers into the hands of the parties which were everywhere agitating against the tariff before the war. How will it be possible for these people, crying out for food and demanding their due share of a scanty international supply, to reimpose between their children and the foreign grain the protective tariffs against which they so long protested? If we want food, we may yet agree to Austria having a share rather than see her people starve, but if Austria says, in effect, that she so little needs food that she means to keep it out by reimposing her old duty of 12s. a quarter, would we not be justified in

refusing to divide our crust with her? The more we think about it the clearer it becomes that it is impossible to restore the food taxes of Europe.

Another thing that the war has revealed is the hopeless weakness of Protectionist finance. Tariffs of any sort did little, Protective ones nothing at all to finance the war; the only two powers that emerged from it without being in a hopeless state of bankruptcy being the two who depended mainly on direct taxation, especially on an income tax. This is notably true of this country, which, until America came in, was virtually the banker of all her allies. And though the United States is Protectionist, it is true also of America. It was not the American tariff that financed the war, but the new American income tax imposed just before it broke out. Polonius should have been a Free Trader, for that system makes a nation less likely to get into a quarrel, but very formidable to its enemy when it is in one. Nor is it difficult to see why this is so, only to do so you must not keep your eye on the daily press, but on the *Statistical Abstract for Foreign Countries*.

In the seven years, 1906-1912 inclusive, years of profound peace, the aggregate debts of four great powers, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, rose from £3,070,000,000 to £3,444,000,000. These sums include the debts of 26 German States as well as the imperial debt, for in a Federal Empire like Germany it is altogether misleading to consider only the debt of the Federal Government itself. The Governments, therefore, spent in seven years of peace nearly four hundred million pounds more than they raised. In the same period the aggregate yearly revenue of the four powers rose from £521,000,000 to £669,000,000, an increase of 148 millions. The *Abstract* gives only the revenue of the German Empire, not those of the States, so these figures apply to imperial revenues only. This increased revenue was obtained partly by the growth of wealth and population, making old taxes more prolific, and partly by heavy increases in taxation. But though all these countries were Protectionist, their tariffs played hardly any part at all in helping them in their difficulties. The total revenue received from Customs duties in 1906 was £65,344,000, and in

1912 £78,165,000; in the first year the proportion yielded by Customs to the total revenue was only 12½ per cent., while it was rather less in 1912. Only Germany raised as much money by taxing hundreds of things as we did by non-protective duties on a few articles. Our own experience under Protection was similar. According to a Parliamentary Report prepared in 1840, out of a total revenue from Customs duties of £22,122,000, no less than £18,575,000 came from nine items only; 858 taxes, mostly Protective realising less than four million pounds! All these protective taxes have been swept away, and our tariff before the war was comprised under seven of the nine headings which had vindicated their fiscal efficiency, the remaining protective taxes on wool and wood having also been given up. The resultant expansion of trade due to the repeal of restrictive taxes very rapidly made up for any temporary loss caused by the surrender, and the revenue became elastic to a surprising degree. We had far fewer taxes, but they pressed more lightly on the people and yielded more money. In the seven years in which the four Protective Powers

increased their debts by 870 millions we paid off sixty-four millions.

I think these facts will suffice to prove the failure of Protection as a system of finance both in peace and war. Direct taxation and Free Trade are essential if a nation has to deal effectively with a difficult financial position. But whatever might be the case before the war, beyond all question Europe cannot afford to have a bad fiscal system now. Protection has broken down; it fell like the walls of Jericho at the first blast of the war trumpet, and it is now in ruins. The nations are faced with a situation by which they can be saved from bankruptcy, if at all, only by substituting for the old system of finance the sound methods which have enabled us to come through the crisis at least in a far better position than our European allies and enemies. Imperative financial and economic facts are driving the nations in the same direction as that aimed at by the idealist who would fain see emerge from the calamity of the present a better social order, and the thinker who sees that by the breaking down of fiscal barriers between the nations this result can best be attained.



The Case Against International Free Trade.

By ERNEST E. WILLIAMS.

It was inevitable that every one who looked for what he regarded as improvement in some direction should have anticipated that the upheaval of the war would bring the realization of his dreams. And we all, in our various ways, did comfort ourselves with these pleasing predictions. Free Traders of course have been among the number. Has the upheaval brought them any nearer the attainment of their heart's desire? Are the looming changes likely to include universal Free Trade?

He would be a bold man who would prophesy what the world will look like when the seething mass shall have settled, and the present liquified state becomes solidified once more; but in spite of Leagues of Nations and International Food Commissions and other exhibitions of international fraternization, it is difficult to see in existing prospects the advent of International Free Trade. Many cogent indications point the other way.

Take, for example, our own national situation. One of the primary lessons of the war—a lesson which, it looked three years ago, we were to learn in bitterness and dire peril—was the paramount importance of home food production. Now, not even the most ardent Free Trader will deny that the diminution in our arable lands was the direct outcome of our policy of free imports. In pre-war days it was a sort of boast of Free Traders that the world outside showered its cheap and golden grain upon us because we betook ourselves to the better way of mining and manufacture and mercantile avocations. And then the U-boat came to remind us that starvation might lie that way; and we began, at a very late hour, with feverish haste, to restore our derelict cornfields, and by methods applicable to war-time, but not practicable in normal peace-time. We have learned also that an increase of a penny or so in the price of the loaf—the worst that could come from Protection—was not the supreme evil we had been taught to believe: instead of the working-classes

being moved to revolution and despair they have shown themselves complacent, and even rather partial, to higher prices. The case has not been dissimilar in regard to manufacturing industries. The war impressed upon us with new force the desirability of having our raw material, our semi-raw material, and our manufacturing industries as completely developed as possible within our own borders. And now that the war is over the talk is all of greater production, and how to encourage it—"production," that word which was almost taboo in the old days, when the Consumer was alone regarded as the fit companion of politicians, and the Producer was only furtively recognized as a somewhat disreputable acquaintance.

This sort of thing is not, in City parlance, a "bull point" for the Free Traders, so far as Britain is concerned, and it is significant that even that whilom champion of Free Trade, Mr. Lloyd George himself, has now taken to speak of Free Trade in uncertain and hesitating tones. And, if that is the position here, if the idea of tariff duties in the interest of home production has ceased to arouse fierce antagonism among large numbers of the population, is there any reason to suppose that in other countries, where that idea has always been accepted, and acted upon, as a matter of course, the new conditions have produced any desire to adopt the principle of free imports?

Of course, we must distinguish between the world's temporary economic situation and the normal situation. At the moment the main concern of every country is the bringing of as much wealth into the country as possible—whether coal, food, raw materials or manufactures. Even that most protectionist and greatest of producing countries, the United States, is angling for our exports. The war has left us all bare of everything. We have not enough to eat or wear or warm ourselves with. But this is a purely temporary condition: and if it were not for the foolish attitude of Labour we should even now be recognizing that the only way to obtain wealth is to make

it, that if we want to import food and manufactures for consumption, we must produce other things for exportation. But even Labour will not be able to ignore this obvious truth for long; and soon the pressing problem of every country will be, not how to scramble for a share in imported commodities, but how best to increase production and conserve native industries in face of the trade competition of other countries.

A factor of moment in the question is the growth of nationalism in consequence of the war. The days of robber Empires may be over—and that is a matter of pious hope, rather than of well-grounded belief—but it is not internationalism which has come to root them out. Notwithstanding the League of Nations, the feeling of nationality has grown with the war. The war to end war may have been, as so many of us hoped at the beginning, the last great war of the nations, but there are not many to-day who would prophesy as much with any confidence. We are rapidly accustoming ourselves to the prospect of an indefinitely continued need for readiness to fight, despite the movement towards international arbitration; and we have learned that capacity to fight involves wealth and population, as well as more directly military preparations, and that therefore, in order to be able to defend national independence against possible foreign aggression, a nation must foster its economic strength—in a word, must in some effective way protect and develop its home industries. And, apart from fear of war, even if that apprehension were removed, devotion to the nationalist principle, with its desire to see the nation hold up its head prosperously and proudly among the other nations, makes a like demand.

There is not much talk of tariffs now; for the moment there is no need: economic conditions render such protection as tariffs can give unnecessary, when any one who has anything to sell can find a market waiting hungrily for it. But the absence of talk about tariffs must not be misunderstood. It is the temporary economic situation, and not any idea of surrendering national industry, which is the explanation. See how every State is devoting itself to the support of national

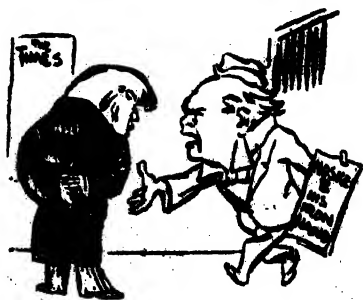
industry. So marked is this activity that it almost looks as though Governments had forgotten their old functions of governing—keeping the peace against foes without and disturbers within—and were mainly concerned in cherishing industries. Our own Government is a very conspicuous example, because, differing from many other countries in this respect, the State here did not concern itself with industrial development; but since the war began we have embarked upon a very different policy. Two years ago an English journal, the *Nottingham Guardian*, pointed this out in some apt words which I cannot do better than quote: "The nation as a whole has now become a great trader, and national funds are being used largely to support trade and to stimulate commercial activity. The Government has risked a large sum of money to establish a great dye-making concern. It has done the same to start a great bank for the financing of foreign trade. It is about to find some millions of money to build houses for people to live in, and to settle men on the land. The Government has also become partly responsible for the establishment of a great sugar-making concern in our own country; it is about to establish a system of forestry, and after the war it may control the railways and canals, and even the coal mines. All this may be wise or unwise, but whichever it is, it is entirely opposed to the principle of Free Trade. The Government has also guaranteed farmers a certain price for wheat for a term of years, and fixed the prices for most things we eat. It is supplying manure and seed for allotments, and doing other things which conflict entirely with the principle of Free Trade."

It is true that war emergencies, and not a deliberate opposition to the Free Trade principle, were the origin of this new policy; but its adoption shows that Free Trade principles, even in the home of Free Trade, are no longer allowed to stand in the way of what is regarded as of national necessity or advantage. The break with the old tradition has been made. And we, in common with the rest of the world, emerge from the war with a stronger appreciation than before of the importance of national industry;

and we have accustomed ourselves at the same time to the idea that it is a function of the State to help in fostering that national industry. Speaking for myself, and I think for the majority of people in this country—at least outside the Labour Party—I do not like the State-trading and State-control methods of aiding national industry. There is no reason why they should be maintained in peace-time; they are gradually disappearing, and the demand for their more complete disappearance is growing. But this relates only to the particular methods—not to the thing itself. There is no waning in the appreciation of the need for the development to its utmost of varied national industry; and we therefore come naturally back to the normal method of State aid to industry—the tariff method. And the desirability of this tariff method will become increasingly plain, and accompanied by an overwhelming demand for it, when, as will soon happen with the revival of industry, one of the chief dangers to national production is found to lie in the importation of rival productions from other countries. And, indeed, growls against dumping may even now be heard here and there; before two years have passed those growls will have swollen into a roar.

It is true that there has been some talk of using the new conditions of the world as a basis for the inauguration of International Free Trade. It is equally true that, whatever be the subject under discussion, you will always find some people to advocate a doctrine which is contrary to the current stream of thought. Such advocacy does not necessarily mean anything more than the inevitable exhibition of a psychical phenomenon of universal observation. Before it calls for any serious notice you have to be convinced that it has formidable proportions. It would not be strange if an idea which has in the past aroused such enthusiasm and fanaticism as have the Free Trade theory and dreams, were to provoke to-day a formidable movement on behalf of International Free Trade. The remarkable thing is that it has not done so. It would be unkind, and perhaps unjust, to dwell with emphasis upon the unfortunate

history of the war-time "International Free Trade League," whose premises were raided by the police and military authorities in November, 1917, on the ground, as was explained by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons, that "the League was suspected of carrying on a propaganda in the interests of the enemy." We may, however, give a little more attention to the very poor showing which a handful of American Free Traders made when they appealed for "freedom of trade as well as freedom of the seas" as a necessary provision of the peace. The reception which this appeal met with in its native country was not encouraging. More significant were the resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference in 1916, and Mr. Asquith's defence of them in the House of Commons, proclaiming the need for "self-defence against economic aggression." Those resolutions contemplated by name Customs duties as a weapon in that economic self-defence; and though they had as immediate object the permanent vanquishing of present enemies, they were dealing with the future peace period; and they indicated plainly that an era of Universal Free Trade was certainly not in contemplation then. Subsequent developments give no indication that they are in contemplation now.



Daily Herald

[London

Doings in Berlin.

Winston: "Happy idea, Alfred! Denikin has let us down—let us back Noske!"

THE LEAGUE OF YOUTH.

The Organisation of Young Men and Young Women.

Few movements in recent years have attracted such widespread attention and such universal sympathy as have been accorded to the ambitious organisation which Mr. Aubrey Rees has brought to life under the name of "The League of Youth." Its objects are sufficiently indicated in its title, and the few articles of its simple constitution place no important reservations upon its almost limitless scope.

Briefly, the idea of the League of Youth is to organise the young generation who have borne the brunt of the war, to help them to make their influence decisive in every sphere of our public life, and to give them that self-confidence and pride in their own achievements that can come only through a sense of organised activity. The League of Youth has been in existence for rather more than a year, and its membership is now considerable. Similar organisations have been started in several foreign countries and are working in close sympathy with it. It has gathered momentum with the growth of its numbers, and its influence is steadily growing and becoming consolidated. Its headquarters is in London, at 4, Temple Gardens, E.C.4, but it has already established a number of district branches in the provinces, and Mr. Rees hopes to cover the whole country as soon as his organisation has been perfected.

Membership of the League of Youth is open to anyone who subscribes to its principles. The object of the movement is to bring young men and women together on a common platform, but the organisation of such a movement naturally requires experience, and its success owes a great deal to the assistance and encouragement given to it in its beginnings by such veterans in our public life as Lord Bryce and Dr. Clifford. Mr. Lloyd George has consented to act as its first President, and it has an illustrious list of Vice-Presidents that includes many of the most prominent figures in our contemporary public life as well as in literature and art.

But while these eminent men and women, who have performed great public services during their own lives, and have

become famous and universally honoured, are all ready to give their benediction to the new movement and to help the young generation to carry on the torch that they have held, the motive force of the League, as well as its chief inspiration, must necessarily come from the young themselves. Mr. Rees has declined to narrow down the constitution of the League by committing it to any special policy that would be likely to cause division in its ranks. The evolution of a policy for Youth must come, as he rightly considers, through the discussions and researches of the young men and women themselves. The League is forming social service study clubs and literary and artistic and social circles all over the country, and there is no reason why there should not be distinct differences of opinion between the various centres of the organisation. The purpose of the League is not to teach Youth but to organise it and encourage it to face the problems of our time in its own way, and to produce its own solutions for the difficulties that have baffled its predecessors.

The old generation made the war and the new generation has had to suffer for the sins of its fathers. It has borne its burden manfully and without reproaching those who drove it out to face death and mutilation during the war. But it has definitely made up its mind that the follies of the past must not be repeated, and that the world must be made a better place than it had become through the indolence and the incompetence of the nineteenth century. But if Youth is to prevent the recurrence of these tragic follies it must itself assume the responsibility of leadership and of government, and to fit itself to exercise the rights and the duties of leadership it has still much to learn. Above all the young must organise their own numbers and acquire the habit of acting consciously and deliberately as the guardians of a great tradition, helping one another and always extending the influence and the control of their own generation. That is the work that the League of Youth wishes them to undertake, and that it can help them to perform most effectively.

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

THE MENACE OF A LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

The recent onward march of the Labour Party, accompanied by the growth of an almost fatalistic belief that a Labour Government is bound to come, and come quickly, has stirred Mr. Walford D. Green to a vigorous article in the *Nineteenth Century* (February) on "The Real Meaning of a Labour Government." With regard to the question raised by Mr. Churchill's now famous utterance, whether the Labour Party can govern, the writer points out that the Party "must remain under the dominion of Trade Unions, and of Socialist and Co-operative Societies affiliated to the Party. This is clear from the official constitution and standing orders. 'The work of the Party shall be under the direction and control of the Party conference.'" This conference is hedged in by a number of careful regulations defining the powers of the National Executive, Local Labour Parties, Affiliated Societies, and so forth. What are the broad political effects of these regulations?

The Labour Party is at present engaged in courting the average citizen; it has paid homage to intellect by officially proclaiming that it will secure for "the producers by brain" as well as for the producers by hand the full fruits of their industry, and it invites men and women to join its ranks on the ground that it is as national as any other party. But if a man who is not a Trade Unionist joins the Party he can only do so through the local organisation and he will at once discover that his local group can never add any article to the party creed unless the Trade Unions accept it. The Labour Party is in fact a curiously qualified democracy which Aristotle would have found it difficult to classify. It is a democracy in which the controlling power and executive authority are always reserved for a certain section of society, a section which might conceivably be a numerical minority. The membership of the local parties might exceed the membership of the affiliated societies, but the affiliated societies would still have the right to send far more delegates to the conference, and would still have thirteen representatives as against five on the Supreme Council. It is true that the party constitution can be

altered, but it can never be altered without the consent of the Trade Unions, and it is worth noticing that at the last Conference the principle of proportional representation was defeated by over a million on a "card vote."

The Labour Party then is not a pure democracy as it does not give equal rights to all citizens; it gives preferential rights to those citizens who think it right to join a Trade Union, and it condemns those who cannot or will not join such a union to a perpetual inferiority of influence.

As a result the "legislative supremacy" of the House of Commons will become nominal, and that House will only sit to register the decrees of the Labour Conference. Is this state of affairs expedient or necessary? The Labour leaders who preach class-antagonism and Marxism are at present a minority, but their influence is increasing, and Mr. Green is of opinion that it is this section that will provide the ideas and programme of the conference which a Labour Government would have to carry out. He proceeds to interpret the "ideal" of Labour in terms of practical politics. First, there is Nationalisation or socialisation or common ownership of the means of production, which may mean either buying out the present owners or confiscating their property, according to what is meant by socialisation. The "control of industry" by Labour is a phrase whose exact meaning is equally difficult to ascertain. It may signify anything from the joint Railway Council set up recently to the syndicalism in which the directors of business concerns would be a group of shop stewards. "Full payment of the Producer," again, suggests the elimination of the private capitalist, and the division of returns between the "producer" and the capitalist state; but as "producer" is still left undefined, it is impossible to arrive at what this arrangement would actually involve. The inference from Mr. Green's analysis is that the

return of a Labour Government to power would be little else than a pure gamble.

This survey of Labour Party aims as set forth in their own words shows that those aims are such that they can only be accomplished by the overthrow of society as it exists at present. Private ownership and private enterprise are incompatible with the economic order which the Party believes it can set up. A Labour Government would have to act quickly or its masters in the Trade Unions would be up in arms, and even if its period of office were short it would be compelled to introduce immediately measures for nationalisation which could never be repealed. The Parliament Act has destroyed the Lords' power of referring measures back to the electors, and free use of the Closure would quickly pass revolutionary legislation through the Commons. There are at present at work in this country two of those vague influences or impulses which have so much to do with forming public opinion. The first is the dangerous fallacy that because this Govern-

ment is bad no other could be worse! The possibilities of incompetence are not so easily exhausted. The second is the feeling that a Labour Ministry would be an interesting experiment and that it could not do much harm. If we are going to experiment let us not deceive ourselves with the notion that the experiment will not make much difference either way. Before giving a casual support to the Labour Party the ordinary citizen should at least ask whether he is prepared to hand over the trade of this country, on which so much depends, to men who are pledged to abolish private ownership and private enterprise, and all the problems of Empire to a Ministry which would be under the dominance of Trade Unions. If we are going to gamble let us at least have a careful look at the risks.

Mr. Green advocates the Referendum as a means of promoting political education in the constituencies, and especially as a check to wild legislative schemes.

THE CURRENCY PROBLEM.

Before the war the average British citizen had never taken any particular interest in the currency question. It lay outside his ordinary day-to-day affairs, and he was content to leave it to the experts. Recent events, however, have modified his indifference; he has begun to see that the currency of the realm is bound up with his personal loss or gain. Full understanding, however, of currency matters lags, and for this reason the remarkably clear exposition by Professor A. C. Pigou of "The Problem of the Currency" in the *Contemporary Review* (February) is decidedly opportune. Professor Pigou begins with the war period. He shows the measures that were taken by the Governments to raise a supply of ready money, and the effect of these measures on prices; and he explains why Treasury notes at present outstanding exceed the gold held against them by more than 300 millions.

When the Government borrowed from banks and drew cheques on the credits so created, prices were, as I have already explained, forced up. The rise of prices was followed by a rise of wages. But wages are, in general, paid, not in cheques, but in actual currency. Consequently, contractors and other employers of labour presented cheques on their accounts in order to get cash. In like manner,

members of the general public, seeing that prices were higher, found it convenient to hold rather more currency in their pockets than before; to get this they also presented cheques. In short the high price level caused an increase in the currency requirements of the circulation, and set up, to this end, an internal drain upon the banks. In normal times, in face of such a drain the banks would have had resort, in various indirect ways, to the gold reserve of the Bank of England: gold would have been taken out of this reserve and would have been used to meet the extra requirements of the circulation. As the gold was taken out of the reserve, the bank rate of discount, and, in connection with that, the market rate also, would have gone up, credits would have been contracted, and the upward movement of prices checked. All this is simple and well-known. But in the abnormal circumstances of the war the normal correctives of a high price level could not work. The fact that the Government was in the market as a large borrower, and the desire to maintain the country's reputation for financial strength, alike forbade any large rise in the Bank of England's rate for money. Moreover, even if the rates had been put up heavily, the normal effect in contracting credits and diminishing prices would not have been realised. For the Government must have continued creating new credits and expanding the aggregate volume of credits, whatever price it was called upon to pay. In the circumstances the only thing that it was possible to do was to create new currency. Government credits expended in enormous purchases, forced up prices; enhanced prices

caused people with bank balances to present cheques for encashment; there were no existing supplies of currency adequate to meet these continually growing demands. If new currency had not been created, the banks would not have been able to honour in cash the cheques of solvent customers. Hence, on pain of complete financial breakdown, the Government was compelled to allow bankers to purchase from them currency notes, in exchange for a transfer to its account of balances held at the Bank of England. This is the explanation of the main part of the great volume of currency notes now in the hands of the public and the banks.

In pre-war days, an adverse movement in the foreign exchange could always be checked by exporting gold. But the export of gold was stopped during the war, because the Government was obliged to keep the whole of the gold reserve in its own hands. And now that our imports from abroad are so far from being balanced by our exports—now, in fact, that we have piled up a mountain of external debt—the restoration of the free market in gold is not possible. The danger of an enormous drain is too great. "Practically all the gold in the country might be taken away and still equilibrium not be established. . . . The practical inference is that a condition precedent to the removal of the embargo on gold or gold export is that industry and the general export trade of the country must be already so far restored, and the loans we are making to foreigners so far estopped, that the gap between immediate obligations to make payment and immediate claims to obtain payment elsewhere is reduced to more manageable dimensions."

At present the £ note is not worth the gold content of a sovereign by about 30 per cent. Professor Pigou estimates that if this specific depreciation were removed there would be a fall in the general level of prices to about 115 per cent. above the pre-war level. "So far those persons who look to currency improvement as a means of bringing general prices down are justified."

But after all, the 30 per cent. specific depreciation of currency notes is responsible, as these figures indicate, for only a small part in the total existing general rise in prices. Besides the depreciation of the British currency in terms of gold, there has

been also a much large depreciation of gold itself in terms of things. This gold depreciation is due partly to the fact that throughout the world a large part of the work for which gold used to be wanted is now taken over by paper; and partly to the companion fact that the wastage and disorganisation of war has involved a great shortage of things. It is the gold depreciation which is responsible for, or more accurately which constitutes, the larger part of the great and world-wide rise of prices. As the shortage of things is made good by restored world industry, the portion of this depreciation due to this shortage should disappear. If and when each of the various countries again resorts to gold to fulfil the uses in which paper has supplanted it, the other portion of the depreciation should disappear also. But—and this is the point—the utmost that any one country can do in squeezing paper substitutes for gold out of employment—or, what comes to the same thing, in collecting gold in reserve as a backing for their paper, cannot produce any very large effect. For that they must all act. If England returned the whole way to her pre-war currency system, with sovereigns actually circulating and no currency notes at all, the enormous volume of gold would be drawn here, thus raising everywhere its value in terms of things, or in other words, lowering general gold prices. But relatively to the total rise of gold prices which has taken place, the reduction would be small. That rise, so far as it has been due to currency and credit causes, has been brought about by the action of many countries. It cannot be cancelled, except in small part, even by heroic action on the part of one alone. For this reason, just as it is a mistake to charge the Treasury and the banks here with the sole responsibility for the existing high price-level, so also it is a mistake to expect, from any action that it is within their power to take now, a return to anything like the pre-war level. A large part of the influences at work lie beyond their range.

As notes based on gold in the central reserve do exactly the same work as sovereigns, there is no particular reason why the latter should ever circulate again. Moreover, gold kept in the central reserve is more accessible and gives more strength to the State than an equal amount scattered over the country. People have got accustomed to notes. But should they show signs of drawing out sovereigns for circulation at any future time, Ricardo's plan of making the notes convertible into bar gold (for export) but not convertible into actual coins would effectually prevent this, while retaining an adequate gold standard.

CAN LIBERALS AND UNIONISTS COALESCE?

"The only fitting-place for a pure-principled Tory," writes Mr. J. B. Firth in the *Fortnightly Review* (February), "is a museum or a mausoleum." Nor, thinks Mr. Firth, is a Tory Democrat a political possibility in these days. "The Tory is not made democratic, the democrat is not made Tory, by any ingenious method of ticketing."

According to the theory of Tory-Democracy, parties should not be divided horizontally, according to class, but, according to opinions, vertically. The phrase is clever, but it does not correspond with the facts of human experience. There was just a remote chance that Tory-Democracy might succeed when two parties only—Liberal and Conservative—strove for power. The cranks in the Liberal Party—powerful out of all proportion to their numbers—antagonised hosts of working-class voters, who were content to let the ancient institutions of the land alone so long as they obtained generous and frequent instalments of remedial legislation. But the rise of the Labour Party, which neither Disraeli nor Lord Randolph Churchill foresaw, has altered the situation beyond recognition. Disraeli, indeed, committed himself to the astonishing prophecy—at least it seems astonishing now—that the "formation of a new party is destined in English politics to be never more substantial than a vision." If only that saturnine glance could range over the present Front Opposition Bench or could scan the serried rows of delegates at a Special Trade Union Congress, convened with the object of putting "compulsion" on the Government! The rise of the Labour Party—and it is not yet fully risen—sweeps the old theorising into limbo. The instinct of the Regency Tories was perfectly sound. They knew in their bones that Reform, the industrial system and "French principles" meant sooner or later that their day was done. It has taken nearly a century for their sun to set.

On the other hand the rank and file of the working classes are not actively hostile to ancient institutions such as the Crown and the House of Lords, "so long as they do not feel them to be oppressive or injurious to themselves." There exists indeed a very deep and genuine respect for the Sovereign. Yet the principle of aristocracy has fallen in popular estimation, and wealth in stocks and shares which is represented so largely in the present House of Lords does not carry anything like the political influence that was conferred by "breadth of acres." All talk of strengthening the House of

Lords is therefore outside practical politics.

Dealing with the "Labour attack," the writer admits that it is being skillfully directed. Labour leaders are not preaching any crusade against the Crown, or against Aristocracy, or the Church, or even Imperialism. They even find the latter quite compatible with democracy. At the same time they do not frankly accept these things as integral parts of the British Constitution. Their quiescence "means that the present moment is not deemed opportune for attack, and that better results are promised by a concentration of their energies in an attack upon property, upon the capitalistic system, and upon the basis of the existing order of society. . . . They can, when they choose, capture the House of Commons and nominate the Government." Here then is a clear call to the Liberal manufacturer of the North and other propertied Liberals to strengthen themselves against this threat to their interests by forming a strong alliance with the Unionist Party. Does anything remain to keep them apart?

There is no effective place for a strong Liberal Party between a strong Labour Party and a strong Conservative Party, provided that the latter is sanely led and recognises the necessity of moving with the times. No doubt the results for Liberalism of the last election were too bad to be true. Like the results for Unionism in 1906. But, after all, what does official Liberalism stand for at this juncture apart from Free Trade in its old pedantic and pre-war interpretation? It is not sought to minimise the importance of the fiscal stumbling-block in the way of the formation of a strong united party out of the existing Coalition. No one will expect fanatical Free Traders, if they remain fanatical, to accept a policy of Protection, or even of full-blooded Tariff Reform. But, as matters stand, there is no likelihood of either, both being about as dead as pure Cobdenism, unless and until the Labour Party turns Protectionist, as it quite possibly may when it finds that to be the only means of maintaining its newly-won rates of wages and shorter hours. The concessions in fiscal matters which Coalition Liberals are asked to make to their colleagues are very small, and fiscal differences, therefore, need be no insuperable obstacle to closer political union, even though compromise means shedding a number of extreme Free Traders and the disgruntling of the extreme Protectionists. What else stands in the way?

Certainly not Home Rule, because the cause of Unionism has been abandoned by Conservatives—sorrowfully, it is true, and against their deliberate judgment, but in recognition of the fact that three-quarters of the Irish people think that they would rather be badly governed by themselves than well governed by Great Britain. Imperial Defence? There is no difference on that head between the two parties in the Coalition, but there is the gravest difference between them and Labour and between them and most of the Independent Liberals. Education, again, used to be an acid test between Liberals and Unionists. But now most sensible people have progressed beyond the stage when they could be lashed into simulated fury over "right of entry" or the preposterous cry of "Rome on the Rates." The greatest Educa-

tion Bill of recent times has been passed without the religious question being raised at all.

The positive side of the argument for union is "vastly stronger," according to Mr. Firth. A strong, solid centre party, capable of marching with the times, but resolved to set its face against domestic disunion and disruption, is badly wanted for its own sake and for that of other countries. "How is Britain to stand fast if she . . . is being turned upside down by a Labour Government striving to fulfil the revolutionary promises on which it has climbed to power?"

THE RED COAT.

"Is the time-honoured and beloved Red Coat to be sacrificed on the altar of false economy?" Colonel C. Field, writing in the *United Service Magazine* (February) asks this question with reference to the rumour that only the Guards are to be allowed to retain the scarlet tunic. Needless to add, it is only for ceremonial purposes that he advocates its retention in other corps that have hitherto had the privilege of wearing it.

He sketches, interestingly and succinctly, the history of the Red Coat, and suggests that the prestige attached to it by the fame of the British fighting man had "something to do with its adoption for the uniform of certain corps d'elite in foreign countries whose national colour was either white, blue or green."

Thus the Gardes Suisses, who sacrificed themselves in their heroic defence of the King at the outbreak of the French Revolution, wore red. So did the "*Gens d'armes du Roi*," the "*Chevaux Legers du Roi*," and the "*Mousquetaires*" at the Restoration in 1815. In Denmark the Grenadier Life Guards still wear red in full dress. In Spain the Hussars of Pavia are clad in the same colour. Before the débacle brought about by the recent war the Czar's personal escort of Cossacks had red uniforms, as did one of the two or three regiments of Hussars of the Guard. In Germany the Life Guard Hussars were dressed in scarlet dolmans, while a red tunic was the "high gala dress" of the officers of the *Garde du Corps*. Similarly in the late Austrian Empire red was the colour of the uniform of the Austrian Horse Guards and the Royal Hungarian Body Guard.

Army authorities were bothered by the question of expense as early as 200 years ago. Colonel Field quotes sundry attempts to reduce this. One "real and straightforward economy"

was that inculcated by an Army Order of 1707 which directed that each soldier should be issued annually a "Good Full Bodied Coat well lin'd. Waistcoat, to be made of y^e Old Coat the 2nd Year."

But

The attempt at economy which followed towards the end of the century and was copied from the Prussians, was to be cheese-paring with the cloth, so that for years the British soldier was skewered up in tight-fitting and diminutive garments in which he could neither march, fight, nor rest with any comfort.

The cost of retaining the red full-dress tunic—with a proper system of economy and superintendence—would be "infinitesimal." Besides, there are disadvantages in the institution of a "best" khaki.

If a man has a red coat that he is only allowed to wear on specified occasions, it is easy to see that its use is restricted to those occasions. But if a soldier is to keep one out of two or three khaki tunics for "best," it is almost impossible to enforce the order. Who is to tell which coat he has on on going out of barracks? Some men would never be able to produce a "best" khaki jacket for a gala occasion. They would have worn all indiscriminately till one was about as bad as the other.

A DEFENCE OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

To the first number of *Discovery* Mr. Headlam-Morley contributes an article on "The Conference of Paris" which summarises more authoritatively than most of the current literature, the difficulties and dangers surrounding the framing of the Peace Treaty. "It is natural," he writes, "to compare the Congress of Paris with the Congress of Vienna, and I fear that in the minds of many the result of the comparison has been, as it was expressed to me by a great scholar: 'I think we are all beginning to think better of the Congress of Vienna.' . . . But if we are to make the comparison, let us recognize at once that Paris had difficulties to meet from which Vienna was freed."

It is pointed out that in 1814 two things had to be done: (1) the settlement of the terms of peace between France and the Great Alliance, and (2) the settlement of numerous questions relating to the assignation of territory surrendered by France. These two stages were kept distinct. Peace was made with France within a few weeks; with the result that European Powers were able to apply themselves in comparative leisure to the other problems.

In 1919 a different procedure was adopted; the whole settlement of Europe had to be made under the form of Treaties of Peace, and the settlement between the Allies themselves, a settlement in which inevitably strong differences of opinion must appear, had to be made while the state of war still continued.

Another difficulty arose from this procedure, viz., that direct communication with the enemy Governments was excluded. A study of the text of the treaties will show that they deal, often in great detail, with matters of great complexity; this is especially the case in the chapters dealing with financial and commercial matters. Merely as a matter of procedure the work would have been much facilitated had it been possible to discuss these matters around the table with the German Delegates; the possibility of this was, however, excluded.

Another result was that there was thrown upon the Conference, not only the task of making peace, but the even more serious task of controlling the affairs of Europe during the process. What had to be done for the temporary administration of those districts whose ultimate fate had to be determined? Many of these were the subject of acute controversy between our own Allies, and this

threw upon the Conference the responsibility of keeping order in these disputed territories, and at times even preventing open hostilities between the Allied States themselves.

In 1814 there were no railways to consider; in 1919 "it was impossible to determine the frontiers without taking into consideration the lines of communication."

But perhaps the most striking difference between Paris and Vienna arose out of the peculiar nature of the terms of the Armistice, in which were specified the general principles in accordance with which the peace was to be made. Germany had laid down her arms and the Allies had agreed to an armistice on the condition that the ultimate peace should be in accordance with certain principles which had been stated by President Wilson. These are generally referred to as the "Fourteen Points," but it is worth while remembering that they were, in fact, not limited to the fourteen points specified in his speech of January, 1918; there was also included in the correspondence preceding the Armistice a reference to any later statements that he made. In fact, the other statements which he made comprised four other lists of points in a categorical form, and made in subsequent speeches or official messages. It has been stated that the Conference completely ignored the Fourteen Points, that they were not considered. This can be emphatically denied. Each individual can, of course, only speak as to his own personal experience, and this is necessarily limited to those parts of the discussions with which he was immediately concerned. I may at least be allowed to record my own experience. It is that throughout the discussions there was constantly present to the minds of those who took part in them, and frequently reference made to, the Principles of the Peace, and I can affirm, on immediate and personal knowledge, that in the Council of Four itself the decision on matters of the highest importance was determined by explicit reference to the Fourteen Points—e.g. a decision favourable to the Allies, and for which there were many grounds of expediency, would be rejected solely because it could not be reconciled with the pledges which had been given. But the Principles by which the work had to be guided had not been expressed in a manner which made their translation into precise legal form easy; to a large extent they were general conceptions, aspirations, exhortations, and some of them were not easy to reconcile with one another.

Mr. Headlam-Morley gives some interesting illustrations of the problems arising out of the various Wilsonian dicta. The article is certainly one to be read for the light it throws on the complexity of the Conference's debates and decisions.

THE 'PROBLEM OF EGYPT.'

The Egyptian question is dealt with—from the Milner standpoint we surmise—by Major Lindsay Bashford in an article on "Lord Milner and his Mission" in the *Nineteenth Century* (February). After a glowing appreciation of the Mission's personnel, Major Bashford refers to the increase of the "Egypt for the Egyptians" party.

Thus . . . I was not surprised when, in Paris on a January afternoon of this year, the Nationalist leader Zaghlul Pasha emphatically stated to me that the Egyptian issue had passed from party to nation. Somewhat bombastically, no doubt, this astute Egyptian affirmed that he was the leader of a people, not yet, perhaps, organised for common action but informed by a common ideal. Zaghlul Pasha, comfortably installed in the Champs-Élysées, may appear to the general view but a hedonistic champion of a remote cause, but it is impossible to forget that in Egypt there are some fourteen million Egyptians, gradually being educated, according to English programme, to some conception of nationality, whilst within the same confines there are only some 24,000 Britishers. One may be certain that the 56,000 Greeks, the 40,000 Italians and the 21,000 French who with the British community comprise the European section of the population, and are, indeed, the dominating factor in the commercial, industrial and financial life of Egypt, will avoid dispute or friction whenever possible, but will take good care to ensure that, whatever happens, their bread will be satisfactorily buttered. It is, therefore, not out of place to inquire whether the terms of the existing Egyptian problem cannot now be simply and frankly stated. That the Nationalists can put forward some strong arguments cannot be denied. They have just grievances. How far, it will at once be asked, has the British Government acted conscientiously in the pursuance of its avowed policy of fitting the Egyptian to take an increasing part in the government of his country? This was the policy established by Lord Cromer and profoundly believed in by many of the able men who worked with him in the earlier days of the British occupation. That is, in general terms, the policy of the British Empire wherever native races are concerned. Sharing this belief Lord Kitchener made a characteristically bold attempt to extend and re-organise the representative institutions of Egypt. The war and the declaration of the Protectorate prevented his project from being carried out.

The declared object of Lord Milner's Mission is to re-establish this policy. But the Nationalist party will not accept anything short of complete independence.

Major Bashford seeks to show how impossible this is:—

A glance at the curious condition of Egyptian society to-day will at once make it clear how little competent the Egyptian is to maintain order in his own house. In the first place he has little commercial or industrial ability. He is temperamentally devoid of initiative, and is incapable of prompt decision. Certain pleasant qualities he undoubtedly possesses such as patience, stolid industry and the capacity to endure. These are servant, not master qualities. He is not without a certain small ingenuity in money matters. He is saving and there is plenty of Egyptian capital in land and house property, but he has not the courage to use capital in a big way or the intelligence to grasp the wider principles of national industry and credit on which alone the prosperity of a people depends. Egypt presents the remarkable spectacle of a country practically the whole structure of whose commercial and industrial life is in the hands of men of alien nationality: Greek, Italian, Syrian, French! How is it conceivable, under any sane theory of autonomy, that a race should govern itself when the control of its wealth, its credit and the organisation of its daily industrial life is in other hands? Egypt to-day is exceedingly prosperous. She felt the strain of the war less than any other country within British authority and by reason of the war immense quantities of money were poured into Egypt between 1914 and 1918. Sir Valentine Chirol gives the Egyptian gain from war expenditure as at least 200,000,000*l.*, and quotes the instance of a general store in Cairo which made in 1919 a profit of 350,000*l.* on a capital of 600,000*l.* Needless to say, this store is not run by Egyptians but by Syrians. Whilst, indeed, the country generally has benefited by this great and sudden war prosperity, the Egyptian has no control over the distribution of this new wealth. He may earn better wages, sell his live stock or his grain at higher prices, or even make a small profit on a modest deal in property. But he is always the wage-earner rather than the capitalist. He neither calls the tune nor pays the piper, but occupies a very modest seat in the gallery.

If the Egyptian has very little to do with the industry of his country, the Englishman has not much more. The British occupation provides "the paradox of a Power holding administrative authority and exercising it sincerely, and on the whole wisely, but with quite a minor interest in the commercial and industrial life of the nation." An unfortunate result is "an increasing aloofness between the official and other classes."

militating against the healthy development of the State. A bigger part in Egyptian national life and industry, with a more careful choice of officials, is in this writer's opinion urgently called for. With regard to the restlessness at present in Egypt and throughout the Mahomedan world, "caused by the announcement of President Wilson's theories as regards the rights of small peoples and the public acceptance of those theories by

the British Government," "the observer . . . cannot but feel that the propagation of Mr. Wilson's admirable theories has done a great deal of harm. A State especially an Oriental State, cannot be run by ideals." It is fair to remark however, that when it was a question of winning the war, the propagation of these same theories did a great deal of good—so far as the Allies were concerned. But that, as the more subtle Western mind argues, is another story.

IS THE BATTLESHIP DOOMED ?

Mr. Archibald Hurd, the well-known naval writer, discusses in the *Fortnightly Review* (February) the important question whether the battleships and other large men-of-war have been rendered obsolete by the development of the submarine and of naval aircraft, as many highly qualified observers believe. Five different methods of attack involve the possible destruction of the immense and costly ships that are now regarded as the measure of sea power: the plugging fire of modern guns at extreme ranges of 16,000 yards or more, attack by bombing from aircraft, submarine mines, and torpedoes whether fired from destroyers or from aeroplanes.

If this formidable indictment against the familiar types of service men-of-war (says Mr. Hurd) were supported by irrefutable evidence, all the existing fleets of the world might as well be sunk as a measure of wisdom and economy, for the maintenance of these ships represents heavy annual charges on national funds. The scuttling of the condemned ships under the White Ensign would mean the destruction of war material which has cost this country from £200,000,000 to £300,000,000. When the melancholy ceremony had been carried out, presumably in the Atlantic, the taxpayers would have to resign themselves to the building of another fleet (representing new, unproved, and fantastic ideas), which would cost at least as much money, unless British maritime interests were to go unprotected and the British Isles and the other parts of the British Empire were to be left without defence against invasion. For in the absence of defence by sea, whether by submersible craft or surface vessels, security against invasion of the British Empire,

widely distributed over the oceans of the world, cannot be provided.

For an army is not, and never can be, effective against the invader who comes by sea. An army, with all its encumbering paraphernalia, can move no more swiftly now than in Elizabethan days; but speed at sea has been multiplied four, five or six times, and the movement of ships is no longer at the mercy of changing winds.

It might be assumed, says Mr. Hurd, from much which has been written since the signing of the Armistice, that the war had been won by submarines and aircraft. But in that event victory would have gone, not to the Allies but to the Central Powers.

What did happen? The latter abandoned the use of the seas completely so far as merchant ships were concerned, and almost completely in the matter of men-of-war travelling on the surface. On the other hand, the Allies could not have continued to exist unless they had been able to draw reinforcing strength from the seas. The Allies, in other words, had to use their mercantile marine resources to the utmost, exposing to attack by enemy submarine and aircraft from 15,000 to 16,000 merchant ships. It would be difficult to form even a rough estimate of the number of times these vessels entered and left the danger zone in the course of their voyages over a period of upwards of four years; but it is apparent that the enemy had ample opportunities of proving the value of both submarine and aircraft. In order to protect this enormous volume of traffic, the Allied navies—and particularly the British Navy—had to maintain an efficient watch and ward, cruising both in the war zone and beyond the

limits of the war zone, for it should be recalled that German submarines operated off the Atlantic coast of the American continent.

If it be suggested that they failed to make efficient use of their air power in fighting the Allies' sea power, it may be replied that in the opening months of the war they tested aeroplanes and airships. *Not a single British warship was destroyed either by airship or aeroplane* in the course of the long war, although it might have been supposed that the North Sea provided an ideal area for their use. Aircraft similarly failed in attacking merchant vessels, though in the early months of the struggle the former were without an apology of defence.

The submarine, on the other hand, proved for a time, but only for a time, an effective weapon against merchant ships, once the Germans had abandoned all regard for international law and the dictates of humanity. But it was only against merchant vessels that the submarine was effective, even for a time. Throughout the course of the war, extending over a period of more than four and a half years, no battleship, battle-cruiser, or cruiser of the Grand Fleet, each presenting a large target, was destroyed by the enemy as a result of submarine attack. The significance of that failure can only be adequately appreciated if the activities of these vessels in the North Sea, and even in the Bight of Heligoland (in close proximity to Germany's naval bases) be borne in mind. British seamanship and the high speed of the ships defeated the enemy.

In his revelations about the anti-submarine campaign, Admiral Sims has insisted again and again that the Grand Fleet was frequently cruising in the open sea in the waters which were known to be most infested with submarines.

"There was no mystery about the immunity which these great fighting vessels enjoyed, for the submarine problem so far as it affected the battle fleet had already been solved. The explanation was that whenever the dreadnoughts put to sea they were preceded by a screen of cruisers and destroyers. These surface craft apparently served as a kind of impenetrable wall, against which the German U-boats were beating themselves unavailingly.

"To the casual observer, however, there seemed to be no reason why the destroyers should have any particular terror for submarines. Externally they are the least impressive war vessels afloat. Sailing ahead of the battle squadrons, the destroyers were little, ungraceful objects upon the surface of the water; they suggested fragility rather than strength, and the idea that they were the guardians of the mighty battleships behind them at first seemed almost grotesque. Yet these little vessels really possessed the

power of overcoming the submarine. The war had not progressed far when it became apparent that the U-boat could not linger anywhere near this speedy little surface vessel without running serious risk of destruction.

"Events soon demonstrated that, in all open engagements between submarine and destroyer, the submarine stood very little chance. The reason for this was simply that the submarine had no weapon with which it could successfully resist the attack of the destroyer, whereas the destroyer had several with which it could attack the submarine. The advantage which really makes the destroyer so dangerous . . . is its excessive speed. On the surface the U-boat makes little more than fifteen miles an hour, and under the surface it makes little more than seven or eight. If the destroyer once discovered its presence, therefore, it could reach its prey in an incredibly short time. It could attack with gun, and, if conditions were favourable, it could ram—and a destroyer going at thirty or forty miles could cut a submarine nearly in two with its strong, razor-like bow."

Lord Jellicoe, in his important speeches in Canada and New Zealand has insisted strongly upon the need for maintaining an invincible fleet of war ships of the greatest size and speed. Neither Great Britain, Germany, nor any other country, has ever had under construction so large a number of armoured ships as the United States has at present. Japan also is busily engaged in building monster ships, and has plans ready for dreadnoughts larger than any yet afloat.

There is no finality in naval design, because physical science never stands still, but is always advancing from one triumph to another; but at a moment when H.M.S. *Hood* is passing into active commission this country may take some pride in having provided a vessel which embodies the post-war ideal. The *Hood* has the armament of a battleship and the speed of a battle-cruiser, is practically unsinkable, and carries four anti-aircraft guns, besides being defended against bombs and aerial torpedoes.

What the future may have in store, who can say? But the probability is, assuming that the New World has navies, that this new composite vessel of remarkable power, on which upwards of £8,000,000 has been expended, indicates the line upon which naval constructors, reflecting the considered opinion of the young and war-tried sea officers of to-day, will continue to work.

WOMAN'S PART IN THE CHURCH.

When the National Mission of Repentance and Hope was being organized in 1916, the National Mission Council urged upon the Bishops the importance of "using the services and receiving the message of women speakers. In February, 1917, a Committee of Research was set up by the Archbishop to study the position of women in the early ages of the church. Subsequently in the upper and lower houses of Convocation resolutions were introduced claiming "the right to certain lay offices for women"; and in 1919 the Report of the Committee of Research, while repudiating the idea of women being ordained, recognised the historical justification for a female deaconate "side by side with the male deaconate, though without identity of function." That, in outline, according to an article contributed by Miss A. Helen Ward, L.L.A., to the *Contemporary Review* (February) on "The Position of Women in the Churches," represents the length to which the State Church has gone in its handling of this important question. Unofficial effort, however, has gone further. In 1917 Miss Maud Royden, at the invitation of Dr. Fort Newton and the Church Committee of the City Temple became an official occupant of their pulpit—without being required in any way to modify the obligations of adherence to her own church, the Church of England. She was allowed to preach there until Easter of last year, and it had been arranged that her series of addresses should be concluded by her conducting the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday. But the day before a prohibitory letter was received by her and by the Rector forbidding the use of the church for this purpose. There was great disappointment among the congregation, and an interesting outcome was the famous debate, widely reported at the time, between Miss Royden and the Rev. Father Magee. As opposed to the Bishop of Oxford who based his objection on "the fundamental principle" of "the natural headship of the man. Father

Magee expressly waived this point, and relied on a second fundamental—the traditions of the Church—and on a third—inexpediency.

The third objection lodged is the objection of inexpediency, falling mainly under two heads—(a) questions of the married woman with her family ties, (b) occasion of scandal—the *folle de sacristie* dealt with by Father Magee in a series of articles in the evening papers appearing under such titles as "Flirts or Fervour," "Pretty Pastors," and "Saturday Night Club Talk." A sentence or two from one of these is necessary to saw the kind of light in which the thing appears to this vicar of an important London church: "What would be said, for example, in the smoking room on Saturday night? 'I say, old chap, there's an awfully pretty girl going to preach to-morrow at St. Simon's. I'm there, don't you know?' 'Right ho! but I'm jolly well going to hear Mrs. B. on Sunday night at St. Jude's, on divorce. She ought to know all about it. What?'

"What, again, would be the effect of a priest at the altar with two female servers, one on either side of him? The French have a pretty phrase for this kind of thing: they call it *folle de sacristie*."

In a rapid survey of the history of the entire women's movement in this country, Miss Ward has no difficulty in counteracting the principal objections. If Bishop Gore is accurate in stating that "Christianity accepts the principle of an essential and permanent headship of man over women," it is at least equally true that "Christ failed to show by any act or word that He held women to be inferior to man," and "it was the woman who first told the disciples of the Resurrection." As for the third objection, inexpediency.

It is not profitable to labour the points of expediency raised by the objectors and touched on above. Regarding the question of family ties, it is obvious that inconvenience falling under this head would be compensated for by the rich experience that the mother of a family, when no longer needed in the home, might offer for the highest service of the Church. It is equally obvious to the unprejudiced that if scandal were to arise owing to the indiscretions of a woman minister, it would not be a new thing in the annals of those churches which count among their institutions a celibate clergy, monasticism, or the confessional, or indeed the ordination of curates under fifty years of age. These things are accidents, not fundamentals.

THE TRUE BONDS OF EMPIRE.

"For more than a generation the attitude of the Mother Country to the Dominions has been characterised by an ever-increasing spirit of trust and the concession of very generous measures of self-government; local autonomy, in fact, under the Crown. The right, theoretical and practical, of the Dominions in respect of foreign policy have likewise undergone momentous changes, the gravity of which should not be under-estimated; and, indeed, what are to be the limits to development in the future it is difficult to foretell or even estimate."

In this spirit Sir C. G. Wade, K.C., the Agent-General for New South Wales, makes an enthusiastic forecast of the future relations of the British self-governing Dominions with the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. Sir C. Wade is about to return to Australia after a distinguished period of official residence in London for the past three years, and his article in the *Empire Review* (February) is in the nature of a farewell address before his departure.

During the war, he points out, great changes, striking deeply and revolutionary in character, have transformed the relations of the Dominions towards their Mother Country.

For the first time in the history of our nation the contributions of the Dominions to the fighting forces of the Empire have been substantial in men and money and efficiency. The Dominions have borne the cost of military equipment themselves; they have occupied positions of real responsibility in the fighting line, and in the prolonged conflict have lost the flower of their manhood; moreover, although Great Britain declared war on Germany, yet the issue intimately affected the stability of the whole and of every portion of the Empire, and a common interest moved them all to a common purpose.

In these circumstances a close association of Dominion statesmen in the daily councils of war, and in consideration of the ever-changing European situation, became inevitable.

The presence in London of Dominion Prime Ministers provided the occasion for admitting them to the meetings of the cabinet and the recognition of them as part of the machinery for the prosecution of the war. Nor did their task end with the Armistice. Logically, when the time arose for the famous Peace

Conference to sit, the precedent thus created assured to Dominion representatives a place at the Council table of Versailles, not for the Dominions as one body but for each separate Government, with apparently the status and the privileges of a sovereign power. Finally, the Treaty of Peace conceded to each of the Dominions a seat at the council table of the League of Nations, and in their representative capacity the Prime Ministers respectively subscribed their names to the Treaty.

All sorts of questions affecting the relations of Westminster and the Dominion Parliaments arise from this new situation.

In what respect in all the leading phases relating to war are the Dominions of the British Empire inferior to sovereign independent nations or of inferior status to the Allies, or will they be in future as members of the League of Nations? What is their status in respect of the foreign policy generally of the British Parliament? Is the foreign policy in any practical instance of the British Government to bind the Dominions if their Ministers have not been consulted? What is to be the position if the Dominions are opposed to the opinion of the British Foreign Office? Are they not already independent nations in all but name, and can a contrary view stand through the strain of a practical test? They are apparently not only autonomous but independent communities, yet under the King united to the rest of the British Empire! These questions are full of significance. The answers are far-reaching in their consequences.

Existing inter-Imperial relations must be built up and strengthened. How is this to be achieved?

The British Empire has been wrapped in a mantle of mutual sympathy and goodwill during the last few years, engendered by personal contact with men from overseas who are our own flesh and blood and animated by the same high ideals as ourselves. They have returned to their home, distant thousands of miles, to pursue their avocations, and are subject to the environment of their own local influences. Nothing deadens common interest and sentiment so much as distance, but they flourish on mutual knowledge and sympathy. We must increase the means of knowledge and overcome the handicap of distance.

Let us begin in the schoolroom and inculcate a proper knowledge of the geography and history of the institutions and resources of the Dominions and implant in the child an intelligent interest in the great Empire to which he belongs. Let that education be continued in later years by systematic reading, attending lectures and other methods of representing life overseas. Encourage the desire to travel in the Dominions, cheapen and quicken transit and communication,

advise all officials who desire to advance in the Dominion's branch of the service to gather their experience in the various centres of the Empire whilst they are still young and receptive. In the next place establish, under Government assistance if need be, the issue of rational information derived from all parts of the Empire.

The future depends on a union of hearts rather than of written constitutions. What is the alternative?

To-day Great Britain outnumbers all the Dominions combined excepting India. But this country's power of expansion is limited. In less than fifty years the total population of these same Dominions will exceed that of the United Kingdom, and in any form of written constitution they would enjoy a preponder-

ance of votes on the basis of population. Such a position would not commend itself then to the people of this country. Silken bonds of common interest and mutual sympathy would be greatly preferable. This means that the time is within measurable distance when the present numerical superiority of Great Britain will cease to exist.

If the occasion arose the Dominions would then be in a position to contemplate with greater security than at present any proposal for independence. How they would view it depends entirely upon the general sentiment of the peoples. That attitude, again, would depend largely on the relations of the component parties during the next generation.

REFORMING CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

The Report (1917-1919) of the Calcutta University Commission is dealt with very readably by Mr. Ernest Barker (of Magdalen College, Oxford) in the current *Edinburgh Review*. In respect of the actual number of its students, Calcutta University is the largest university in the world; the number of students is 26,000, which is equal to the number of university students scattered throughout the United Kingdom. It is distinguished mainly from the British universities in the proportion of students who take arts courses. At the British universities the arts courses have a moderately small share of the total number of students. In Bengal no less than 22,000 students take these "purely literary courses."

But the purely literary course at Calcutta does not contain many of the elements that make the corresponding course at Oxford or Cambridge so valuable. It is, at Calcutta, mainly a question of memorising text books and noting lectures sufficiently to pass an examination. The reason is that this examination is the door to a civil service appointment, which the Bengalee student regards as the highest aim in life. Some of those who fail to pass take up teaching, which is ill-paid and poorly regarded; others drift into some clerical employment. But Government work

absorbs a great many. The university education is therefore a means to a somewhat restricted end. It cannot be called a "liberal" education in any way. The students with life billets dangling before their eyes as prizes, not less than the teachers, take care that it shall not be so.

Suppose a boy matriculates at eighteen. The first two years of university life are a continuation of his school work. As Mr. Barker observes, this stage is "destructive." Not more than 20 per cent. pass the intermediate examination: the rest fail or drop out before this event is reached. The Commissioners report that the line between school and university is drawn too low and that it should be put two years higher, the interval to be occupied by training for the university at an "intermediate college." Mr. Barker explains this plan and reproduces some of the criticisms that are voiced against it in Minority Reports. But to come back to the student.

Three of the Calcutta colleges have between 1,500 and 2,000 students each. For another thing a Calcutta college is not a society with a tone and a way of life and an *esprit de corps* of its own. It is a barrack-room with an agglomeration of students, paying lecture fees and attending lectures, who live not in colleges, but in hostels, in "messes"—temporary boarding houses formed by students who club together to share expenses—and in private lodgings. The amenities, the inter-

course, the stimulus, the self-imposed discipline of college life as it is lived in the older English universities—all these things are things unknown in the Calcutta hostels and messes, crowded places in which eight students may occupy one room, and common rooms for social life are seldom to be found.

The absence of any tutorial system such as that practised at Oxford and Cambridge, and even of students' libraries, coupled with the student's habit of merely memorising what his mind cannot really digest, leads to some odd results.

An examiner in political science in one university reports that he has generally found in the candidates' answers large fragments of Mr. Stephen Leacock's "Elements of Political Science," of President Wilson's "The State," and of "an honours graduate's" anonymous text-book. Libraries in which the students can read for themselves are mostly to seek. The commissioners describe in a footnote (I., p. 425) a work which caught their attention in one library. "It was 'More Gals' Gossip,' by Pitcher, of the *Sporting Times*. It stood between a stray volume of Hodge's 'Systematic Theology,' and a novel by Mr. W. Le Queux.

The Report makes multitudinous recommendations for reform. The "intermediate college" or the efficient high school, which is said to be "the very pivot of our whole scheme of reform," together with the examinations held by these, are to be supervised by a new authority—a "Board of Secondary and Intermediate Instruction," which is to combine the qualities of a Government Department and a university delegacy. Teachers' salaries are to be raised. There is to be a new system of honours degrees, and a new scheme for providing tutorial guidance and linking together the colleges.

There are to be three types of colleges—apart from a peculiar type, the "incorporated" college, which is really a department of the university with its own buildings, financed by the university and dealing on behalf of the university with a particular subject, such as Law or Science or (possibly) Sanskrit. The first is the college proper—the "constituent" college. The second is the "temporarily affiliated" college. Both of these will be Calcutta colleges; but outside both these will be a third type, which we may call the "provincial" (or *mufassal*) colleges—that is to say, colleges outside Calcutta, in the "provinces" (metaphorically speaking) of the Presidency of Bengal. "Constituent" colleges must satisfy certain requirements

before they can be accepted by the university. They must not contain more than 1,000 students; they must provide teachers for those students in the proportion of 1 to 25; they must guarantee their teachers reasonable conditions of tenure and salary; they must have suitable buildings and equipment, ceasing to be a "barrack of lecture-rooms," and becoming places of common-rooms, classrooms, good libraries, and proper laboratories; and finally, they must have a properly constituted governing body, containing representatives drawn both from the university and from the staff of their own teachers, and acting under an approved trust deed. "Temporarily affiliated" colleges are colleges that cannot satisfy these requirements, but are admitted on probation, as it were, and for limited periods, provided they satisfy certain requirements of a less exacting character. Their teachers are to be of a lower status than those of constituent colleges; their students, unlike those of constituent colleges, are to be excluded from lectures arranged by the university, unless they pay a fee.

The teachers are to be graded on a parallel plan. But for Presidency College, the great Government College of the University, a highly novel category is proposed:

These are teachers trained in the West (whether Indians or Englishmen) who are to be appointed in England by a mixed body, consisting of representatives of Presidency college and the University of Calcutta, who happen to be residents or visitors in England, and of members appointed by the Secretary of State for India. The purpose of the suggestion is to provide a special *corps d'élite* of trained professors, just as the purpose of an analogous suggestion, already mentioned, was to provide a similar special body of trained teachers for high schools. It is to be hoped that the suggestion may take effect; it is equally to be hoped that, if it takes effect, the best talents of our British universities will be ready to compete for entry into this special reserve.

But most important of all are the proposals which, if adopted, will enable the university to manage its own curriculum, control its own finance, and make its own appointments; and those which by separating Civil Service Examinations from University Examinations, and abolishing the degree as the one condition of admittance to Government service, will tend "to liberate the scholar, during his term of university study, from that bondage to the desire and prospect of a governmental post, which has hitherto cramped his studies."

WESTERN AUSTRALIA A LAND OF PROMISE.]

The Agent-General for Western Australia, Mr. J. D. Connolly, contributes to the *Empire Review* (February) a review of the prospects of commercial, agricultural and industrial development in Western Australia, which is the largest and by nature the richest of the Australian States. He quotes from a report by the Imperial Trade Correspondent at Perth, written early in 1919, which mentions among new industries that have grown up during the war,

Woolscouring and fellmongering, lime and cement, glass manufacturing, and tile and pottery making, while others were projected, such as alkali works, the briquetting of coal and the extraction of oils and varnishes from the graastree (blackboy), of which vast quantities are available in the State. In connection with the glassmaking and pottery enterprises it should be stated that recent tests have proved that supplies of the finest sands for the manufacture of the best quality of glassware are readily available, while exhaustive experiments have resulted in the discovery of clays highly suitable for the manufacture of tiles and pottery formerly imported from abroad.

"There is satisfaction in knowing," he writes, "that the war created no artificial prosperity in Western Australia, and that its ending serves not to dislocate but to stimulate industry." The people of Western Australia, while recognising the enormous value of their primary industries, are keenly alive to the importance of laying the foundation of a great manufacturing State whose output in secondary industries will keep pace with its primary production; and British investors have much to gain from acquiring knowledge of the vast field which awaits the expenditure of capital, skill, and enterprise in the development of the industrial resources of this vast province.

It is a principle of Governmental administration in Australia that the State should aid and encourage enterprise and development in any direction calculated to promote the material welfare of the

people. This is true of Western Australia no less than of the other States.

Among other activities with which the Department of Industries has been associated may be mentioned deep-sea fishing, in connection with which that department (acting with the Repatriation Department) assisted returned soldiers to make a start at Esperance; a scheme for carrying out trawling experiments in the neighbourhood of Albany; the manufacture of cardboard from waste-paper; the construction of a railway from Lake Clifton to Waroona for the service of new cement works; the manufacture of water-gas direct from coal without going through the coke process; the procuring of tortoise-shell from a species of turtle, known as hawke's bill, which is found on the north-west coast of Western Australia; the "farming" of turtles for consumption—another north-west coast industry, in which, by the way, a number of English investors are interested.

The whaling industry also calls for special mention because, among other reasons, it offers one of the most advantageous and opportune outlets for British maritime and commercial enterprise which has been practically monopolised by the Norwegians hitherto. The facts, briefly, are these. In 1912 three Norwegian companies which had turned their attention to the whale fisheries of Western Australia, having obtained licenses from the Western Australian Government, set up shore stations—one at Frenchman's Bay (Albany), another on the north-west coast, while a third company, which operated on a smaller scale, "fished" about Cape Naturaliste. During the season 1913-16 inclusive the total output was over 5,000,000 gallons of oil and about 1,500 tons of fertiliser, of a total value of £450,000. The licenses of these companies have now expired or been surrendered, but the shore stations and factories remain in charge of caretakers at the places named. The north-western area is said to be a "hump-back" field solely, but both "hump-backs" and sperm whales are obtainable the season off Albany.

Western Australia offers immense possibilities for expansion of industry and trade. Its diversities of climate and soil give it capacity to produce in almost endless variety. Its proximity to the teeming millions of the East offers a ready market (which is steadily growing) for either its manufactures or raw products. All that is needed is population to occupy and develop its lands, which would, in turn, develop and maintain industries and trade, offering opportunity for the comfort and prosperity of millions.

A RECENT VISIT TO GERMANY.

An unsigned article in the *Quarterly Review* (January) contains much shrewd observation of the present condition of Germany, and lays particular stress upon the necessity of a clear statement by the Allies with regard to the future restrictions upon German trade.

Vital and admirable as the work of the German Government has been, it is not of a kind to strike the imagination of the masses, or to reconcile them to the needs and trials of the moment, and win for the institutions and men of the new régime a lasting prestige. Broadly speaking, there were two achievements capable of producing such an effect: peace, and the restoration of normal life on a reformed social basis. The German Government has failed in both. The bulk of the German people frankly admit the mistakes and responsibilities of the old régime, and are prepared to accept impositions much in excess of what they had been led to expect at the time of the armistice. As to the causes which are impeding the economic reconstruction and the proposed social reforms, they can largely be traced to the mistaken policy of a Supreme Council and of its agents, and are of such a nature as not only to foreshadow the collapse of the economic portion of the Treaty, which is inevitable, but moreover, cannot fail, unless speedily remedied, to create new burdens where the Allied peoples were led to expect relief.

It is not too much to say that we have actually compelled Germany to squander the diminished resources that she still possesses. Contrary to the intentions of the Treaty and to the decisions of the Economic Conference which met at Brussels, the German authorities are denied control over imports and exports on their Western frontier. Through this "Gap in the West," the country has been flooded with expensive luxuries. Between the Spring of 1919 and the end of November last year, for instance, the import of cigarettes which was in theory prohibited by law reached the amazing figure of four milliard marks—a sum nominally equal to the indemnity exacted from France in 1870.

The failure to define Germany's obligations is having an infinitely depressing and disruptive effect.

A bold scheme of synthetic economic reconstruction had originally been worked out from ideas evolved by one of the most brilliant of living Germans, Walther Rathenau, manufacturer, man of science, economist and publicist. But what Government would

invest its authority in schemes which, at any moment, may founder upon a decree of the Supreme Council? So the responsible minister, Wiessel, and his ingenious *Plan-Wirtschaft*, were dropped. There could be no more suggestive comment on the prevailing mentality than the words addressed by Wiessel's successor, upon taking up his duties, to his assembled subordinates: "My plan," he declared, "is to have no plan." And planless the life of the whole German nation is becoming.

The propertied classes, in so far as they have not smuggled their money beyond the frontiers, find no inducement in productive work; whereas workers and clerks spend all they earn. Why should they save, if all their savings are to be seized by the foreigner? All are tempted, very naturally after so many years of privation, to make the best of the present moment. "We are become a dancing people," said a well-known economist to the writer. Uncertainty is discouraging all effort and enterprise, and is making of the evasion of taxation a widespread practice. For the conviction is growing that any addition to private and public wealth would only serve to screw up Allied demands. That such is the effect of Allied policy is corroborated by the fact, confirmed by various bankers of standing, that private financial dealings have suffered but little deprivation, whereas a complete lack of scruple prevails in financial relations with the authorities.

The complete demoralisation of the German people strikes every observer, and appears infinitely tragic to anyone who, before the war, had learned to appreciate and respect the integrity of the German officials.

Those who came into contact with German officials before the war, and had learned to appreciate their moral rectitude, combined though it often was with arrogance and bad manners, will experience a rude shock on revisiting the country. The change is distressing, because it illustrates, more strikingly than many other less obvious phenomena, the moral ravages of an ill-considered and unjust policy. Under the corroding actions of excessive material impositions and moral humiliations, many of those subtle, unwritten social customs and laws, which more than anything else form the substance of Western civilisation, are becoming inoperative. A whole people, and one rich with progressive potentialities, is losing its self-respect. No other expression can more adequately summarise the situation, and convey a sense of the dangerous path upon which Europe is being led, than the suggestive term used by a German statesman, when he complained that we were causing a general *Entmenschung* (dehumanising) of his countrymen.

Reconstruction in the widest sense of the word, and a revival of trade and industry, are obviously the only safeguard against despair and violence, and therefore, the only means by which the solvency of Germany, and her ability to pay even the sums already demanded of her, can be restored.

Consequently it is to the interest of the Allies that this restoration should take place, and as speedily as possible. But it cannot really begin until the disastrous uncertainty, which now hangs, like the sword of Damocles, over Germany's head, is removed. Until the German Government knows whether it will have to provide five or eight or ten thousand millions—in other words, whether the sum is to be one which in course of time it may be able to pay, or one which will inevitably spell national bankruptcy and ruin—reconstruction on any considered plan, and even the moral and industrial revival on which solvency depends, are out of the question. The Supreme Economic Council and the Reparation Commission must take the situation in hand without delay; and the latter body, in particular, should be instructed to bear in mind, when making its final esti-

mates, that excessive demands may mean the failure to get anything at all. No one in his senses now believes in the complete reimbursement of our war-losses which was so recklessly promised fourteen months ago. We may, indeed, agree that Germany, for her crime in initiating the war and for her brutalities in the waging of it, deserves to be made to pay the uttermost farthing; but what we have to guard against is that madness of revenge which recoils upon itself.

Nor will it suffice to rest content with this negative restriction of our demands; we must initiate and carry out a positive policy. The German Empire was, in matters of trade, our best customer before the war; we cannot afford to destroy so productive a source of national income, or to deprive our debtor of the only means by which she can be enabled to pay her debts. Commercial relations—under certain restrictions, no doubt—should be re-established and fostered immediately on the ratification of the Peace; and the renewal of political relations must follow.

Germany, for all her defeats and humiliations, remains the greatest Power on the Continent; her influence in Central and Eastern Europe cannot but grow with reviving strength and stability.

WHAT THE OLD AGE PENSIONERS SAY.

The Majority Report on Old-Age Pensions, with its recommendation of an increase of the amount from 7s. 6d. to 10s., and the abolition of the means limit, was on the whole received with approval. Miss Edith Sellers, writing in the *January Nineteenth Century and After*, "From the Old-Age Pensioners' Standpoint," does not dispute this verdict; but she points out several things which from the pensioners' point of view are manifestly imperfections in the Report.

Odd as it may seem perhaps, and quite illogical as it is, there is undoubtedly in the eyes of the respectable poor a fundamental difference between old-age pensions and poor relief. Many an old man, and still more old woman, who would rather starve than accept poor relief, i.e., relief from the rates, accept pensions, i.e., relief from the taxes, gladly. Why it should be thus it would be difficult to explain, but thus it certainly is. There is a strong feeling among the respectable poor that they may become pensioners without losing caste; whereas, if they become paupers, it is otherwise: then their relatives may be ashamed of them. . . . This is a noteworthy fact, it seems to me; for the majority of the members of the committee are

evidently under the impression that, among the poor, old-age pensions are regarded merely as a form of poor relief; that this is a grievance among pensioners. So convinced are they it is a grievance, that they insist, in their Report, that it must be redressed, even though the redressing of it would entail a large expenditure, and the remodelling of our whole old-age pension system. They may be right; it may be a grievance; but if it is, it is certainly one of which I have never heard even a whisper when talking with members of the class to which the average old-age pensioner belongs.

In order to remove the supposed "taint," the Report recommended the granting of pensions to rich and poor alike. Pensioners resent this proposal on the ground that their need is so infinitely greater than that of the well-to-do, that the principle of equality of treatment cannot hold water. But a far more weighty grievance is the retention of the age limit at 70.

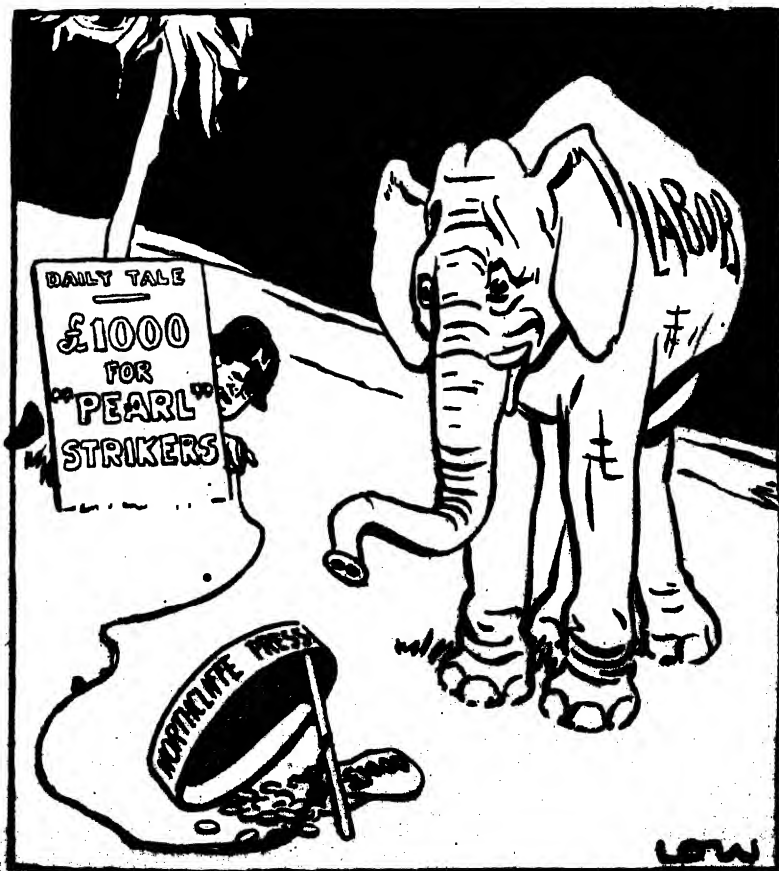
Already twelve years ago, there was a strong feeling among a section of the aged poor that to fix seventy as the age at which old-age pensions were to be granted, smacked of mockery; and since then that feeling has

spread to all sections alike, increasing in intensity the while. At the present time it is stronger than ever before; it is at the root, indeed, of nine-tenths of the railing one hears against the Old-Age Pension Law.

"Mebbe gentlefolk ain't old till they're seventy. But us, why we're old at sixty, real old." That it is thus is undoubtedly the firm belief of the poor, a belief, too, for which there is some foundation. A London doctor, who has patients of all sorts and conditions, tells me he always takes it for granted, when he sees a woman patient for the first time, that she is seven years younger than she seems, if she belongs to the needy class; and seven years older than she looks, if she is one

of the well-to-do. Thus, according to him, in London—in the country it may be different, he admits—the average woman who has to battle for life is already at fifty-six as old as the average well-cared-for woman at seventy. Whether in this he is right or wrong, it would be rash to say; still, of the needy-class women whom I know, nineteen out of every twenty would certainly be prepared to swear that he is right.

This able and sympathetic article raises several other points which deserve careful attention if the new Pensions Act is to be a measure of real amelioration.



FARMING THE SEAS.

Few people know anything about our fisheries beyond the fact that they supply us with a valuable article of food, and that there is a three-mile limit within which trawlers may not trawl. We have a Board of Agriculture to which Fisheries is attached on the principle, possibly, that it must be attached to something; but so far as sea fisheries are concerned, that Board's functions are but dimly apprehended. Considerable light is thrown upon the subject by Mr. Roger Pocock in an article entitled "Britain's Home Farm," in *Nash's Illustrated Weekly* (January 10th). He points out that the North Sea and its adjacent waters, the richest fishing ground in the world, support a million people in Great Britain; with more intelligent administration, three millions might be supported.

But our farming of the sea has been haphazard. The spawning grounds, for example, are in the shoal waters of the foreshore, and are protected by the three-mile limit, but not sufficiently so. Take the case of the Moray Firth in Scotland. Mainly it is outside the three-mile limit, and the British Government found it necessary to prohibit the British trawler from fishing there. But it was out of its power to stop the foreign trawler, since international law recognises only the three-mile limit. Hence the British trawler, finding himself cut off from privileges enjoyed by the Frenchman, Norwegian, Dane, and German, simply transfers to whatever foreign flag he fancies—and resumes his operations.

The writer's remedy for this state of affairs is an international law to secure "effective police and all-round justice." This might well come within the League of Nations' activities. Rapid transport for the fish is of almost equal importance.

Unhappily, our railway companies are not all that could be desired in the matter of speed, and their system of hauling freight is one of the most expensive on earth. In time of peace our railways were a national calamity, but war sent rails, engines and trucks over to France. A large proportion of the men were killed in action, disabled in the field, or attracted to other employment. After the war rail transport for the fish was neither prompt nor rapid. In many cases

the catch could not be shipped to market, and I remember one day at Grimsby, when nineteen boxes of plaice were sold for four cigarettes.

And war, which disabled the railways, improved the motor lorry. At Hull an Army lorry was bought by two demobilised soldiers, who secured three tons of fish and expected to sell out at the nearest inland city. But the journey had been announced, and so the way was lined by eager buyers from villages, and from little towns, from farms, who bought the entire load before the lorry reached its destination.

That was the beginning of road transport for fish from all our ports and railheads—a new industry, immensely profitable, of rapid growth, and with a gigantic future.

Mr. Pocock advocates the conversion of our Fisheries into a Department of State, such as that existing in Norway, the States, Germany, Canada, &c., with branches to deal, among other matters, with scientific and commercial research, the development of fish docks, transport, and marketing, and with the financing of the industry. A college for the first is recommended.



Evening News

(London)

Their Housing Problem.

The Tenants: "If we knew of a better home we'd go to it?"

A REAL TRADES PARLIAMENT.

Under the title of "The Team Spirit in Industry," Mr. Malcolm Sparkes contributes some account of the constitution and aims of the Industrial Council for the Building Industry (Building Trades Parliament) to the *English Review*. The Building Trades Parliament ranks in official records as an ordinary Whitley Industrial Council; but it differs in many points from the forty or more Industrial Councils set up as a consequence of the Whitley Report. First, the scheme originated in the industry itself before the publication of the Report, instead of being imported ready-made from a State Department. In the second place, it is purely a Labour idea—"a great constructive proposal laid before the Building trades employers by the twelve principal trade unions of the Building Industry, and adopted on its merits." Thirdly, it is based, first and foremost, on a principle of mutual good-will.

The Building Trades Parliament consists of 132 members; 66 elected by the 22 trade unions of the Building industry, approximately in proportion to their numerical strength, and 66 elected by the 17 associations of Building trades employers, roughly *pro rata* with the number of operatives normally employed by their members. The chairman is a member himself, and therefore has a vote, but not a casting vote. No representatives are appointed by the State—the whole plan being essentially industrial self-government.

It is the only Industrial Council that has omitted the word "joint" from its title; has set out to "realise the organic unity of the industry as a great national service," and has the courage to take decisions by the majority of the whole Council, instead of requiring a majority of the Council on both sides, which is the ordinary Whitley Council practice. This is a most fundamental matter. The Whitley Councils, as at present constituted, have actually recognised, as permanent, the very barrier between the two existing "sides" in industry that the Industrial Parliament Scheme was designed to break and which the Building Trades Council, with notable courage and imagination, has already broken, at any rate to some extent.

In regard to strikes:

Another feature in which the Building

Trades Parliament is unique is its absolute exclusion of disputes. Its function is constructive and nothing but constructive—it is there to build the new industrial order and for nothing else. Disputes must be dealt with, as heretofore, by the Building Trades Conciliation and Demarcation Boards (which are somewhat similar to the newly-constituted American Board of Jurisdictional Awards) or by any other methods that may be found to be advisable, not for a moment strikes. Under no circumstances can the Building Trades Parliament arbitrate; but although it cannot touch disputes it can always bring forward constructive measures to remove their underlying cause.

Besides industrial control and the status of Labour, its scope includes scientific management and reduction of costs; apprenticeship, technical training and research; safety and welfare methods; closer association between industry and art; and unemployment.

They propose that the overhanging fear of unemployment, which has had such a demoralising effect, both on the character of the worker and the quality of his work, shall be completely and finally removed, in order that he may wholeheartedly give of his best. To secure this they recommend that the industry should establish unemployment pay for the whole of its trade union personnel, and that the necessary funds should be raised, as a first charge on production, by means of a weekly percentage on the wages bills, to be paid by each employer to a joint committee of employers and operatives. Although collected by a joint committee, the unemployment pay is to be distributed by the trade unions, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Building Trades Parliament, the scale varying from full wages for a man with a wife and four children, under sixteen, down to half wages for a single man.

"Owner-managers" are to be paid salaries "commensurate with their ability and subject to periodical revision by a joint committee." Surplus earnings of the industry are to be publicly declared every year, and devoted to such purposes as a development fund, for education, research and superannuation schemes. Last, but by no means least from the public standpoint, "the adjustment of prices in conference with the elected representatives of the community is also foreshadowed."

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

January was for Germany, both in regard to her home affairs and in regard to her foreign politics, a most eventful month. The year began without much stir, a proclamation by the President, Ebert, couched in formal terms and appealing for unity and industry, meeting with little comment. Much closer attention was given and much greater discussion was aroused by the publication, simultaneously in England, France and Germany, in the last by the *Vossische Zeitung*, of the "Willy-Nicky" correspondence in its complete form—the letters which everyone in this country knows by their publication daily in the *Morning Post* from January 1st to the 22nd. Not only the daily papers but also the reviews occupied themselves with these letters of the ex-Emperor, the organs of the Left interpreting them as yet further proofs of the levity and theatrical cast of mind of the German Kaiser, the spokesman of the Right extolling his foresight and the perspicacity of his perception of Great Britain as the enemy. The Kautsky documents, revealed during the preceding month, provided material for further articles, the most noteworthy in the January German reviews being those in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* by Professor Hans Delbrück and by Dr. Friedrich Thimme in the conservatively-inclined political weekly, *Deutsche Politik*. The latter devotes special attention to the Kaiser's marginalia, which were such a striking feature of the Kautsky documents, and the assertion is made that, far from proving the ex-Emperor's will to war, they prove his will to peace or, at least, were merely expressions of an excitable temperament. For the first part of this surprising pronouncement the letter of the Kaiser to Bethmann-Hollweg of the end of July, 1914, advocating milder measures with Serbia, is adduced. But the ordinary outside observer would say that all that that much-quoted document showed was that the Emperor and his advisers, seeing war

approach, thought better or measures they had formerly urged and encouraged. There is not really much in Dr. Thimme's arguments, but they deserve attention at least as a proof that apparently well-meaning and able men in Germany do not regard the case against the ex-Emperor as entirely established.

In the *Preussische Jahrbücher*—now edited by Dr. Walther Schotte, who succeeds Professor Hans Delbrück, after thirty-six years of the latter's editorship—the article is from the pen of Professor Delbrück himself, who apparently intends to contribute his usual monthly political review. Delbrück was frequently opposed to the pre-Revolution German Government and earned for himself the special resentment of the Jingo Party. It is not surprising to find him very indignant with Herr Kautsky. He goes so far as to admit that the documents revealed prove that Austria wished a war against Serbia, that this project was supported by Germany, that the Austrian ultimatum was purposely conceived in extremely sharp terms and that the various attempts at mediation, particularly those by Great Britain, were either refused or sabotaged by Germany and her ally. But, Delbrück asserts, it is not proved that the actions of Berlin or Vienna were dictated by a desire either to prevent or to stir up the universal conflagration.

On January 3rd there were announced in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* the provisions of a new Reichstag electoral law. This is discussed by Herr Wilhelm Heile in the issue of his paper, *Die Hilfe*, for January 8th. From a long and somewhat involved mathematical description it would appear that in the new law a serious attempt is to be made to ensure the exactly correct proportional party representation in the Reichstag. At the basis of the whole scheme is the suggestion that in each electoral district a party receives as many seats as its total number of votes is divisible by 60,000. But no

doubt the whole question will be subject to much elaboration and modification.

Another law over which there was throughout Germany the keenest discussion was the so-called *Betriebrätegesetz*, or Industrial Councils Law. This measure was introduced into the National Assembly in keeping with a promise that the position of the Workers' Councils, recognised formally in the August 1919 Constitution, should be definitely regularised by a special Act. The extremists who, in Germany as elsewhere, tried to capture the Workers' Councils and exploit them for political ends, found fault with the proposed law at all points; in their opposition, as *Die Hilfe* sarcastically points out in a note on the Law, uniting with certain of the large employers. Dissatisfaction artificially stimulated and general discontent, of which the partial railway strike in the earlier part of the month was a symptom, led to a demonstration in Berlin before the Reichstag building on the 14th. A large crowd had gathered outside the Reichstag, in which a debate was proceeding. They or some of the ringleaders wished to be heard and afforded admittance. In this they were incited by an excitable Minority Socialist woman deputy, Luise Zietz, and at length there was stone-throwing directed against the Security

Police, who were on guard before the Reichstag. The evident calculation of the extremists was that these police would not fire. But after two of them had been seriously injured and the position began to look very serious, firing began from the side of the police and about forty of the crowd were killed or seriously injured.

The affair was followed by sharp and immediate action by the Government. All extremist newspapers, including the principal Minority organ, *Die Freiheit*, were forbidden until further notice and meetings by the Independents were prohibited. These measures were angrily criticised by the Minority Socialists, especially in view of the fact that patriotic demonstrations of the Fatherland Party, at which there were laudatory references to the ex-Kaiser *apropos* of the Dutch refusal of the Entente's demand to hand him over, were not interfered with. But the Government remained firm and apparently quite alive to the subversive influences at work behind the Berlin outbreak. One of these, it may be mentioned, came to light in the first week of the month, when there was chronicled the foundation of a new revolutionary Soviet Party under the direction of a former Minority Party-man, Maltzahn. An incident that threatened trouble from the Right came towards the end of the month with the attempted assassination of Herr Erzberger as he was leaving the Court after having given evidence in the libel action brought by him against Herr Helfferich. The assailant was a very young man, but there is no doubt that his action was inspired by the recent repeated attacks on Erzberger in the newspapers of the Right, none of whom can forget his advocacy of peace at a moment when German military fortunes seemed their brightest.

January 10th was a notable date. It was on that day that the German delegates in Paris signed the much-discussed protocol and thus completed all the formalities necessary before it was possible to enter upon a state of peace. The event was naturally commented upon in the German Press, the Right breathing vengeance, the rest of the party-organ welcoming peace, with its first conse-



Roy Blue

[Paris

"There, in the centre, you see that little spot . . . It is St. Helena."

quence, the immediate return of the German prisoners in French hands, and agreeing that in some way a peaceful revision of the most oppressive terms must be worked for. A typical article was that in *Die Hilfe* for January 15th, from the pen of Dr. Paul Rohrbach, the well-known political writer. His point of view—and he quotes a document by “a high authority” with which he professes complete agreement—is that the struggle by Germany against the Treaty must be a moral struggle, must direct itself against the moral clauses, in particular against Article 231, by which Germany assumes the sole guilt for the war, and against all articles which prescribe punishment.

Far greater, however, than interest in questions of foreign policy is that taken during the past month in a revived proposal for a German Unitary State (*Einheitsstaat*). It will be recalled that on December 15th last a resolution was passed in the Prussian Assembly calling upon the central government of the Republic to approach the separate states with a view to proceeding to elaborate a plan for abolishing the federal administration in main affairs, such as finance and army organisation, and decentralisation in such questions as education. At the beginning of January Herr Erzberger went to his native Württemberg and delivered a speech at Stuttgart in favour of the “unitary state”; the Press of the Centre Party in the Rhineland and elsewhere in Prussia, which had always stood for the peculiar rights of the separate states, also showed itself favourably disposed. Bavaria, however, showed an opposition which did not abate. The Bavarian Peasant leader, Dr. Heim, developed a great campaign against the unification movement; the Bavarian Centre Party severed its relations with the Centre in the rest of the Republic, thus bringing about the resignation of Dr. Mayer, the Bavarian representative at the Imperial Ministry of Finance, who was thereupon, after the final ratification, nominated as first German Chargé d’Affaires to Paris, where he arrived during the month. It is not improbable that the whole unification movement will this time come to nothing; if this occurs the reasons will be those put forward by *Die Hilfe* in an interesting

article on the subject in its issue for January 15th:

As we feared, the resolution in the Prussian Diet, in spite of the phrase as to the freedom of the different states, has awakened in South Germany the feeling that Germany is, under cover of unification, to be entirely Prussianised—Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and the other smaller states to be forced into Prussia as once Hanover, Hesse and Schleswig-Holstein were forced. The strongest tendency in this direction is in the Bavarian Centre. The resolution of the party concerning the withdrawal of its seventeen members from the Centre Party in the National Assembly is clearly directed against Erzberger’s unitary financial policy. It is true that in this party Bavarian particularism has always been very strong and the will to a powerful combination of the whole German nation very weak. But this trend of events justifies the warning we gave against making the unitary state a kind of bogey man, enabling the particularists to charge it with the responsibility for increased taxation, just as the reactionaries, at the time of transition to a democratic-republican state, made it responsible for the loss of the war. We have often been told that the unitary state will come of itself, that our desperate financial position will compel us to it. But how often have we, unfortunately with insufficient success, protested against an underestimation of the moral factors involved.

Of party activities during January, there was little to note beyond the foundation of a new Soviet organisation which has already been mentioned. The way in which the definite breach of the Independents with the principles of parliamentary action has been received in the Majority Socialist Party is well shown by an article in *Die Neue Zeit* for January 9th, by Arthur Heichen. The tone of the article is altogether uncompromising & its attitude to the claims of the Independents to establish a “dictatorship of the proletariat.” The point is made that Germany is far from being entirely industrialised, and that unless the “dictatorship of the proletariat fanatics” can also convince the peasant population of the German Republic (and no one pretends that this is in the slightest degree possible) their pretensions must appear idle and utopian. A notable German Socialist date, by the way—they pay great attentions to these things in Germany—was January 6th, on which date Eduard Bernstein celebrated his seven-

tieth birthday—the occasion being marked by an interesting biographical article in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*. The rumours current some months ago that Bernstein might be sent as German Minister to London were dispelled during the month by the statement, made apparently on good authority, that the choice of Berlin had fallen on Herr Sthamer, a Hamburg Senator who had distinguished himself by his administrative work at Antwerp during the war. The month closed, however, without any definite appointment having been made. Great Britain's representative to Germany, on the contrary, Lord Kilmarnock, arrived at Berlin within a few days of the signing of the ratification.

In the literary world in Germany during the month the most important event was the publication of a new play by Gerhart Hauptmann. It is a Prospero play entitled "Indipohdi," and it appeared complete in the January number of the noted literary review, *Die Neue Rundschau*. The *Literarische Echo*, it is interesting to note, is now publishing at regular intervals, in common with other foreign correspondence, chronicles of literary events in England. So far they have been well-informed and sympathetically written.

FRANCE.

The French reviews of the past month are good reading for the most part and, politically speaking, more illuminating than for some time past. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (January 1st) appears an article by M. Gabriel Hanotaux which, under the title "After the Elections," surveys a large field of French home and foreign policy. The elections themselves are viewed by him as a personal triumph for M. Clemenceau; and from another angle of vision, as a victory of the coming generation. "History is nothing but a battle between the young who wish to arrive and the old who do not wish to depart," he exclaims in a telling aphorism. But, above all, they indicate "a continuance of the war spirit in the peace"—the spirit,

that is, of a nation united and grimly determined to take no unnecessary risks. One must remember, of course, that this article was penned while the German signature to the protocol still hung in the balance, and French nerves were in a state of pronounced jumpiness. It reflects this to some extent, but it also expresses the settled dissatisfaction of a large body of French opinion with the terms of the Peace Treaty, especially their failure to provide the military system suggested by Marshal Foch, in France and Belgium, for French safety against possible German aggression; and it refers to the motives "rather theoretical and far away," which prompted the 'despoiling' of Roumania and Serbia "for the profit of Bulgaria." Too much fuss, M. Hanotaux argues, has been made of the American "reservations"—which he suggests could easily have been accepted by the Supreme Council. And, after all, America, particularly Republican America, remains the firm friend of France and the potential foe of Germany if she attempts to renew her aggression. Unofficial assurances from America, one gathers, are as good as military guarantees from anybody else.

Synchronising with the break-up of the Peace Conference appears an article on "The Situation in Roumania" in *Le Correspondant* (January 25th). The author of this paper—one might almost call it an explosion—is M. Humbert de Gallier. The first part is an interesting survey of the internal politics of Roumania since the Armistice; the second, a vigorous justification of her action in Hungary, with its corollary, a scathing denunciation of the big Four's handling of the question and of America's attitude in particular. It was, he reminds us, over the clauses of the Austrian Treaty dealing with the rights of minorities that the difficulty with Roumania arose. M. Bratiano maintained that these clauses impugned his country's sovereign rights, and M. de Gallier upholds this view on the ground that however applicable they might be to new states and governments staggering into existence under the Treaty, they should not have been imposed on an established government like the Roumanian. If Great Britain, for example, had

been made accountable to an international tribunal for her treatment of her Irish, Egyptian or Indian subjects, or America for her persistence in regarding the negroes as an inferior race, what would have happened? He quotes M. Bratiano's undeniably pertinent question whether the League of Nations was going to create two categories of states, the one with complete freedom of action in their home affairs, the other bound by conditions limiting their sovereignty. As regards Roumania, the principal question before the Conference was the position of the Jews. But the Allies knew that she had already accorded them full civil and political rights.

Here he undoubtedly lays bare one of the many weak contradictions of the Peace Treaty. But his defence of Roumania's subsequent proceedings is not nearly so convincing. He says that Roumania's excursion to Buda Pesth crushed a serious outbreak of Bolshevism in that country, and ought to have been recognised with appropriate thanks by the Supreme Council; whereas all that poor Roumania got was reproaches and threats. This, so far as one's memory serves, is not strictly accurate. The Entente may not have acknowledged the service as handsomely as it deserved, but it was not till Roumania began to help herself to whatever she could find in Hungary that relations really became strained. M. de Gallier recounts the enormous booty abstracted from Roumania by the Germans, and asks whether she was not justified in taking back what, morally speaking, belonged to her. Have we not appropriated German belongings in exactly the same way? The point that our requisitions were in accordance with the Treaty signed by Germany, and that the Roumanians acted without any sort of authorisation, is airily waved aside. They were tired of the Conference's procrastinations.

He puts the chief blame, however, on the Americans.

Without wishing to depreciate the great qualities which we recognize in the Americans, or to lessen the affection that the Allies have for them, one must assert that, ever since the war ended, their view has been dominated by commercial considerations. Their complete ignorance of European affairs and European politics, their amazing lack of understanding of the most elementary prob-

lems with which they were called upon to deal, their haste in renewing economic treaties with all the nations, whether friends or enemies, and their anxiety to extend the field of their financial or commercial operations, to which they were being vigorously urged by a group of New York business men, disconcerted and alienated even those who were most disposed to favour them.

In plain language, America, according to this writer, did not want Roumania to regain her prosperity. She wanted her to remain a field for American exploitation. One wonders how many people in France believe that the underlying aim of the Fourteen Points was commercial advantage.

Another aspect of French politics is dealt with by M. Georges Guy-Grand in an article on "The Conditions of Religious Peace" in *La Grande Revue* (December). The text of this writer's discourse is the pronouncement made by M. Clemenceau at Strasbourg on November 4th of last year: "The laws of secularisation," said he, "ought to be maintained in their integrity." But the laity ought not to be provocative. "The laity in the State must concern themselves with the rights and liberties of citizens, whatever faith they may hold." Yet the religious question still remains acute. Catholic propaganda was carried on very actively among the poilus during the war, and the effect is making itself felt, now that they have returned to their homes and occupations, in the literature of the war published in the religious journals. This is filled with the heroism and self-sacrifice of the priests; there is next to nothing about the poilus. "One would think, to read certain books or certain articles, that the armies of the Republic were composed solely of chaplains." To counteract the effort of Catholicism to impose its discipline upon life as a whole, "in face of supernatural doctrine and theism," one must oppose "the lay faith, *humanisme*"; which, in its negative sense, is neutrality, but in its positive, respect for conscience—wherein lies the solution of the difficulty.

Literary articles are well to the front in the reviews. Two that should be appreciated by a wide circle of British readers appear in the excellent *Anglo-French Review*; one is written by M. Raoul B.

D'Erlanger on "English War Poets," and the other—in English—by Mr. Richard Aldington on Georges Duhamel. The former deals appreciatively with Siegfried Sassoon and, at greater length and with a rather finer sympathy, Rupert Brooke. Mr. Aldington admires M. Duhamel rather as a critic than as a poet. He pronounces the "Propos Critiques," published in 1912, as "important not only as the formulation of M. Duhamel's own contention, but also as a 'manifesto' of a body of French writers now rapidly attaining fame, though in 1912 comparatively unknown." In the same review there is a piquant feature in the shape of an article by M. Clemenceau. Not, however, a political article—merely the Tiger giving "advice to a young woman who is bored!" He merely tells her to find a new interest in life by losing it in herself, and by obliterating self-love by loving someone else—the latter being the only way of getting oneself loved. It is ancient counsel but it is delivered with much wit and with a kindly cynicism that reminds one rather insistently of Anatole France.

SPAIN.

During January the position in Spain continued to be one of uncertainty and seriousness. The strike at Barcelona continued until nearly the end of the month, when the factories opened again. The workers, however, did not return in any considerable numbers, a large number of them standing out for their wages over the period of the general lock-out. This was not conceded and thus the industry of this great centre remained to a considerable extent paralysed. There was a certain amount of violence, one incident, in particular, the murder of representatives of the Employers' Federation, causing the utmost resentment all over Spain and even compelling the central Madrid Government, which had hitherto shown general indifference, to take some stand. Fortunately the situation was kept well in hand by the local Barcelona authorities, and the evident desire of the military committees to be allowed freedom of action was kept in

check. Otherwise there would have been proclamation of martial law and an almost certain intensifying of the trouble.

For it was shown during the month that a certain amount of discontent existed in the army, and the opinion was strengthened that prevalent lawlessness in certain quarters was the work of extremist propaganda. On January 8th there was a mutiny of the Ninth Artillery Regiment, stationed at Saragossa. A rising took place in the barracks, in which the officer in charge and a sergeant were both murdered. A few of the mutineers made their escape; the remainder, seven in number, were apprehended and sentenced to death. This incident also stirred the Madrid Government into activity and produced in the Cortes an expression of loyalty from spokesmen of all the parties except the extreme Left.

Madrid, also, was not without disturbing events during the month. A strike, with the counter-measure of a general lock-out, took place in the building trade. Less serious was the decree made by royal proclamation, declaring Sunday to be a day of rest for all staffs of newspapers. Thus will be made general a practice already followed by certain journals of the Continent, of having no Monday editions, or at least only editions which appear on the Monday evening. In Madrid the change has not been welcomed with unanimity, but no opposition to it is likely to develop.

A notable figure in contemporary literature disappeared with the death, on January 4th, of Perez Galdos. He was noted for both his plays and novels of modern Spanish life, also for his series of Spanish historical sketches, the *Episodios Nacionales*.

POLAND.

(From a Polish Correspondent.)

In that great wave of liberation that swept over Europe in those memorable days of November, 1918, three parts of Poland threw off their compulsory allegiance to the long-time mastery of Prussia, Austria and Russia and proclaimed their re-union and independence as a sovereign Republic, which six months

afterwards was confirmed by the Treaty of Versailles. On the 17th of November, 1918, General Pilsudski, freed from the Magdeburg prison, returned to Poland, assumed the supreme power and convened a Constituent Diet elected by the general suffrage of both sexes. In this fashion Poland resumed her place in the comity of free nations, and although devastated and exhausted by the armed millions that made her the battlefield of their various struggles, she began to set her house in order, sustained by the creative power of unprecedented patriotic enthusiasm. The enemy was still on Polish soil. Out of the ruins and remnants, Pilsudski created an army, which half clad and half fed, as it was, pushed the Bolshevik hosts behind the Easternmost confines of the Republic. On a front of a thousand miles ragged and weary Polish soldiers remain for nearly a year on the watch, as a living bulwark of civilisation. A year ago the situation was grave in the extreme. Besides external wars the newly returned rulers of the Commonwealth had to solve urgent and burning internal questions of a social and economic character. Not all of them have yet been solved. The building of the fabric of a State in all its minute details is not a work to be executed in a year's space of time. Poland accomplished a great deal, but much remains still to be done.

The traditions of Poland, which was a great constitutional Empire in the past, together with the urgent topical questions to be tackled first, delayed the final draft of the Constitutional Committee from being accepted by the full Diet. First and foremost came the creation of the national army, accompanied by the introduction of national administration, justice and finance. The army 600,000 strong - the pride of Poland—is in the field. The administrative system is being unified rapidly in spite of the many difficulties, particularly the *domnosa hereditas* of the former Russian, Austrian and Prussian rulers. The agrarian reform, fought out against the stubborn resistance of the great owners by the united liberal forces of the House, has responded to the most urgent social demand and will help to attain that

invigorating balance between agriculture and industry which promises to make Poland the most powerful and important factor in Eastern Europe.

The clearing of the economic chaos caused by the war and the introduction of a sound financial system proved too hard a task to be achieved in a few months. The figures of the Polish budget presented to the Diet a few weeks ago by M. Bilinski, the Treasurer, are not very encouraging. For a period of nine months, ending March 31st, 1920, the revenue amounted to 1,078 millions and the expenditure to 8,659 millions Polish marks, of which 4,500 millions are being spent on a war, which is waged as much in the interests of the Allies as of Poland. The total indebtedness of Poland amounts to 10,000 millions Polish marks, almost equally divided into external and internal debts. The disorganised and depreciated currency presents a medley of values. To-day there are circulating in Poland Imperial, Duma and Kerenski roubles, German marks, Austrian kronens and Polish marks to the value of 15,000 millions Polish marks. M. Bilinski will have to accomplish the work of Sisyphus to reduce it to order, change it all into a new national currency and see to it that this currency reaches something approaching a par exchange. A great deal has been done by the contracting of a long term American loan completed on the 27th last. Poland receives \$250,000,000 at 6 per cent. for twenty years, or in Polish marks about 10,000, the whole amount of her internal and foreign indebtedness, which has hitherto been mostly on short terms. This is undoubtedly a big step forward and a proof of the great foreign confidence reposed in Poland's economic vitality; yet a complete recovery is not possible so long as chaos reigns in Russia and the Eastern markets of Poland are closed.

The close alliance with the Western Allies, particularly France, has for a long time influenced Poland's foreign policy, not always to her own benefit. Her whole attitude towards the many Russian factions was a consequence of those influences. Yet it becomes ever more apparent that Poland is slowly regaining her independence and initiative in East-

tern European politics. She must attain them fully if she wants to play the part imperatively imposed on her by her geographical position. Identifying as she does her interests with those of Great Britain in the whole vast field of Russia and Russia's problems, Poland at the present moment strives to realise a federation of the Baltic States. The Polish President, General Pilsudski, is a convinced federalist, and his great influence on the activities of the Government is clearly discernible in the recent conferences with the different Baltic States, particularly with Lithuania and Lettland and the Ukraine.

FINLAND.

Finland enjoys the unique distinction among the countries whose currency has been depressed by the economic effects of the war that she has taken measures to stabilize her exchange, and that her efforts in this direction have been rewarded by a rapid recovery in the value of her currency. A few months ago the Finnish mark had fallen as low as 150, while to-day it stands at 73. And it is to be remembered that the par value of the Finnish mark is tenpence, and not a shilling as is the case with the German mark which to-day is quoted at 315.

How this remarkable rise in the value of the Finnish mark has been brought about is discussed by a writer in *Hufrustadsbladet* for January 15th. Naturally the reasons for the rise are several, and not all of one kind. First, there are political causes at work.

"In initiated circles it is believed that there is reason to suppose that the rise in the value of our mark must be seen against a political background and that the phenomenon thus stands in the most intimate connection with a number of political conditions. It is assumed that events of great political import are impending, and that questions of a political nature, affecting Finland, are on the point of decision. Confidence in our country and therewith in our currency has been consequently strengthened."

Secondly, there is the normal recovery of trade in a country which possesses practically all the raw materials for its

industry and has enormous stocks of timber, pulp and paper, ready for export as soon as shipping is available. Finally, the currency policy of the Finnish Government must be given due weight.

"The Currency Committee has now in fact brought about a certain order and stability in currency conditions. Through its action the supply of Finnish marks abroad can in some measure be restricted, and their export is dependent upon the Committee's arrangements. All existing outstanding accounts in marks abroad are now on the same basis and can only be freely liquidated here through such channels as are permitted by the Committee. For any other kind of settlement the permission of the Currency Committee is required."

It is expected that the improvement in the rate of exchange will be maintained. In expert quarters it seems to be the general view that the record unfavourable rates of exchange for the mark of some weeks ago will not be repeated. "In all probability there will be numerous fluctuations in the future, but it is thought that the general tendency will be towards an improvement in the rate of exchange and that the value of the mark will gradually return to the normal."



[Wahr Jacob.]

[Stuttgart.]

A Poison Gun for Europe.

In consequence of Prohibition, America is sending sixty million gallons of whisky to Europe.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN CARTOONS.

On January 16th, the first meeting of the League of Nations was held in Paris.



The Ledger

[Tacoma, U.S.A.]

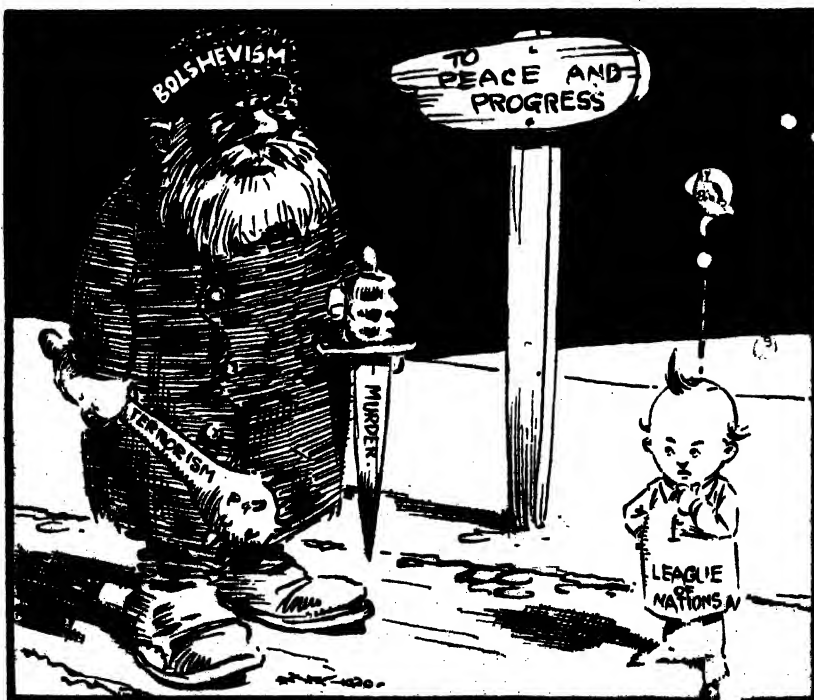
The Light that failed.



San Francisco Chronicle

[San Francisco]

Will they let him in?



Daily Graphic

"The First Thing He Met!"

[London]

Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

It is a curious commentary on the way in which history was taught to us at school that the years between 1760 and 1830 stood in our schoolboy minds as years of warfare abroad and only riots at home. It is true that our history books, in so far as these "riots" were concerned, were generous enough at least to speak pityingly of the poor working people who thought the arrival of new machines would destroy their prosperity, but that those working people should have argued correctly was never for a moment suggested to us. The "Industrial Revolution," so we understood then, was the beginning of England's enormous wealth; just as the defeat of Napoleon was the mark of England's military prestige in Europe (for we believed that too). The history of England that we learnt was the history of England's rulers, and their history in the period is in the main a story of continual triumphs.

Of course this view of the period was not a unanimous view. One has only to read Cobbett and Ruskin and Morris to see that all through the nineteenth century there were men who could see the reverse of the medal. But it has been left to the moderns, and among them Mr. J. L. Hammond and Mrs. Barbara Hammond, to give us a detailed history of these years as they affected the labourers of England. *The Town Labourer and The Village Labourer* have already appeared, and their history is now completed by their new book *The Skilled Labourer* (Longmans, 12/6 net), which supplements the picture of the social conditions in the first book, by giving a detailed account of the efforts which various bodies of skilled labourers made to resist the new tyranny.

What the conditions were against which they struggled a few facts will show. Take this note at the bottom of page 167 for example:—

James Kay, a cotton and woollen manufacturer, near Bury, gave some particulars of the wages he paid to his cotton weavers to the Committee on Trade in 1812. These wages dropped from 7s. in March, 1810, to 4s. in May, 1811. In November, 1811, they had risen to 4s. 6d. Asked to account for this last rise he answered, "on account of the disposition of the people to riot and the Committee of Masters recommending it."

What a drop in wages took place during the years from 1790 to 1810 among the cotton weavers is made clear when one reads that in 1799 the weavers were already complaining that while in 1792 a man would receive 22s. for forty-four yards of cloth, in 1799 he would only be receiving 11/- for sixty yards, worked with a finer weft.

And it is worth while noticing the complaint that was continually being made from all parts of the country, that masters were insisting on paying so low wages that they had to be made up by the Parish. Thus a Mr. Hay writes to the Home Office:

There is a concurrence of opinion among the English manufacturers that it serves their particular interests to have their work-people at so low a price that they must be fed in part out of the Poor's rate which serves as a bonus to the Capital employed in manufacturing. The evil is growing into a system.

This complaint is common from all parts of the country, and there is a case of a Master, who on being asked to raise a man's wages from 7/- a week to 10/- replied by asking him what good it would do him, as he would then cease to draw the 3/- which the Parish was allowing him.

Nor were wages the only grievance—though they were the most serious. There were the appalling hours of labour. Perhaps the worst cases of all were in the lace factories of Nottingham, where we hear of an attempt being made in 1828 to check over-production by reducing the hours of working from eighteen or twenty hours a day to twelve. Even this attempt, however, failed since a minority of the owners refused to be bound, and the majority unable to coerce them were compelled to return to their evil ways. The *Leeds Mercury*, in 1830, stated that "children were employed in the worsted mills thirteen hours with an interval of half an hour, and in the woollen mills fifteen hours with an interval of two hours." While we have a long account of a girl who, starting work at nine year-old, had worked regularly between thirteen and fifteen hours a day.

Then there was the "truck" system, always being suppressed and always re-emerging, and the fact (perhaps the hardest of all to contemplate with equanimity) that the exploited had continually to fight for a just measure of the work they had done. The Tyneside colliers were paid by the amount of "corves" or baskets of coal they produced. If the basket contained less than the regulation amount the coal went to the masters without being credited to the collier; if it contained more, the balance again went to the master. And even then the men were unable to make the masters agree to allowing them a representative at the weighing. Then again we hear of an agreement between the Master Hoziers "that a yard of work shall consist of two and forty inches, instead of thirty-six."

But though this book is, of course, in part an account of the grievances under which the men were labouring—grievances so bitter and so terrible to read of that one is amazed both at the scarcity of civil disorder and at the fact that human nature could bear them at all—it is still more importantly a history of the way in which they fought against them and, so far as this book takes us, were defeated. It is a tragic business throughout, though by their way of telling its story Mr. and Mrs. Hammond are content to leave the tragedy to emerge as best it may, in the nakedness of the facts them-

selves. Everything was on the master's side—their staying power during a strike as well as what one may call their comparative unity of command, their knowledge of the facts of commerce so that when, after a period of bad trade and consequent low wages a better time came, they could continue to keep wages down long after a rise could have been well afforded; above all, their control of the law and their influence with the men who made the laws.

These last two facts are of immense importance. Not only had the masters after 1799, when the men first started combining against them, the Combination Acts to rely on, but whenever the men made an attempt to fix a fair wage by constitutional means the influence of the masters in Parliament was invariably strong enough to resist all proposals. They went even further than this, for when the men, after trying their best to get Pitt to enforce a minimum wage, fell back on an old Act of the reign of Elizabeth, which laid a duty upon a magistrate to intervene in a dispute about wages and to fix a fair wage, the masters saw to it that the Act was immediately repealed.

But strong as the masters were with law invariably at their backs, it is by the employment by the Home Office and magistrates of spies that a modern conscience must be chiefly shocked. The chapters in this book on the T. & N. Mines in Nottinghamshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire, and on "Oliver the Spy" are a warning (not an altogether unnecessary warning either, even at the present day) of the incalculable evils of such a system of preserving order. That the spy invariably degenerates into an *agent provocateur* is a commonplace to any one who considers the subject. And these pages are a long account of the way in which these scoundrels went about the country fomenting disorder, administering illegal oaths, and generally creating the evidence which they desired to produce and be paid for, and entrapping foolish and starving men to commit themselves utterly into their power. The whole history of our government contains no blacker pages than these. They can only be compared to the worst days of the Tsars in Russia.

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That the mass of people have not had the opportunity for self expression or of participating in the richness of Life.

That bleak and solitary lives, squalid surroundings and monotonous toil, generate industrial unrest, social antagonisms and National insecurity.

That barbed-wire entanglements of prejudice or custom must be removed if they impede the attainment of justice or freedom

That sacrifice and service are demanded from all citizens, but that the higher the position and the greater the wealth, the larger the measure of sacrifice and service demanded.

That the privilege to generate joy is not unbounded by the frontiers of one's own family or one's own class.

That even the vision to see, the faith to believe, the will to endure and the courage to act, the unconquerable spirit of man can, in response to the call of the Divine Spirit, begin to build here and now the City of God.

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Ellis T. D. M., LL.B., D.Sc.

THE FINANCES OF EGYPT AND

THE SUDAN Percy F. Martin, F.R.G.S.

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when everything appeared to be against the working man, when defeat was apparently the only result of his struggles, the foundations of freedom were being laid. Small credit to the masters, though! True there were good masters to be found. There were also far more commonly masters who were on the side of the strikers, hoping by this means to compel their rivals to pay higher wages, which they alone were incapable of granting, for fear of being undersold. But as a general rule it is safe to say that no single advance of any kind, whether in the matter of wages or hours or even fair dealing, was gained without a fight. And these were the days in which the workers learnt through their abject misery to stand by one another. One thinks of the scenes in "Shirley" (the historical foundations for which are to be found in this book), of Cobbett's denunciations, of Byron's maiden speech in which he said "that he had never seen under the most despotic governments such squalid wretchedness as he had seen since his return in the very heart of England," and one wonders how such men had the spirit left to stand by one another, or the money to subscribe to the funds of their Unions. One reads the moderate and well argued appeals, and wonders how we escaped a revolution. If any one wonders at the demands of working men to-day, or at the fighting power of our soldiers in France, he will find the answer to them both in this book. It is a tragedy or an epic, according to how you look at it.

SOME RECENT FICTION.

One by one all those novelists who have not already done so, and some of those who have, are getting the war off their chests.

One of the best of this recent batch is Miss G. B. Stern's *Children of No Man's Land* (Duckworth, 7/- net). Miss Stern is not concerned to write vaguely about the war in general, but with two aspects of it that can both be compressed under her title. First she takes the position of the naturalized German Jews in England, complicating her problem further by making her hero be born in Germany

while his parents were visiting that country before their naturalization, so that he, having been brought up to feel himself an ordinary Englishman, finds himself, just as he is about to enter the Army, a German subject. Her second war aspect is that of the *demivierge*, who apparently became a common type in England during those years of war. Brought up to believe in complete freedom, with every opportunity of mixing with men almost thrown in her way, she becomes alarmingly neither one thing nor the other, but simply a flirt in Dr. Johnson's definition of the term. The book contains a good deal of close observation of war-time England, and is certainly well written.

Mr. Gerald O'Donovan in *How they did It* (Methuen, 8/- net) is obviously very angry indeed. If one is to take his word for it, the general behaviour of those who were running the war on the home front, whether they were nominally soldiers or civilians, was scandalous in the extreme. Doubtless there is much truth in what he says. The money that one sees nowadays in the hands of some people must obviously have come from somewhere. Nevertheless it is hard to go all Mr. O'Donovan's way with him. All government officers, though some were silly enough, were not surely as corrupt as he believes. And besides one always doubts the fairness of a man who will prove his enemy a knave and a fool at the same time.

Mr. Gilbert Frankau's *Peter Jackson, Cigar Merchant* (Hutchinson 7/6 net) is worth noticing chiefly for a very vivid description of the Battle of Loos. That is extremely well done, and by the simplest means. While one reads it one is under shell fire, and the strain of the continuous bombardment and the utter weariness of the flesh is described as it only can be described by one who has suffered it. The whole part of the book which deals with the front is both truthful and interesting. It is when Mr. Frankau deals with other emotions than those of the war, or rather when he turns from describing his relation with things to other people's relations with each other, that his limitations begin to show. Nevertheless the book is worth reading for its descriptions of modern warfare.

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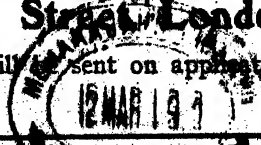
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No. 363. Vol. LXI.]

Founder: W. T. STRAD.

[MARCH, 1920

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, March 6th, 1920.

Mr. Asquith's Return to Parliament.

Mr. Asquith's return to Parliament at the beginning of this month is the most important event in our domestic politics since the last General Election. In discussing his prospects of success in our last issue we pointed out that although the opposition to the Liberal Party is still very strong, and personal prejudice against Mr. Asquith for his indecision in the early years of the war is by no means obliterated, yet there was a distinct likelihood that he would be elected in the old Liberal constituency of Paisley. His candidature was recognised from the outset as an event of national importance, and as the contest progressed he received a great deal of support from public men who had been his opponents in the past. The most remarkable incident of his election was the unexpected letter in support of his candidature from Lord Robert Cecil, which was followed soon afterwards by a letter of equally emphatic recommendation from that stalwart old Tory, Lord Chaplin. A witty member of the House of Commons said, when Mr. Asquith's victory became known, that he was an excellent Coalition candidate; for how else could you describe a politician who secured the support of the greater part of the Conservative vote as well as the Liberal vote, and a considerable section of Labour as well? The remark is worth recording because it illustrates one of the many ways in which Mr. Asquith

challenges the hitherto undisputed supremacy of the Prime Minister. It is quite obvious that with Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George must give up all hope of succeeding to the leadership of the Liberal Party. Equally, it would appear that he can no longer claim to represent that Coalition of parties which is supposed to be the basis of his present Government.

The Middle-Class Vote.

It is impossible to draw any clear deductions from a bye-election in which the personal prestige of the ex-Prime Minister played so large a part. A few months ago the Government was losing one bye-election after another to the Labour Party, and it has continued to lose almost every seat that has fallen vacant since the New Year. The mortality of the present House of Commons has been exceptionally high, and in spite of all its care to avoid all risks by making no new Ministerial appointments, the Government has had to face several bye-elections every month. Four bye-elections are actually in progress now, and three were held last month. Two of these constituencies were lost to the Government, although they had given large majorities to the Coalition at the General Election, and the third was only retained by the narrowest majority through the energetic campaign conducted by the popular music hall star, Miss Vesta Tilley, on behalf of her husband, Sir Walter de Frece. In the Wrekin Division of Shropshire Mr.

Charles Palmer, who suddenly descended upon the constituency as an outsider in company with Mr. Bottomley, managed to obtain a considerable following after an extremely vigorous campaign, and surprised all the political prophets by heading the poll where a Labour victory had been regarded as almost certain. Mr. Asquith's victory in Paisley was also a serious set-back for Labour, and the correct inference from all these bye-elections appears to be that the middle classes and the unattached voters of all parties are ready to vote for any candidate whom they think most likely to be a thorn in the side of the Government. In scarcely any of the bye-elections has there been a clear majority of the electorate in favour of any one candidate. Even Mr. Asquith, with his handsome majority of 14,000 votes, against 11,000 for Labour and 3,500 for the Government,⁶ was elected by a minority vote. But he inflicted the most severe defeat upon the Government that it has yet suffered, not only by his success in spite of Mr. Bonar Law's urgent appeal to the Conservatives to prevent his election, but by beating the Government candidate so soundly that he

was obliged to forfeit the deposit of £150 required under the Parliament Act as a guarantee against freak candidatures. The tables have been completely turned upon the Government. Eighteen months ago several of Mr. Asquith's former colleagues in the Cabinet suffered a similar disastrous defeat and forfeited their deposits. The Coalition supporters declared exultantly that the Asquithians could never recover from this supreme ignominy. Now the same fate has overtaken their own candidate for being rash enough to oppose Mr. Asquith himself.

Women and the Bye-Elections.

One of the most notable features of these bye-elections has been the increasing influence of the women who have taken part in them. Lady Astor is still the only woman who is actually in Parliament, but Mr. Asquith's daughter, Lady Bonham-Carter, has gained such a reputation for her gifts as a speaker during her father's contest at Paisley that she has already been invited by at least seven constituencies to stand as the Liberal candidate at the next election. Politically speaking, she is much the most considerable figure among the women who have taken an active part in politics since women were given the vote. She is not only a brilliant and convincing speaker, but has that intellectual equipment for political life to which Lady Astor makes little claim. A number of well-known women stood for Parliament at the last General Election, but with the exception of Miss Christabel Pankhurst none of them came anywhere near to success. Miss Margaret Bondfield and Miss Mary MacArthur have each obtained such personal influence in the Labour world through their long and devoted association with the Trade Union movement, that their election to the House of Commons is practically certain before long. Nevertheless, the bye-elections seem to show that the type of woman candidate who is likely to succeed is not the patient and unobtrusive worker in industrial movements, but the more spectacular women who know how to attract and manage a crowd of electors. Mr. Charles Palmer's success as an independent candidate in the Wrekin election proves that the crowds who have always



(Evening News).

[London]

The "Reverse" side of it (at Paisley).

David: "Good Heavens! Does your coupon look like that?"

been willing to gather round a popular speaker can be counted upon to use the franchise, which has lately been given to them, in favour of such candidates.

Mr. Asquith and the Opposition.

Within the House of Commons Mr. Asquith's presence has already made a marked impression. The reception which was given to him on his first appearance was highly significant. His return had been received with so much enthusiasm throughout the country that it was decided to organise a triumphal procession from his own house to Parliament Square. But his election had been such a severe blow to the Coalition that its supporters decided that they would receive him, when he came to take his seat, in frigid silence. So, when he was introduced once more to the House of Commons by his faithful lieutenant, Sir Donald Maclean, and his Chief Whip, Mr. George Thorne, after a riotous procession through the heart of London, he was greeted by scarcely more than a thin cheer, while Mr. Lloyd George was accorded a tremendous ovation. Mr. Asquith voted against the Government three times on the first day that he was back in the House, and all parties who are discontented with the Government look to him now as the leader of the Opposition which still may do much towards restoring the discredit into which Parliament has fallen. Two main questions now dominate the House of Commons, and Mr. Asquith's conduct as Leader of the Opposition will largely determine their settlement. The Government has introduced its Irish proposals, and there is scarcely anyone who will support them as they stand; but if the Opposition faces the issue in a constructive spirit it can go far towards remedying proposals which are certainly unworthy of British statesmanship. At the same time the whole question of the Peace Treaty, and of a settlement of the Near East, remains to be decided. Here also Parliament has been hitherto little more than a docile instrument for recording the decisions of the Cabinet, and if the Opposition is skilfully handled it may do much to repair the mistakes of the Peace Conference and to retrieve our foreign policy from the dishonour in which it has

become involved. Naturally, Mr. Asquith is handicapped by the smallness of his own band of followers, and by the rooted hostility towards him of part of the Labour Party and of many of the Conservatives. Nevertheless, there is the framework of a really effective Opposition if it is brought together upon the main issues and can be made to work in harmony. Lord Robert Cecil, who has committed himself, although he is still nominally a supporter of the Coalition, to the extent of writing to Mr. Asquith and expressing hopes of his return for Paisley, commands a following of probably not fewer than a hundred members of the Coalition, who include all the most gifted of the younger Unionists. On the revision of the Peace Treaty it is more than probable that Lord Robert and his followers would find themselves substantially in agreement with Mr. Asquith and the Labour Party. In the same way all these forces could probably be united in support of amendments to the Home Rule Bill which would make it worth serious consideration. Above all, there is hope of consolidating the vital forces in Parliament on the demand for further retrenchment.

Liberalism and Labour.

Whether Mr. Asquith's return to Parliament is likely to re-build the shattered fortunes of the Liberal Party is another matter. His speeches during the election at Paisley were a masterly exposition of a definite political creed, but there was something pathetic in the continual references to Mr. Gladstone and the incessant appeals to a tradition which has ceased to carry conviction anywhere outside the National Liberal Club. Nevertheless, the programme which Mr. Asquith set out does provide a platform upon which men of various parties are likely to find much common ground. No one else commands the same confidence in regard to the necessity for cutting down public expenditure, and Mr. Asquith can point to his own record as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister, when he reduced the national debt by more than 100 millions, within a few years, by careful finance. He has, moreover, a first-rate

reputation as an authority on national finance. The public has long ceased to hope for any serious retrenchment so long as Mr. Lloyd George remains in power without being subjected to the restraining influence of a well organised Opposition. Mr. Asquith's prospects as a leader depend much less upon his loyalty to the obsolete traditions of Liberalism than upon his power to prove to all classes that he stands for an uncompromising policy of retrenchment, and for a courageous endeavour to redeem the national debt by the application of special financial measures. Nationalisation is the test case of public economy, and on this question Mr. Asquith took a decided stand in opposition to the demands of the Labour Party. It becomes increasingly clear that by insisting upon nationalisation of the mines, which is admittedly demanded as only the prelude to an extension of State ownership from one big industry to another, the Labour Party are giving rise to widespread alarm and are rapidly losing the support which they were gaining throughout the country at the end of last year. We noted at that time that the steady increase in the votes that were polled for Labour was chiefly due to the desire of the middle classes to protest against the extravagance and the mismanagement of the present Government. Every Labour victory in the constituencies was sure to be interpreted at Westminster as a direct vote of no confidence in the Coalition, and in comparison with the effete programme of the old Liberal Party Labour had much to recommend it. But the two latest defeats of the Government, by Mr. Asquith as a Free Liberal and Mr. Charles Palmer as an Independent candidate, have been in a scarcely less notable degree defeats for Labour as well. The electorate as a whole is concerned chiefly with the cost of living and the desire to get back to normal conditions of industry, and until the Coalition shows signs of mending its ways, the bye-elections are sure to go in favour of whatever candidate is most likely to protest effectively against its uncontrolled extravagance. Personal considerations will certainly play a deciding part in every contest, and it is likely that Liberals of real character and ability will be preferred in the next few months

to Labour candidates who are obliged to argue in favour of nationalisation.

The Next Budget.

In the meantime the Government appears to have at last got the financial situation into some sort of order. The special issue of five and three-quarter per cent. Treasury Bonds which was issued to redeem the floating debt which has to be repaid this year, has brought in new capital to the extent of 60 millions, and a further 100 millions of maturing bonds have been converted into the new issue. No one expected quite such a favourable result, and the situation is still further improved by the probability that expenditure will be found to have fallen considerably short of Mr. Chamberlain's revised estimate in October last. He then anticipated that expenditure up to the end of the financial year would amount to 1,642 millions, but at the beginning of this month it is still nearly 300 millions short of this figure. At the same time, revenue, which he estimated at £1,168,000,000 seems likely to surpass his estimate, and the net deficit for the current year may work out at nearly 200 millions less than the 473 millions which he anticipated. The Budget which is to be introduced next month promises to be much more hopeful than last year's. Large arrears of Excess Profits Tax have still to come in, and there will be a substantial revenue from the disposal of surplus Government stores; while this year's expenditure will certainly be much less. The present year has had to include enormous payments in liquidation of war contracts entered into by the War Office and the Admiralty and Ministry of Munitions, as well as very heavy payments in war gratuities to demobilised soldiers and sailors. But we are still far from being within sight of the normal financial year which Mr. Chamberlain foretold in his last Budget speech. He then reckoned upon revenue and expenditure balancing round about 800 millions a year, as compared with the last pre-war Budget, which constituted a record by reaching 200 millions. The Army estimates introduced by Mr. Churchill during February are a typical instance of the uncertain character of

present public finance. Even his immense estimate of 125 millions for the War Office alone, which compares with a vote of 28 millions for all the combined defensive preparations of this country before the war, is quite likely to be exceeded. Until our position in the Near East is definitely decided it is impossible to estimate how deeply we may be committed to military requirements. For if our present responsibilities are to continue indefinitely, we shall have to garrison and defend the frontiers of what is practically a second Indian Empire that lacks any geographical boundaries which would constitute a natural defence.

The War Fortunes Tax Inquiry.

But apart from the necessity of defining our future expenditure, it is urgent that the War Debt should be redeemed without delay. It stands already at 7,000 millions, involving an annual interest charge of between 300 and 400 millions. The Government has refused to consider the question of a general levy on capital to reduce the debt, and Mr. Chamberlain has insisted that he would resign if such a proposal were considered at all. He has refused even to discuss it on its merits, using every sort of fantastic and frivolous argument to prove that it is unworkable. At least the Government is willing to proceed with a special levy on war fortunes if it can be shown to be practicable. A special Committee of Inquiry has been appointed to take evidence, and Sir John Anderson, the Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, has supplied a detailed memorandum suggesting how the levy could be successfully made and giving an approximate estimate of the amount that it would be likely to produce. The Chairman and his staff have given every assistance to the Committee, and have even worked out a graduated scale for the taxation of war fortunes. They admit that the work of valuation would be considerable, but they estimate that the levy would almost certainly yield 1,000 millions, and the cost of collecting this amount is not expected to exceed one-fifth, or possibly

one-tenth, of one per cent. of the proceeds. The cost of collecting Income Tax is at least one per cent. The Inland Revenue Commissioners insist that it would be impossible to differentiate between those who have earned an increase of wealth during the war by their own exertions or by rendering special services, and those who have merely profited by the scarcity of what they had to sell or have in fact been guilty of profiteering at the expense of the public. They declare that it would be impossible to make any levy that should take notice of differences of this kind; but if Parliament agrees to make the levy generally upon all increases in wealth that have accrued during the war there would be 340,000 persons liable to the levy. Special privileges and discounts would be given to people who hold Government securities. There is little doubt that the Government is anxious to introduce the proposal in order to pay off a large part of the war debt. Mr. Chamberlain gave an assurance to the Committee when it was appointed, that if they agreed upon a workable scheme the Government would adopt it as its own; and there seems to be every likelihood that such agreement will be forthcoming. If even 1,000 millions could be obtained by this means and utilised to pay off the National Debt it would go a considerable distance towards reducing the inflation of our credit, and so bringing down prices.

Prices and the Foreign Exchanges.

Meanwhile prices continue to rise from month to month, and the latest Board of Trade returns show an index figure of 136 per cent. above the figure which represented the cost of living in August, 1914. There is an immediate probability of a further serious rise in the cost of several important articles of food. The past year has been practically wasted, so far as reconstruction in Europe is concerned, and the shortage of foodstuffs and essential supplies throughout the Continent is more acute than ever. At the same time our own main supplies of wheat and sugar and various other essential commodities have become nearly exhausted, and after

the next few months it will be necessary to make new purchases on a large scale. We shall then find that we are faced with an unexpectedly keen competition from Central Europe and from America, and that the considerations of international friendship which assisted us in all our difficulties during the war will count for very little from henceforward. Even more serious than the desperate competition of all countries for foods of which there is not enough to go round is the continual depreciation of our money in America. The United States persist in their refusal to take any part in helping to finance the reconstruction of Europe, or even to participate in an agreement that would stabilise the foreign exchanges and enable the countries which have been obliged to get desperately into debt by the enormous surplus of their imports over exports, to buy what they need at prices that would allow them to compete on equal terms with the other countries which have suffered less from the war. There has been a slight recovery in the British exchange with America during the past month, and the sovereign is now worth about 3.40 dollars, after having touched 3.20 early in February. This adverse exchange has fortunately produced its own remedy by discouraging all unnecessary imports from the United States, for so long as our shilling is reckoned as worth no more than eightpence in American money trade becomes nearly prohibitive. However, we are still dependent upon America for a number of indispensable imports, and the other countries of Europe are even more dependent than we are. The League of Nations has decided to summon an international congress to consider the financial position of the world, and to take whatever measures may be possible to restore the credit of the countries whose trade is temporarily disorganised by the necessity of importing raw materials for which they cannot pay.

An International Conference on Finance. In spite of the refusal of America to lend a helping hand, it is still possible for the European countries to band together and advance loans against securities that are for the time being unmarketable but will

before long produce substantial dividends as before. The natural resources of Poland, the Balkan States, and even of Austria, to say nothing of Germany, are an immense fund of wealth which only requires the resumption and development of industry in order to supply these countries with the means of repaying the advances that they must obtain now in order to make good their deficiencies of raw material and machinery. In any scheme for the restoration of credit in Europe, the chief burden must naturally fall upon Britain and France. If America refuses to assist in a task which she considers to be no responsibility of hers, the European countries will probably discover that they are in a position to develop their own resources at the expense of America's foreign trade. It is quite certain that none of the European countries will continue to buy from America in terms of an inordinately depreciated exchange if it is possible to buy what they need without importing from the other side of the Atlantic. This is not a question of any political hostility between America and Europe. It is a matter of simple business and common sense. The United States have made colossal preparations for exporting to Europe after the war, and Europe has everything to gain by buying the surplus products of America if they are offered on reasonable terms. But what has happened is that the Americans have already shipped such enormous cargoes to Europe that we are all in America's debt. If America insists upon exacting the full terms of discount that she can command because of our indebtedness, she is perfectly at liberty to do so, but it will not be surprising if the countries which are most heavily indebted to her already try to find means of borrowing on more favourable terms elsewhere. Borrowing there must be, for the whole of Europe is hopelessly in arrears from under-production. And America has to face a situation in which the export trade for which she has been preparing must be carried on by credit if it is to continue at all. The only alternative to entering an international agreement for a general readjustment of the exchanges is to face a tremendous slump in her home markets before long.

The British Embassy at Washington.

The reaction against American dictation in European affairs which has been gathering strength since Mr. Wilson's departure from Paris has about reached its climax. Equally, the American reaction against intervention in European politics is stronger than ever. The reception in this country of the Government's appointment of Sir Auckland Geddes as British Ambassador to Washington was char-

acteristic of the prevailing attitude towards America. Lord Grey had himself prevented any chance of his succeeding to the embassy by his outspoken letter in *The Times* a month ago. In it he expressed a frank acknowledgment of the American objections to the League of Nations, and a generous acceptance of the reservations to the Peace Treaty upon which the Republicans have insisted. Had it not been for the uncompromising attitude of President Wilson,



What shall we do with our Geds?

"Well, that's one of 'em fixed."

his letter would probably have smoothed the way for the final ratification of the Treaty. But the President, in his determination to stand by the League of Nations Covenant in the form in which it was adopted by the Allies at Versailles, has flatly refused to consider even those compromises which Lord Grey, one of the chief sponsors of the League of Nations, declared his readiness to accept. Had it been otherwise, Lord Grey would have gone to Washington as British Ambassador with a prestige such as no other living man could command. But since his appointment was impossible, only two other names could be seriously considered. Lord Robert Cecil would probably have been the best possible choice, but he is too deeply committed to his political duties in Parliament, and his capacity for usefulness in the present House of Commons is so great the country would have lost much more than it could have gained by his acceptance of the Embassy at Washington. The only other public man who could be said to possess the abilities and the prestige necessary to make a successful Ambassador was Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, the President of the Board of Education. He is a very distinguished scholar and a brilliant public speaker, and possesses great natural diplomatic gifts; but he has been so useful to the Prime Minister in the present Government in a variety of capacities that it was extremely unlikely that Mr. Lloyd George would consent to part with him. The eventual decision to send Sir Auckland Geddes as Ambassador would have occasioned an outburst of public fury if the country had not already grown deplorably indifferent to every question affecting our relations with America. Sir Auckland Geddes has been more universally abused than any other member of the Cabinet, and while his ability as a professor of anatomy has never been called in question, he has made more mistakes and aroused more personal hostility than any of the new men whom Mr. Lloyd George has brought into the Coalition. It is a remarkable, and in some respects an alarming, sign of the times that his appointment should have called forth so little comment beyond a

general expression of relief that he had at last been discharged from the Cabinet.

More Delays over the Treaty.

The delay over the Peace Treaty in America has now lasted so long that most people in this country have given up following its further fate in the Senate, and have made up their minds to expect no further assistance of any kind in the resettlement of Europe. President Wilson's latest attempt to settle the question has met with even less success than before and the Senate has asserted its independence by passing again, with an increased majority, this time in the proportion of three to one, Senator Lodge's resolution declaring that America must be the sole judge of all questions affecting the interests of the United States within the League of Nations. President Wilson is still practically unable to take an active part in the direction of affairs. His friends both here and in America have lost all confidence in his ability to control the situation, and his unfortunate difference of opinion with Mr. Lansing over the conduct of Government business during the past six months has created the impression that his judgment is no longer reliable, and that he is more likely to estrange those who might be friendly to us in America by his obstinacy, than to achieve any important results to the benefit of Europe. It is as well that these facts should be clearly stated and acknowledged. A crisis was only narrowly averted during the month when Mr. Wilson dispatched a strongly worded message to the Peace Conference, insisting upon the fulfilment of his own wishes in regard to the Adriatic question if he was to support the Peace Treaty any longer. His critics have been quick to seize the opportunity presented to them by this manifesto, and have pointed out that if they had not held up the ratification of the Peace Treaty, he would not now be in a position to use the threat of withdrawing the Treaty altogether as a means to enforce his own opinions.

The Betrayal of Constantinople

America has, in fact, ceased to count in the political Councils of Europe; and the tragedy of the estrangement which has

been brought about by mismanagement on both sides of the Atlantic, has become pitifully evident in the discussions over the fate of the Turkish Empire. The one part of the world in which American intervention was most urgently needed and could have produced the most beneficial results, was in the countries under Turkish domination where the Christian populations have suffered endless persecutions and massacres. In our December issue, we published a detailed account of the massacre of Greek children in Asia Minor by the Turkish troops who have gathered around the standard of revolt raised by the Young Turk Mustapha Kemal. Since then the hopes of the defeated Turks have risen day by day, and Mustapha Kemal has been able to collect a considerable army of marauding soldiers who have been spreading terror throughout Asia Minor. A new massacre of the Armenians and all the Christian inhabitants in Cilicia is actually in progress, and the Allied governments have failed hopelessly to restore any sense of security or to guarantee any real immunity from plunder and butchery to the oppressed peoples whom it was our sacred duty to protect. All that has been done is to send an absurd parade of battleships of every kind to manoeuvre in front of Constantinople. If there was one point of power upon which the Allies were completely united throughout the war, it was the imperative necessity of clearing the Turks out of their last footing in Europe and putting an end to their dominion over the subject races of the Turkish Empire. The one absolutely clear military victory of the war was the utter annihilation of the Turkish Army by General Allenby. There never was in history a more complete and unconditional surrender than that which the British and Indian troops forced upon the whole Turkish Army in Palestine. Yet in spite of this crushing defeat and in spite of the overwhelming desire of all the European peoples for the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople, the Peace Conference has suddenly decided that the Sultan is to be allowed to remain in his former capital.

The Revival of Turkish Power.

This is, in fact, the first and most disastrous result of the withdrawal of America from the European Council table. The settlement with Turkey has been held up month after month owing to the failure of America to decide about the Treaty of Versailles, for it was intended that America, if she agreed to enter the League of Nations, was to undertake a mandate for both Constantinople and Armenia. Because of her failure to decide, the Turks have gained a priceless interval of time during which they have consolidated their forces, and are now able to negotiate with peacemakers who can no longer count upon armies to enforce their decisions. Encouraged by the sense of their own strength and their observation of the impotence of the Peace Conference, the Turks have not only recommenced their massacres of the Christian populations, but have installed another Young Turk Government in Constantinople. Yet it was not the force of necessity, but a direct betrayal of the Allied policy throughout the war in the interests of forces antagonistic to the traditions of European civilisation that eventually resulted in the retention of the Turks in Constantinople. Throughout the past year, secret influences have been tirelessly at work to bring about the result which has now been consummated. For months past an incessant propaganda has been directed towards creating the belief that the fate of Turkey must intimately affect the sentiments and the loyalty of millions of British Mahomedan subjects in India. It has been persistently argued, with a complete indifference to the actual facts, that Constantinople is considered by all Mahomedans as a sacred city, and that if we attempted to expel the Turks from it, we would be provoking a religious war throughout the East. These statements have been dealt with exhaustively many times in this Review; and to the argument that the Indian Mahomedans would be outraged by the decision to place Constantinople under international control, we need only say that thousands of Indian troops gave their lives during the war in the campaigns against Turkey,

in which the liberation of Constantinople was always the final objective.

**Mr. Montagu's
Intrigue
Succeeds.**

The betrayal of the Allied policy in this surrender to the Turks was made all the more unpardonable by the manner in which it was executed. It had been well known that pro-Turkish influences were working hard to secure the retention of Constantinople, but the declarations of Mr. Lloyd George and of the British Government as a whole, were so definite and uncompromising that it seemed unthinkable that they should be ignored. Mr. Montagu, however, has been tireless in the Peace Conference, and it was clear that he would make a determined effort to enforce his own views upon the Government. Suddenly, without warning or explanation of any kind, it was announced that the Peace Conference had decided that Constantinople was to remain under Turkish rule, with the Straits internationalised. And before time had been given even to ask a question in Parliament as to how and why this amazing decision had been taken, Admiral de Robeck, the British Naval Commissioner in the Bosphorus, was instructed to send a wireless message to the Indian people announcing that the Turks were to remain in possession of the city. The *coup* was neatly carried out. When Parliament insisted upon a day to discuss the question a week later, it was told that the decision was now irrevocable and that it would be a breach of faith with our Indian subjects to reconsider it. Mr. Montagu has brought to a triumphant conclusion the long drawn intrigue which he has conducted to retain the Turks in Europe.

**What it Means
for Europe.**

It remains to be seen whether this fatal decision is actually irrevocable. The League of Nations has shown signs of constructive statesmanship during the past month, and there is no question too large to come within the scope of its decisions if it develops into the supreme tribunal of peace and war in Europe. But it is one thing to revise disputed boundaries, and to insist upon modifications of international agreements, and a totally

different matter to undertake the forcible expulsion of Turkey from Europe, after the Allies have failed to carry out their declared policy even when they had inflicted upon Turkey the most decisive military defeat in history. If there is one decision more than another which would seem to portend the certainty of another world war, it is this appalling failure to do the right thing in regard to Constantinople. We have shown the Turks, as plainly as deeds can show, that we have not the courage to take full advantage of our own power to punish them for their crimes and to compel them to govern their subject races according to the standards of European civilisation. They will say, and with considerable justice, that by showing their own power for mischief in Asia Minor, they have compelled us to leave them alone. They believe that they have intimidated us into submission, and the lessons of history will all be falsified if they do not have recourse to further atrocities as a means to obtaining their desires. If our politicians insist upon leaving them in possession of Constantinople, they will certainly not rest content without seeking to regain their lost dominion in the Near East, and in the Balkans as well. So long as Constantinople remains in Turkish hands, it will be a sink of intrigue and the breeding ground for every sort of strike in South Eastern Europe. Had it been internationalised, this unhealthy atmosphere would have been cleared at once, and the endless complications of the Balkans, which have been only accentuated by the treaty with Bulgaria, could have been settled in the course of years under the searchlight of the League of Nations. It may not yet be too late for this last calamity to be redressed. If Constantinople is left in the state in which the Peace Conference has now left it, the last war will undoubtedly have to be fought all over again.

**Turkey
and the
Bolsheviks.**

Obviously, this surrender to the Turks is the direct consequence of the surrender to the Bolsheviks. It follows directly upon the military victories which the Peace Conference allowed the Red Armies to win against General Denikin, which have

brought them to the shores of the Black Sea. And the triumph of the Bolsheviks is explained by the same combination of influences which has kept the Turks in Constantinople. It was within the power of the Allies to crush Bolshevism at any time up to the end of last summer if they had acted upon their own professions of faith and if they had shown even the most common-place ability in exploiting the weakness of their enemies. The Moscow Government was at that time no more capable of resisting a determined attack from the Allied Armies than was the Turkish Government a few weeks ago. But just as the Allies failed for reasons which have never been explained, to supply General Denikin with munitions and artillery, so they have now been mysteriously prevented from insisting upon the humiliation of the Turks. In each case the issue was practically the same. Bolsheviks and Turks are alike opposed to the traditions of Western Europe, and now that the Red Armies have reached the borders of the old Turkish Empire, Turkey and Russia are joining forces openly in opposition to the Peace Conference. Between them they have created the most dangerous possible menace to the peaceful re-settlement of Europe, and they are in a position to drive an extremely formidable wedge between us and India, which also threatens to break through the chain of our defences from Egypt to the East.

Forced Labour in Russia. During the month the Bolsheviks have been able to consolidate their victories on every front. Revolution has broken out in Vladivostok and the Soviet Government is acknowledged throughout Siberia, right up to the coast of the Pacific, although the Red Armies have not yet had time to keep up with the advance of the revolutionary movements. Admiral Koltchak and his Prime Minister have both been executed by the revolutionary troops, and the last remnants of the Anti-Bolshevik forces in Siberia have been either massacred or dispersed. The Moscow Government is already negotiating for peace with the Government of Japan. On the northern front still more important successes have been gained by the Red

Armies since we wrote last. Archangel has fallen into their hands, and also Murmansk, which gives them an ice-free port from which they can at once re-open their foreign trade across the Baltic. In Southern Russia, General Denikin has succeeded in holding up the advance of the Red Armies for some weeks, but he has lost the port of Odessa and he is being hard pressed on the narrow front between it and the Sea of Azov. His eventual defeat is no longer in doubt. Meanwhile the immediate prospects of peace or war throughout central Europe must depend upon the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards Poland. In spite of the flamboyant proclamations issued by Lenin at the beginning of the year in which he declared that this year would see the establishment of Soviets in every capital city of Europe as well as in America, it appears at the moment as though he had decided to abandon further wars of conquest. The Baltic States have agreed to make peace with Moscow, and the Poles are being compelled by necessity to agree to a similar termination of hostilities. There are other means of conquest besides the forcible occupation of territory by the Red Armies, and the Bolsheviks are devoting their energies to a world-wide campaign of propaganda to undermine and prepare for the overthrow of existing forms of Government in every country. The immediate future must largely depend upon the ability of Lenin and Trotsky to demobilise their Red Armies. An official report from Moscow discloses the astonishing fact that Trotsky has now definitely instituted forced labour throughout Russia, and the conscript armies, instead of being demobilised are being transformed into labour battalions which are obliged not only to work under military discipline but to go from one district to another at the orders of the Bolshevik bureaucracy.

Labour Unrest Subsidising. It is at least unlikely that this formal introduction of forced labour into Russia will assist

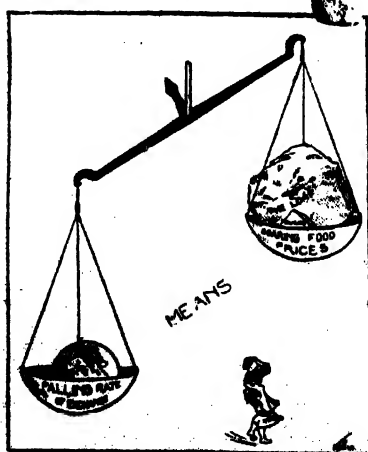
the propagandists of Bolshevism in this country. They are already attempting to justify and praise it on the ground that it compels men and women of every class to work for their living, but it is incredible

that the mass of British trade unionists would tolerate forced labour for a moment. The past few months have witnessed a steady reaction throughout Great Britain against revolutionary agitations. The work of re-construction has made substantial progress, and now that the iron moulders' strike has been settled, unemployment is less than it has ever been. The principal industries are working more smoothly than at any time since the war ended and the British Industries Fair which has just been held has still further improved the outlook for many industries which were already working to their utmost capacity. It is too early to anticipate the result of the special congress on nationalisation which is to be held next week, but it seems unlikely that steps will be taken to force the Government's hand by a general strike. The direct actionists have found their plans thwarted from month to month ever since the last railway strike. But they are determined to keep their hold upon the Trade Union movement, and have skilfully shifted their agitation from one demand to another as the necessity of postponement became evident. The campaign for nationalising the mines has come to a head, and the next step is to be fully discussed at the forthcoming Trade Union Congress.

The Fourth Home Rule Bill.

There remains only the question of Ireland, and the Government has just introduced its new Irish Bill. The Labour Party have decided to oppose it on the ground that, by creating separate Parliaments for Ulster and the rest of Ireland, it tends to divide the country into two permanently hostile provinces. The Irish Nationalists oppose it indignantly, both on the ground that it accepts Sir Edward Carson's demand that the two Northern counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, although they contain clear majorities of Catholics and Nationalists, should be included in the Protestant and Unionist bloc which the Ulstermen wish to create; and also because the Bill falls ludicrously short of the Prime Minister's promises of Dominion Home Rule. The Irish Parliaments which it proposes to set up are to be given control of neither customs nor

excise, nor even of the income tax. As for the Central Council which the Bill seeks to create it is little more than an ornamental body, with no real power to cement the essential unity of interests between the Northern and Southern Parliaments. The fate of the Bill is still uncertain. It is possible that Mr. Asquith and the younger Unionists between them could insist upon such an improvement of the Bill, by enlarging its scope, and by recognising the whole province of Ulster as the basis of the Northern Parliament, as would make it acceptable to a considerable section of Irish opinion. In its present form, it is treated with ridicule and contempt outside of Ulster. The most hopeful sign is the movement among the Unionists in the three counties which have been excluded from the proposed Parliament in Ulster, to insist upon their inclusion. On this broader basis the scheme might become workable. But its ultimate fate will depend, not on the attitude of Ireland, which refuses to accept any responsibility for the Bill, but upon the success or failure of those members of Parliament who are sincerely desirous of settlement, in compelling Sir Edward Carson to withdraw his obstruction to a scheme that would grant the genuine rights of self government which have been consistently demanded by four-fifths of the Irish people for more than forty years.



Bradford Daily Telegraph

[Bradford]

The Adverse Balance. O

Diary of Current Events

FOR FEBRUARY.

Feb. 2.—The repatriation of German prisoners of war from the United Kingdom has been completed.

A Peace offer has been made to Poland by the Soviet Government, and a permanent Armistice Treaty was concluded between the latter and the Estonian Republic, whereby Estonian independence is unreservedly recognised.

Feb. 3.—Mr. Asquith (Lib.), Mr. Mackean (Un.) and Mr. Biggar (Lab.) were nominated as candidates for Paisley.

The battle-cruiser New Zealand arrived at Portsmouth, bringing Lord Jellicoe, who has completed his tour of the Empire, and Sir Robert Borden, who has come to this country for a rest cure.

The Peace terms between Estonia and the Soviet Government include payment to the former of £1,500,000 in gold roubles and a concession for a railway to Moscow.

British troops of occupation arriving in Schleswig were welcomed enthusiastically by the Danish population.

A further note to Holland, demanding the extradition of the ex-Kaiser, has been drafted by the Allies.

Feb. 4.—Between August, 1914, and February, 1920, 239,126 honours were awarded to services in the field.

The Countess of Athlone opened the *Daily* and *Evening* Ideal Homes Exhibition at Olympia.

In Paris, Baron von Lersner refused to transmit to his Government the list of war criminals demanded by the Allies, and tendered his resignation as head of the German Delegation.

Feb. 5.—Speaking at Paisley, Mr. Asquith defended the treaties made during the war with Roumania and Italy, for which his Government was responsible.

Mr. G. H. Roberts, the Food Controller, has resigned his office.

The Food Ministry received an application from the Master Bakers' Association for leave to raise the price of the 4lb. loaf by 1d. to 10d.

The German Government has announced its intention of standing by its demand for trying its own war criminals.

A new Army Bill introduced in the French Chamber proposes one year's universal service, with liability to 45.

Viscount Grey's letter to the *Times* is stated to have had a remarkably good effect on American opinion. There is a

chance that it may hasten the ratification of the Treaty, subject to the Lodge reservations or their equivalent.

Feb. 6.—At a conference on the housing problem in Manchester, the Federation of Building Trades' Operatives opposed any extension of dilution, but offered to agree to a longer working week than 44 hours. According to a report by the Health Ministry plans of 90,000 houses have now been approved.

In reply to a deputation of ex-service men, Mr. Lloyd George stated that he was unable to promise any increase in war pensions or gratuities.

A start was made in the Cairo to the Cape Flight promoted by the *Times*. Dr. Peter Chalmers Mitchell started in his aeroplane from Cairo at 9.45 a.m. and completed the first stage of the journey at Assuan, 425 miles from the starting point.

Certain "interested persons" in the United States are accusing Viscount Grey of interfering in American politics.

Feb. 7.—At Paisley Mr. Asquith, replying to Lord Haldane's recent statement as to the superior "vision" of the Labour Party, said that politics was "not a matter of star-gazing."

The Manchester Guild of Building Trade Unions has undertaken to erect 500 houses within the year for the Urban District Council.

The list of War Criminals was presented to the German Government.

President Wilson has written to Senator Hitchcock, stating that he is not averse to "interpretative reservations" in the Treaty, and agrees to a declaration that the United States can accept no mandate except on the direct authority of Congress.

Mr. Lane, United States Secretary of the Interior, has resigned.

In the International Rugby Football match at Inverleith, Scotland beat Wales by 9 points to 5.

Feb. 8.—Bolshevist troops have captured Odessa. The British were evacuated on February 6th.

The list of War Criminals, including about 100 names, was published in Paris.

Feb. 9.—Lord Robert Cecil has written to Mr. Asquith wishing him success in his Paisley fight.

Mr. Balfour is provisionally to act as British official representative on the Council of the League of Nations.

- In the trial at Edinburgh of James Woodley, the seaman who was charged with murdering a German prisoner at Scapa Flow, a verdict of "not proven" was given.
- Feb. 10.—The King opened Parliament. The Report of the Chartered Accountants appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to investigate the estimates of the Coal Control Department and the finance of the industry was published. It shows considerable errors in the figures both of Sir Auckland Geddes and of the Miners' Leaders.
- Feb. 11.—At the House of Commons, the Labour Party's amendment to the Address demanding the nationalisation of the Coal Mines was rejected by 329 votes to 64.
- At St. James's Palace the first meeting in this country of the Council of the League of Nations was opened. Mr. Balfour presided.
- A demonstration organized by the Irish Self-Determination League at the Albert Hall was addressed by Mr. Arthur Griffiths and Professor McNeill.
- Taxi-cab owners indulged in a one-day strike as a protest against the increased price of petrol.
- Feb. 12.—Estonia has ratified the Peace Treaty concluded at Dorpat with the Bolsheviks.
- The Supreme Allied Council held two sittings at Downing Street. The question of the ex-Kaiser's extradition and the surrender of other German war criminals was discussed.
- The League of Nations met again at St. James's Palace.
- Both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury met and discussed, among other subjects, the ministrations of women and the admission of Nonconformists to Anglican pulpits.
- Feb. 13.—The result of the Ashton-under-Lyne by-election was announced. The seat has been won by Sir Walter de Frece with 8,861 votes, which gave him a majority of 737 over the Labour candidate. The Liberal only polled 3,511.
- The Food Ministry announced that new ration books would be required from February 29th.
- The German Chargé d'Affaires, Herr Sthamer, arrived in London.
- News was received that Admiral Koltchak and his Prime Minister, M. Pepelaieff, were shot at Irkutsk on February 7th, by order of the Revolutionary Committee.
- Feb. 14.—Mr. Churchill, speaking at Dundee, repeated his declaration that the Labour Party was unfit to govern.
- Mr. Lloyd George, in an address to a deputation from local authorities, urged them to raise funds for building by appealing to local patriotism. Touching on the shortage of labour, he declared that if, in the end, this prevented houses being built, the responsibility would lie with the Trade Unions.
- Feb. 15.—Dr. Jowett, minister of Westminster Chapel, preached in Durham Cathedral. An Anglican Vicar, who protested, was ejected.
- News was received of the resignation of Mr. Lansing, United States Secretary of State. Correspondence between Mr. Lansing and President Wilson was published.
- Joint Anglo-Italian operations against the Somali Mad Mullah are being undertaken.
- Feb. 16.—The official index figure of the cost of living in this country, for January last, shows a rise of 5 per cent.
- Representatives of twenty-one nations attended a conference on housing and town-planning at the Ideal Homes Exhibition at Olympia.
- The Aghern police barracks, near Fermoy, was attacked for over an hour by an armed party, which was finally repulsed by bomb and rifle fire.
- Replying to the Dutch Government's Note refusing to surrender the ex-Kaiser, the Allies sent a Note exhorting that country to reconsider the question, and pointing out the inadvisability of allowing the author of the war to remain so close to the German frontier.
- Germany's request to be allowed to try her own war criminals before the Leipzig High Court has been conceded, with certain reservations as to Allied supervision.
- Feb. 17.—Tobacco, cigarettes and cotton rose in price.
- The total net estimate of Army Expenditure for 1920-21 was issued. It amounts to £125,000,000 for a personnel of 524,000.
- The complete discomfiture of the Mad Mullah's forces was announced.
- In Rugby Football, Wales beat France in the Colombes ground, outside Paris, by two tries (6 points) to 1 goal (5 points).
- Feb. 18.—Temperatures of 60 degrees and over were registered in London and other parts of the country.
- A report was published by the Committee appointed to inquire into the price of sewing cotton. It points out that Messrs. J. and P. Coats and Co. have a virtual monopoly. Their advancement of the retail price even to 7½d. is not considered justifiable.
- Thieves broke into St. George's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Southwark, and stole some sacred vessels.
- M. Deschanel entered on his office as President of the French Republic.
- Armenian religious leaders have appealed to the Entente High Commissioners at Constantinople for the protection of Armenians in Cilicia.
- Feb. 19.—A Report of the Committee on Tobacco Prices states that the existence of the Imperial Tobacco Company has tended to keep prices down.

Publicity was given to a new agreement fixing the rates of salary for the male clerical staff of all controlled Railways and the Railway Clearing House.

The Hackney Horse Society's Annual Show opened at the Royal Agricultural Hall.

It was announced that arrangements have been made for India to be informed of the Allies' decision with regard to Constantinople.

President Deschanel, in his first message to the French Chamber, made an appeal for National Unity, and insisted on the Germans being held responsible for the fulfilment of their obligations under the Peace Treaty.

Lettland concluded an Armistice with Soviet Russia.

Feb. 20.—The result of the Wrekin bye-election was declared. Mr. C. Palmer (Independent) won the seat with 9,267 votes, as against Mr. C. Duncan (Lab.) with 8,729. The Coalition Liberal candidate, Mr. J. Bayley, only polled 4,750.

The trial of M. Caillaux was opened in the High Court of the Senate, Paris.

Feb. 21.—Mr. Robert Barton, Sinn Fein M.P. for West Wicklow, was sentenced by the Court Martial to three years' penal servitude.

The Supreme Council at Paris has decided to submit to the German Government a list of selected war criminals, with a view to their trial before the German Court at

Leipzig. The spirit in which these trials are conducted is to be regarded as a test of German good faith in the execution of the whole Treaty.

The Spanish Prime Minister and his Cabinet resigned, but the resignations were withdrawn at the instance of the King.

China has agreed to discriminate against German trade.

The Embassies at Washington have decided to go "dry."

Feb. 23.—The British Industries Fair was opened at the Crystal Palace, Birmingham, and Glasgow.

Important proposals for the re-organisation of the Civil Service are made by a Committee of the Civil Service National Whitley Council.

Ways and means of re-opening commercial relations with Russia were discussed by the Peace Conference at Downing Street. Murmansk was occupied by the Bolsheviks. General Denikin's troops have recaptured Rostoff.

Feb. 24.—Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, explained to the Select Committee of the House of Commons a scheme for the taxation of war fortunes which, it is believed, would produce a thousand million pounds.

In India the Viceroy's Council has rejected a proposal to change the capital.

Rostoff has again been lost by the Whites. An official statement of Allied Policy in regard to Russia was issued from Downing Street. Border States are to be supported if they are attacked by Soviet Russia in their own territory; the Moscow Government is not to be recognised till it conforms with civilisation; and trade with Russia is to be encouraged.

The Russian mission of the International Labour Bureau is approved.

Feb. 25.—The Home Rule Bill, repealing the Act of 1914, was formally introduced in the House of Commons. It provides for two single-chamber Parliaments and separate judiciaries.

The result of the Paisley bye-election was declared. Mr. Asquith was returned with a majority of 2,834 over Mr. Biggar (Lab.). The Coalition candidate's poll was so small that he had to forfeit his deposit.

A meeting of the National Farmers' Union passed strong protests against the inclusion of agriculture in the Hours of Employment Bill.

Mr. Bainbridge Colby, formerly a supporter of Mr. Roosevelt, and founder of the American Progressive Party, has been appointed by President Wilson to succeed Mr. Lansing as Secretary of State.

Herr Eraberger, German Minister of Finance, has resigned.

Feb. 26.—Lord Haig visited Lloyds and made an appeal on behalf of the Officers' Association. £90,000 has already been subscribed by Lloyds.



Le Miro Comrade Jonathan. (Paris)

"My dear simple old little European thing, you are well aware that in every association there is always one who does better business than the other."

- Mr. Austen Chamberlain issued a statement as to the reforms advocated by the Select Committee on National Expenditure.
- The Investigation of Prices Committee has officially approved the voluntary scheme of the boot and shoe trade organisations for the production of standard footwear.
- A Railway Strike was declared in France.
- Cardinal Logue, in a statement published in America, disavows Sinn Fein.
- Soviet Russia has sent offers of Peace to America, Japan and Roumania.
- Feb. 27.—The Supreme Council divided itself into two sections one of which discussed the questions of high prices and exchange rates. The other section proceeded with the Turkish Treaty.
- According to information from Cilicia, nearly 20,000 Armenians were massacred by the Turks in the Marash District.
- Feb. 28.—The Aircraft Manufacturing Company, Ltd., is to amalgamate with the Birmingham Small Arms Company, Ltd.
- Sir E. Garrod succeeds the late Sir William Osler as Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford University.
- Mr. J. H. Thomas, speaking at Southend, urged that the nationalisation of mines should be brought about in a constitutional way.
- The Supreme Council decided upon measures to be taken in regard to the massacres of Armenians.
- The Soviet Government has established a Committee to deal with the recruitment of labour in accordance with the Corvée system.
- A general strike was proclaimed on the French Railways. But the men did not come out in any considerable numbers.
- Belgian Activists have been condemned to death by the Brabant Assize Court for their part in the formation of the Council of Flanders during the German occupation. All the accused have fled the country.

OBITUARY.

- Feb. 1.—ANDREW CARRICK GOW, R.A., Keeper of the Royal Academy, 72.
- Feb. 2.—LADY BURNE-JONES, 80.
- Feb. 4.—KAIH SIR HARRY MACLEAN, 72.
- Feb. 6.—VINCENT ARTHUR SMITH, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S., eminent historian of India, 72.
- JUDGE ROBERT WOODFALL, until recently Judge of the Westminster County Court.
- Feb. 7.—THE EARL OF GALLOWAY, a Crimean and Indian Mutiny veteran, 83.
- Feb. 8.—SIR THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I., Fellow of All Souls and Deputy Steward of Oxford University, 70.
- Feb. 9.—DR. VABLEY ROBERTS, for many years Organist at Magdalen College, Oxford, 79.
- Feb. 11.—THE REV. GEORGE WILKINS, Professor of Hebrew at Dublin University since 1900, 62.
- THEOPHILUS J. H. MARZIALS, Author of "Twickenham Ferry" and the "Gallery of Pigeons," 70.
- Feb. 14.—THE RT. HON. CHRISTOPHER PALLAS, the last Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, 88.
- Feb. 19.—ADMIRAL ROBERT EDWIN PEARY, Explorer and Discoverer of the North Pole, 64.
- ERNEST HARTLEY COLLEDGE, Poet and Biographer, 68.
- Feb. 20.—LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL, Notable Journalist, 85.
- THORSTEN NORDENFELT, Inventor of the Nordenfält quick-firing gun.
- Feb. 22.—SPENCER LEIGH HUGHES, Journalist and Member of Parliament for Stockport, 61.
- Feb. 27.—SIR EDWARD WALTER GREEN, Bart., from 1895-1906 M.P. for the Chesterton Division of Cambridgeshire, 78.
- Feb. 28.—HENRY HAUGHTON RAYMOND-MORETON, Lord Moreton, 68.
- Feb. 29.—ARTHUR HENRY BULLEN, distinguished Elizabethan scholar and critic, and founder of the Shakespeare Head Press, 68.

Current History in Caricature

"O'wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as others see us."—Burns.



Kiehl (London)

The Idols of Versailles.

(Berlin)

IN ANSWER TO THE DEMAND.



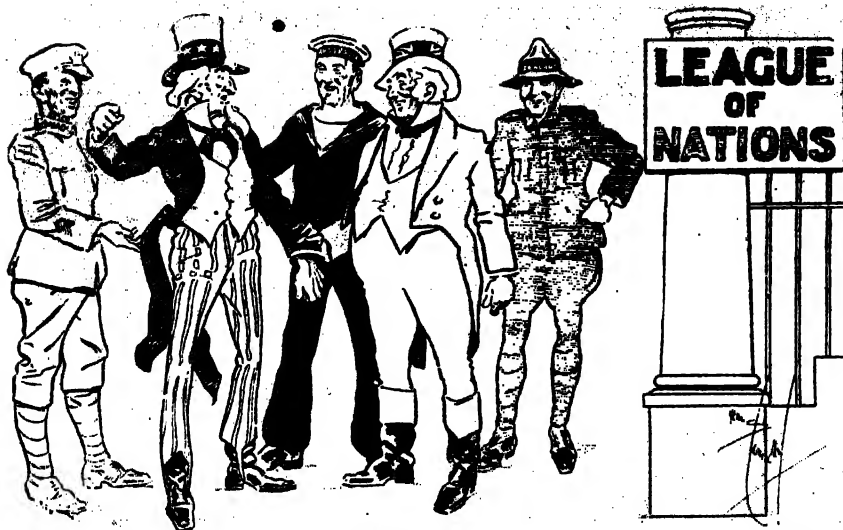
What is it, Scoundrel?!



Kladderadulach!

Take That!

Chaplin



The Bulletin

A Family Party.

[Sydney]

Uncle Sam : " No, John, I'm not going in there if you take the boys with you."

John B. : " It's time you did some thinking, Samuel. You've got as much reason to stick to them as I have. You've heard of the Pacific, haven't you ? "



K. H. H.

[Berlin]

Hospitality.

The Rising Sea breaks,
but not England's dam !



K. H. H.

[Berlin]

The Brave Wilhelmias.

" Off with you, rabble. You have nothing to expect here ! "



Der Wahre Jacob]

[Stuttgart

The Sick Man in Constantinople.

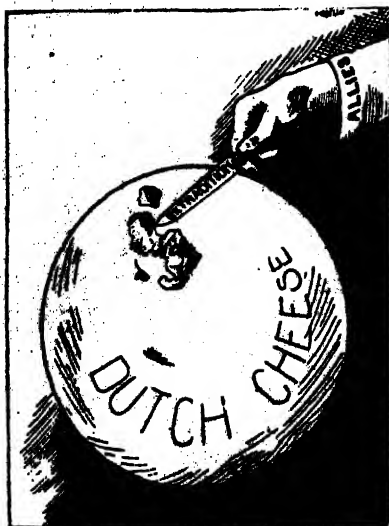
"I wonder which crutch the Entente wants
to take away from me--possibly both!"



Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.

"Maybe I change my plans; he looks
dangerous!"



Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford

Digging Out the "Bad Part."



Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford

Mother Love!



[Amsterdam]

[Amsterdam]

The Extradition Question.

The Hero of Doorn.



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

He doesn't like the fire, either.



[Helsingfors]

[Helsingfors]

Don Quixote and Mrs. Humanity.

Don Quixote-Judenitch: "Hallo, Mrs. Humanity, it is time for you to show yourself."

Mrs. Humanity: "Ah, I have no time to waste with you. I have my little Trotsky to wash!"



[Paris]

[Paris]

A door should be either open or shut
(French Proverb).

Business is Business (English Proverb)
Yes, but—

(On the initiative of Mr. Lloyd George, commercial relations have been re-established between England and Russia).



[Jugend]

[Munich]

The German Milch Cow.

John Bull: "Milk her, so that I can skim the cream off."



[Ladderadatch]

[Berlin]

In the Entente's Net.

[Los Angeles Times]

[Los Angeles]

He did it!

[L'Asino]

[Rome]

Peace and War.

Peace: Now I command!

War: How simple you are, my child!

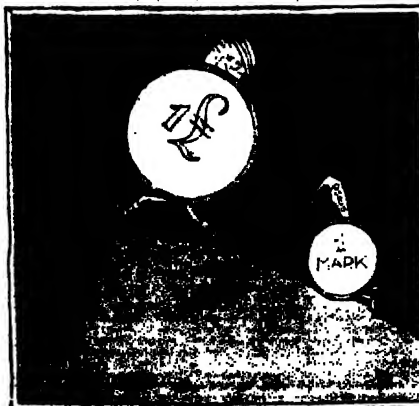


[Westminster Gazette]

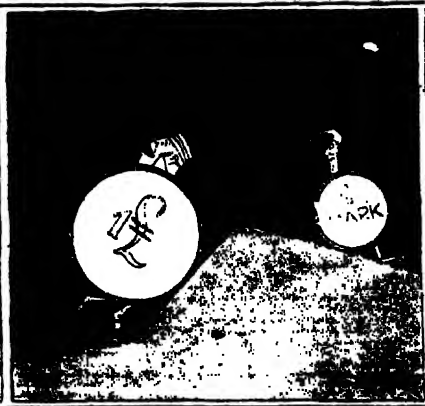
With Reservations.

[London]

The League of Nations : You used to call me your very ownest. Don't you love me any more, Jonathan ?
Jonathan : Yes ! with reservations !

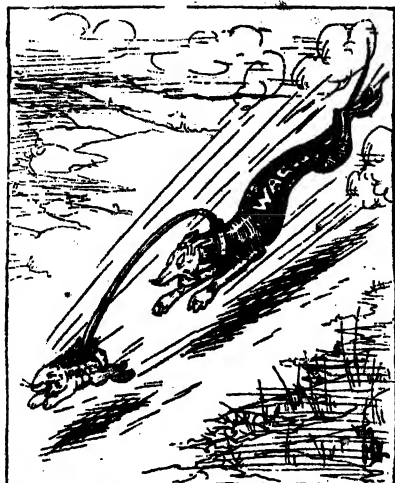


[Kladderbach]



[Berlin]

"Pride cometh before a Fall."



[Evening News]

[London]

Waterloo Cup Day.
That old hare's still in front!



[Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford]

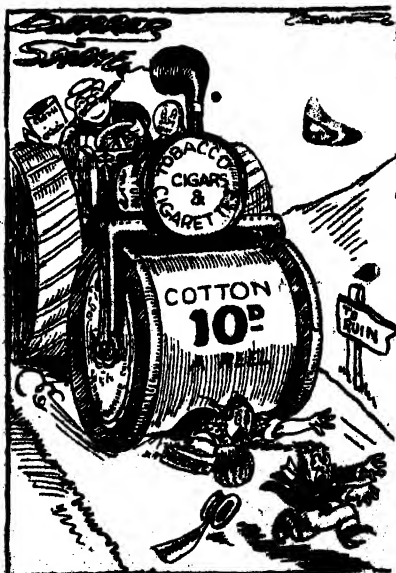
Wanted—A Sovereign Remedy.
"Dr." Chamberlain: "My word, you have got thin. I'm afraid I shall have to hold a consultation."



[L'Asino]

[Rome]

The Vicious Circle.
Dearness of Victuals: Stop!
The Strike: How can I stop if you don't stop also?



[Daily Express]

[London]

The Crusher. ○

Is the Treaty Already Dead?

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON

Is the Versailles Treaty already dead? Or rather has it ever been alive? All the big guns of criticism have been turned on the carcase quite unnecessarily—it is only riddling a lifeless thing. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the working of the Treaty shows that it won't work. The return to Parliament of Mr. Asquith, who openly advocates an immediate revision, is a sign of the times.

It is startling enough to think that much of the labour of more than a year was worse than wasted, all that voluminous document of multiple clauses, painfully written line by line and with a plentiful neglect of Shakespeare's rule never to blot a line, which was thrust upon Germany with a great rattling of swords, which aroused innumerable controversies and which perpetually jeopardised the good relations of the Allies, which has sown Europe and indeed the whole world with dragon's teeth that may well spring up in a crop of armed soldiers—it is startling to regard the Treaty as not only a dead document but a document into which the breath of life has never been breathed.

Alas! it is true, and if those who realise that the Conference gave birth not only to a monster but to a still-born child are to be few, to-morrow all the world will realise that the Treaty is not worth the price of the paper on which it is written. Everybody in one way or another is engaged in the diplomatic sabotage of the Treaty. Some countries, such as England, are merely dropping the Treaty—placing it unostentatiously under the seat of the British compartment of the train of civilisation—and are much more concerned with commercial and financial problems. Others, such as France, are insisting rather desperately that the infant is really alive, are shaking it vigorously to hear it cry, and are tearing it into tatters in a passion. While a third group, of which America is the chief example, endeavours to repudiate its part in the paternity of the unwelcome brat. Nobody has a good word for it.

Everybody disowns or wants to get rid of it, or else pathetically pretends that it is what it obviously is not.

This result is not really surprising: the Treaty was conceived in anger, not planned on enduring principles but built at haphazard according to the popular caprice of each moment. It was made to satisfy not even moderately long-sighted politicians—how Mr. Balfour smiled at the futilities of his colleagues! How cynical M. Clemenceau was about the botch that was made of it all! How disheartened, how broken was Mr. Wilson, a truly tragic figure in this lamentable farce! How wary was Mr. Lloyd George, vigilantly putting out his hand to save the house of cards from collapsing until he should have no further responsibility for it!

None of those who framed it had any illusions left about it before the ink of the contract was dry. They cannot escape their just share of blame by pleading that the public—poor misinformed public!—would have it so. Demagogic diplomacy cannot but be disastrous. Obviously the crowd cannot be acquainted with the thousand and one details of foreign relations that it is the business of the specialist to know; but at least the crowd is capable of thinking aright if the situation is soberly explained by statesmen of high authority. When those statesmen are content to leave every rant and clap-trap writer unanswered, to imitate the ranters and clap-trap writers, to mix up peace-making with vote-catching—well, it would have been amazing if anything tolerable had come out of such inconsistent and unthinking clamour.

Now there is serious talk of revision. That is highly important, but it remains in the realm of words, it is a future possibility. What is a present and vastly more important reality is that the Treaty has broken down. If it is to be revised it had better be done quickly or there will be nothing left to revise—the original provisions will all have disappeared one

by one. How many clauses have been carried out? How many will be carried out? We have had enough experience—quite apart from what pure reason would suggest to us—to know now that the Treaty is inexecutable, is not being and cannot be fulfilled. This is not a matter for argument: it is the simple affirmation of the facts. There is no need for anybody to discuss any more whether the conditions are theoretically sound or not: we have got beyond discussions, we have had too many demonstrations. Germany might have the best will in the world—incidentally she has not and could hardly be expected to have—and even then it would not be materially possible to go on with this nonsense of framing our policy upon an inchoate, ill-considered, heterogeneous Treaty.

We made it in a war spirit. We have now to change the focus. We have to find a fresh outlook. We have to discover the peace spirit. How is it possible that the two things can be done? There are doubtless some people who want to live warlike lives, who, while they may not regret that the cannon has ceased to boom, are sorry to think otherwise than in terms of war. But for the most part people are beginning to understand that the alternative to methodical and universal reconstruction is utter and universal chaos; and that it is useless, however much they dislike Germans, to imagine that they will get any good out of insisting upon impossible demands.

There is a piece of so-called secret history which is worth recording. There was a great flourish of trumpets at the appointment of M. Poincaré, a week after he ceased to exercise the functions of President of the French Republic, to the chairmanship of the Reparations Commission. The political consequences were declared on all hands to be great. It is well-known that M. Poincaré stands for implacable hostility towards Germany (we shall all in our generation be hostile, but M. Poincaré is actively antagonistic). He would see that the last drop is squeezed out of Germany, that she is kept a slave-nation working for France, crushed, humiliated, tortured. She should be made to suffer for the sufferings she has caused. At least we were told this in the

French newspapers, and the German newspapers attached the same significance to his appointment. The Treaty, in fine, was to be enforced.

First reflection: there had then been some doubt about the enforcement of the Treaty? Of course there had. There still is—or rather there is no doubt that it will not be enforced. Second reflection: it only needs then a "strong man" nominated by France to remedy the improper laxity shown in the application of the Treaty? Alas! it needs much more. It needs that the whole figures of the human sum be altered, it needs that the very material constitution of the world be changed. But it is interesting to ask why M. Jonnart failed. M. Jonnart was the French representative who resigned to make way for M. Poincaré. He did so because he found himself in a minority on the Commission. He was bound to support the policy of M. Millerand, which consisted of threatening Germany with a prolongation of the military occupation of Rhineland because of German failure to supply coal according to contract. But no one else supported such a policy. When it comes to the point of war, overt or covert, then the Allies are not bellicose. They cannot afford to be bellicose even towards the enemy who is down and out. Mr. Lloyd George expressed it on one occasion when he cried: "What earthly good 'll it do us to keep big armies in Germany? On the contrary we shall lose much more than we gain."

That is clear enough, and neither M. Poincaré nor M. Millerand nor M. Jonnart will really change the opinion of the Reparations Commission. I do not wish to be misunderstood. I believe, of course, that France is entitled to the fullest reparations. I am in this wholeheartedly with M. Poincaré and M. Millerand. Except as to the means. Except also as to the possibility. I believe we should get all we can, and I believe that if we are reasonable we shall get more. But it is dangerous to endeavour to play off a policy of the detachment of Rhineland—it is well-known that France, and particularly M. Poincaré, wished this detachment as a guarantee of French military security, but

that the Conference decided otherwise—against the non-delivery of German coal.

This instance of coal is typical. The Treaty stipulates for large quantities of coal. Immediately, the Conference permitted Germany to reduce this quantity by half. It is useless then to refer to the poor despised Treaty which no one regards as anything more than a sort of basis for negotiation. Why put into the Treaty claims which it is known in advance cannot be pressed? It is clearly not strengthening our position but deplorably weakening it. We make hay of each clause as the time comes round for its fulfilment. Now Germany has not even kept to the second bargain. Her deliveries of coal are negligible.

Why not face the truth? It is time that everybody should be aware that the Governments do not take the Treaty seriously. The men who drew it up mock at it. The men who signed it smile sardonically. We might have imposed a swift just peace to be carried out immediately, containing precisely the demands which it was in the power of Germany to fulfil and in our power to enforce. That would have given us a tremendous moral and material dominance. By going further we have lost our authority, and it is obvious that if to-day we cannot employ military methods we shall be still less able to do so ten years hence. It should be made patent to the public that our peace-makers have muddled everything, and the sooner the Treaty is reshaped the more chance we have of saving something.

Remember for a moment the outcry there was for taking Germany's colonies from her. Personally I am in favour of a new method of control and a new spirit in the colonies. It is not I who propose to give Germany back her colonies: it is one of the most distinguished French political writers! Imagine that! France prepared to plead that Germany must have an outlet; must have a "place in the sun!" It is hard to resist the disposition to merriment when such paradoxes are produced. The truth is, of course, as another French writer put it, if it is necessary that the Treaty be revised to the detriment of France, then France will want England to give up

something too. She feels that all the sacrifices have hitherto been hers.

If Germany is to be allowed to defy the Treaty all the time, if it is borne in upon her that we are impotent, that our so-called guarantees are useless, then it is good-bye to any hope of Germany even troubling to refer to the text of a dusty document placed on the topmost shelf of the Chancellor's bookcase.

Undoubtedly there were men who wanted to let Germany off, who condoned German crimes. They deserved some of the abuse that was poured upon them. But most of those who advised a moderate peace which could be carried out had not the smallest sympathy with the late enemy. They considered that moderation, like honesty, would in the long run "pay." They have not had to wait long for their justification. There is a whole clause in the Treaty devoted to the trial of the ex-Kaiser. The trial will not take place. A big spectacular judgment of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and all sorts of persons, big and little, was envisaged. It will not come off. Germany point-blank refuses to deliver up her nationals. If we wanted them we should have had to fight our way into Berlin. And after? So we wisely gave it up. But in so doing we permitted another breach to be made in the Treaty. We are benevolently providing Germany with example after example of our feebleness. We are benevolently providing Germany with example after example of our feebleness. We are persistently encouraging her to resist us.

She was to have surrendered her ships—both warships and merchant ships. The warships she sank under our nose. The merchant ships she is selling to Holland and other neutral countries in spite of our fiat. She is to build for us. We have already taken all her shipping on which we could lay our hands, and what is the result? It has brought about one more dispute between France and England, for France was unfortunate enough not to have any German ships to seize, while America seized twice as many as she had lost, and Great Britain with what she built made up three-quarters of her losses. In this matter I think France is right to demand the pooling of the spoil.

She is otherwise, as she says, reduced to economic vassalage. Germany is, of course, in a worse position of economic vassalage; and, in addition, ships that she builds are to go, according to the Treaty, to the Allies. I wonder how many will really come? I think this Annexe, which deals with ships, will go the way of all flesh and the rest of the Treaty.

As for the financial reparations, are not the British authorities, so soon after the signing of the Treaty, disposed rather to aid Germany than to let her sink into bankruptcy? Consider what was asked. The more Germany worked the more she would be compelled to pay. No final sum was fixed. The Reparations Commission would lay down progressively the amount to be paid. This premium on idleness is so comically wrong that England, as a nation which has always had plenty of commonsense, which is beginning to get back to business, is now more anxious to trade with Germany and to help Germany to trade than to grind her economically and get nothing for her pains. Germany makes no proposition for payment, and what do you suppose will be done? Every penny that we receive from Germany will be a joyous surprise. She does not mean to pay.

Take again the question of disarmament. On one pretext or another Germany has not and will not be disarmed. It is there in the Treaty that the army must be reduced to 200,000 and then to 100,000 men; but as I have repeatedly said, it is idle to consult the Treaty. The Treaty does not exist. Every question is treated as it arises *de nouveau*. With or without permission — and strangely enough it is largely with permission — Germany keeps up a huge army. A huge army, in defiance of the Treaty, increases in its turn the possibilities of Germany defying the Treaty, even against the explicit wishes of the Allies, with impunity.

It would be easy to extend this enumeration of instances, where the Treaty is inoperative and was doomed to be inoperative from the beginning. Indeed it would be difficult to point out where the Treaty has been operative. Not even the Armistice terms are fulfilled. They were renewed when the

Treaty was ratified, prolonged into the period of peace; but they are still to some extent paper conditions. I suppose there really are people who believe that when you put down things on paper they are accomplished. But if we want to have a sane policy we shall think not in words but in deeds. We live in a real world and must be realists.

The worst of it all is that the Entente is put in peril. England is more and more taking up her old insular attitude, and France is quick to notice that England is not giving her any help in enforcing the Treaty. That was bound to happen, and it is exceedingly regrettable that there should be the smallest cloud or Franco-British relations. I who love both countries, who believe that cordial feelings between the Channel peoples are the most precious of all international possessions, cannot help regarding this result, this weakening of our mutual attachment and esteem, as the gravest indictment it is possible to make against the utterly pernicious Treaty. It lies, putrid corpse, in our path and must be cleared away.

The responsibility for the plebiscites has largely fallen upon France. We wash our hands of Upper Silesia, which somebody has discovered—a little late in the day; it not?—was never Polish and cannot be taken from Germany if Germany is to furnish coal. So the plebiscite may be abandoned, and Poland will be properly angry. The watch on the Rhine is left largely to France. We cut down our divisions. We are disinteresting ourselves in European affairs. That is a great mistake, and France is astonished and grieved. Incidentally the dissolution of the unity of the diplomatic front is seen in the Russian business, where the Entente countries have agreed to go different ways. It was seen over the unhappy Constantinople dispute where official England favoured the murderer Turk, while plain unofficial folk cried aloud for the ejection of this un-European people from Europe. And so-called French opinion was pitted against British views; though it should never be forgotten that the Quai d'Orsay which may be interested in the retention of the Turk in Europe, is not France.

There was even, in the shameful diplomatic combinations which we have seen recently, the beginnings of a deplorable attempt to range England and Italy on one side against France and America on the other. I speak plainly because it is necessary that someone should utter a warning about this disintegration of the Alliance and the certain consequences of a reversion to the old system of chess-board diplomacy. Russia, you see, might make us independent of America. We can make use of her resources in wheat, in oil, in a score of commodities which America sells dearly to us. I am all in favour of peace with Russia, because we have need of all the wealth of the world. But so much depends upon the spirit with which we pursue our policy, and peace with Russia that brought us up against America would be disastrous. Italy has the same feeling. She needs Russian goods but she is also incensed against America, and her dependence on America—that America which in the person of President Wilson recalled her to national honesty in the matter of the Adriatic, about which the most indefensible secret treaties—not all of which have yet been published—were signed, and with which she and Mr. Lloyd George practised political blackmail on the unfortunate Yugo-Slavs. On the other side, France was at once hostile to any kind of recognition of the Soviets and “made up” to America. Once you begin this play and interplay of diplomatic combinations (and I have expressed it simply, leaving out some of the complications) you are on a slippery slope.

It was a little audacious on the part of American critics of Mr. Wilson who have hung up the ratification of the Treaty so long, and thereby first stabbed in the back the document which with all its demerits on its head might still at that time have struggled to life—it is a little audacious for them, after these long fatal delays which have robbed the peace-makers of all prestige and which have armed the resistance of Germany, to turn round on Mr. Wilson and accuse him of preventing the ratification. But in politics no weapon is to be despised. Logic is the last requisite in this trade. Even the acceptance now by America of

the Treaty with or without reservations would not resurrect it, like another Lazarus, from the tomb wherein they have helped to lay it. It is discredited. Some time ago I pointed out that in strict law the Treaty was illegal without America. There is a clause which declares that the agreement of three Powers is sufficient to put it into force. But that is contradicted in nearly every other clause. America must be represented in the League of Nations which is to work the Treaty; America must be on Commissions if they are to have any juridical authority. If Germany had chosen to argue thus it would have been difficult to refute her. She appears to have accepted the absence of America without comment, but is it necessary for me to underline the fact that the absence of America made the Treaty morally worthless? It at once became certain that Germany would obey its provisions just so far as she was compelled by force majeure or by tactical considerations. The League without America, without Germany, without Russia—without the three largest civilised countries of the habitable globe—how could it approximate to the original conception of an universal League? Now the Treaty without the League, and without the League in the fullest sense that was at first attached to the organisation, has the bottom knocked out of it. No wonder our French friends anxiously strive for strong Alliances: no wonder they manœuvre to Gallicise the left bank of the Rhine as a barrier between them and their hereditary foe. It is impossible to blame them, though one may think that such action is more likely to perpetuate strife. There is the eternal revanche which threatens battle-scarred France. The League and the Treaty together need recasting even from the point of view of French security. Belated acceptance by America, or acceptance with modifications, cannot now restore authority to the Treaty. If one Great Power which helped to fashion the document boggles at it, that is hardly a recommendation; that is hardly a proof that it is satisfactory.

The smug self-righteousness of Germany in spite of her situation, her hypocrisy and her bad faith, are, it is

true, obstacles to a proper consideration of the position. There is an amazing story in diplomatic circles of an application to America and England to lend Germany the money to pay off her most importunate creditor France, and then to form an Anglo-American-Germanic Alliance! It should receive the fate it merits. We will never desert France. Of that our Ally may be assured. At the same time she should beware of these intrigues. Whether we like it or not we have got to live in the same world as the Germans—we cannot pack them all off to Mars, who for aught I know may be signalling Marconi invitations to Germany—and we had better settle down and make the best of it. There is much in the Treaty which prevents us making the best of it: it keeps open running sores in Germany, it holds Poland under constant menace, it pricks France into a fever of futile attempts to carry out impossible clauses and to supplement her guarantees by ~~disastrous~~ manoeuvres in Rhineland not justified by the Treaty.

How absurd it was to try to prevent Austria from attaching herself to Germany! It is not surprising that America should refuse to feed further a country

which European statesmen have condemned to starvation. Separate life is impossible as I predicted months ago. But the facts which are making themselves felt are more persuasive than all the critics. There never were so many glaring follies, so many vital defects in a State document, as in this top-heavy masterpiece of blundering which has now not a single friend. Incidentally the Treaty, if ever it had been alive, carried its own death-warrant. The Paris statesmen (I love that word!) were at any rate considerate enough to write on the birth certificate the place of the interment. The Treaty under Article 19 provides for its own extinction: the place of burial is the League of Nations which may advise the "reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." This is truly thoughtful, and argues a modest sense of their own shortcomings in the prescient statesmen. It now remains to make a real League of Nations if only to serve as a convenient burial-ground for the Treaty, which deserves a first-class funeral though there will be no mourners.



Le Rive]

[Paris

"My Marshals did not know how to give me victory, but I am quite calm. The Jurists guarantee me impunity."

For and Against a Liberal-Labour Entente.

The future relations of the Liberal and Labour parties are one of the problems of present day politics. Many of the more advanced of the Independent Liberals hold that the future hope of progressive politics lies in the avoidance of antagonism between Liberal and Labour, from which it is argued nothing but good to the Conservatives can emerge. There are no signs at present of any response to this feeling in the Labour ranks, and some of the more extreme Labour men are emphatic in their repudiation of any form of understanding or agreement. The appeal on one side is made mainly to principle and on the other to the practical exigencies of politics.



[Photo, Lafayette.]

MR. A. G. GARDINER.

Mr. A. G. Gardiner is one of the most influential journalists in London. As Editor of the *Daily News* since 1902 he has been one of the most vital personal forces in the Liberal Party, and his weekly political articles have frequently given a new impetus or direction to Liberal policy. Mr. Gardiner has recently resigned the editorship and there has been much speculation among his friends as to his future career. His brilliant political gifts are not likely to be wasted in retirement, and it is more than possible that he will enter public life in the near future. He is well-known to a wide circle of readers, apart from the public which reads the *Daily News*, for his brilliant books of essays on the outstanding personalities of his time.



[Photo, Elliott & Fry.]

DR. ROBERT DUNSTAN.

Dr. Dunstan is one of the ablest of the newer Labour men. A practising physician by profession, he is also a member of Gray's Inn, and practised successfully at the Bar before the war. He is a convert from Liberalism, having fought a forlorn hope in the Totnes division of Devonshire in 1910. He served in Mesopotamia with the R.A.M.C. but developed strong anti-War views, and threw in his lot with the Independent Labour Party. At the General election he contested the Moseley division of Birmingham but came most prominently before the public during the Rusholme bye-election in September of last year when he took second place, inflicting a severe defeat on the Liberal candidate, Mr. Pringle.

The Case For a Liberal-Labour Entente.

By A. G. GARDINER.

The first consideration that suggests itself is that the government of the country has to be carried on, and that, in present circumstances, it can only be carried on by some compromise. It is universally agreed that the present Coalition is doomed. It has been repudiated by the country with an emphasis without parallel in political annals, and the longer it lives the more complete will be its ultimate overthrow. Something has got to take its place. Whatever the something is, it is well to remember that it will have no easy task. It will be face to face with problems that grow more urgent and more difficult with every day that passes, and it may come to disaster as complete as that to which the Coalition is moving. This is a chastening thought that should be borne in mind by Labour which will want to begin its career of responsible government with success. Nothing could be more disastrous for Labour and the country alike than an ignominious failure, which would justify the crude boastings of Mr. Churchill that the faculty of government is an affair of his class. The country cannot afford a failure, and Labour cannot afford a failure.

It is natural to speak of Labour first, not only because it is about to be put on its trial as a governing instrument, but because in the light of recent events it is the dominating partner in the political world. It was coming into its inheritance before the war, and that event has hastened the movement. It is true that the House of Commons contains a greater preponderance of Tories than any previous House in this generation, and that the majority of the nominal Liberals are as indistinguishable from the Tories as the Liberal Unionists used to be. But these

facts are only the measure of the trick that Mr. Lloyd George played on the country in the election of December, 1918. The reality behind these superficial facts is that Labour is the most formidable political power in the country to-day, and that the next General Election, whenever it comes, will probably make it the most solid, numerous and coherent force in the House of Commons. The war inevitably struck a heavy blow at the old political parties, and Mr. Lloyd George's policy of disintegrating them and fashioning a personal party out of the remains increased that tendency. But the policy failed completely so far as Labour was concerned. Labour thrived in the war. It accepted no responsibility for it. It saw in it the exposure of all the evils of class government, and it grew prosperous in the ruin of its rivals. And, alone, it kept clear of Mr. Lloyd George's net. Since December, 1918, no representative Labour man has held office in the Government.

But while all the indications point to Labour being the most numerous party in the next Parliament, it is extremely improbable that they will form the majority of the House. If they do they will be justified in taking over the whole responsibility of government unassisted. In the other and much more likely event, that course will not be possible. They will form the dominant party in the House, but they will not have a working majority of the House. Being the dominant party they will not be able to decline responsibility; without a clear working majority they will have to enter into an arrangement which will give them the command of the House. With whom should that arrangement be made? We may rule out the Tory Party, who may be the second most numerous group. An understanding between the party that

stands for vested interests and the extreme claims of property and the Labour Party is unthinkable. In his article in the *New Republic*, Mr. Sidney Webb forecasts an alliance between Mr. Lloyd George and the Labour Party—the latter providing the programme and the former the “direction.” Mr. Webb evidently thinks that Mr. George is up for auction, and can be taken over by any bargain that will keep him in office. His reading may be accurate. But Mr. Webb’s calculation assumes that Labour trusts Mr. George, which is not the case, and it assumes that he will have a strong personal following, which is unlikely to be the case. The Liberal Party in the country has done with him. He will have no Tory following, and his Liberal following will melt away in a General Election like the snows in April. We may leave out the Irish Party, which is unlikely ever to sit in the House of Commons again under the existing form of government.

There remains the Liberal Party. Labour began its political and parliamentary career as an ally of the Liberal Party. For a generation the representatives of the miners were the most consistent supporters of the Gladstonian policy in both domestic and foreign affairs. It is true that when Labour became an independent parliamentary force its hostility was directed against the Liberal Party rather than the Tory Party, but that was not because the Liberal Party was more remote from its aims and sympathies, but because it was nearer to them. It set itself to destroy the Liberal Party as a necessary preliminary to organising politics on the basis of an undisguised conflict between Capital and Labour. Whether that change in the character of the political warfare is inevitable, as many believe, does not arise here. Nor is it necessary to consider whether it is a desirable change. It is the immediate situation and its necessities with which we are concerned. Labour will doubtless continue to aim at the obliteration of the Liberal Party, but that ultimate purpose will not free it from the necessity of accommodating itself to the present Parliamentary facts. If an alliance with the Tories for the purpose of securing a

majority is unthinkable and an alliance with Mr. Lloyd George’s personal party inadequate, the only remaining expedient is to co-operate with the Liberal Party. In this I am assuming that Labour will be numerically superior. That is less certain since the remarkable victory of Mr. Asquith at Paisley, which revealed an unsuspected power of recovery in the Liberal Party. If Labour should hold only second place, it could decide to go into Opposition, leaving the onus of forming an administration on the Liberals or Tories as the case might be. This would probably lead to an impasse, for it is difficult to imagine any result which would make it possible for government to be carried on without the participation of Labour. But proceeding on the hypothesis that Labour will be dominant, that it will have to form an administration and that the need of a Parliamentary majority will compel it to invite the Liberal Party to share power with it, the question arises whether such a combination would be workable for immediate practical purposes. The answer to this depends, not upon ultimate ideals, but upon the attitude of the two forces to certain specific issues.

The first and most important of these issues is that relating to the Peace of Paris and the adjustment of world relationships. In reference to this there is little to discriminate between the position of Liberal and Labour. Both have committed themselves to the revision of the Peace Treaty. If there is any distinction between the two, the declaration of Mr. Asquith at Paisley may be said to have been more authoritative and formal than any statement that has issued from Labour. And if both are agreed on this capital point, they are equally agreed as to the spirit of the revision. The League of Nations is a part of both creeds. It is accepted by each with all its implications and repudiations. Both equally stand for open covenants, openly arrived at; both are equally hostile to the military organisation of the world; both stand for the removal of all economic barriers as a necessary corollary of the new relationship of nations; both are opposed to the private manufacture of armaments; both repudiate the Balance

of Power and any alliance within or without the League of Nations that is contrary to the spirit and intention of the League. In all this wide and momentous area of world policy it is not easy to find any point on which the two parties are in serious collision or disagreement. It is possible for one to doubt the sincerity of the other, but we must deal with declared policies and not with suspicions based on past events.

It is when we come to domestic issues that the outlook becomes more complex. But even here there is a large measure of agreement on cardinal things. The case of Ireland, for example, would offer no serious difficulty. Liberal and Labour alike would agree on Dominion Home Rule, with possibly an option to the Ulster counties to vote themselves out. It may be that Labour would be prepared to concede a Republic; but that claim would not seriously arise in the face of the concession of Dominion Home Rule, coupled, as Mr. Asquith has agreed it should be coupled, with full control over customs and excise. On the vital subject of finance it would not be difficult to find a working basis of agreement. In principle, both parties have the same fundamental motives. They both believe in the taxation of possessions rather than consumption; in direct rather than indirect methods of assessment, in the abolition of all embargoes on imports—in a word, in the gospel of Free Trade not only as an elementary necessity of the new world order, but as an absolute condition of a just social order at home. If there is any element of compromise on this subject, it is on the Labour rather than the Liberal side. There is common agreement that the first economic duty of the country is that it should pay its way. Whether this aim can be achieved by taxation alone or requires a levy on capital is a subject for the experts. Labour has formally committed itself to the idea of the levy on capital. The Liberal Party is divided on the subject, and Mr. Asquith preserves an open mind. It is not a question of principles, but of expediency, and should be governed by a large consideration of consequences. In matters like education, housing and social betterment a common ideal would prevail, whatever differences

there might be on questions of procedure. On the liquor question Labour is committed to State purchase as the solution. Liberal opinion is less formed, but the balance of it, I think, decisively favours purchase, and in any case is emphatical on the side of complete public control, with, of course—especially in Scotland—considerable element in support of Prohibition.

With this question we approach the area of possible conflict—the area, that is, of nationalisation. Much confusion of mind exists on this subject and much play is being made with it to create prejudice, awaken fears and aggravate the conflict between Liberal and Labour. There is on the latter side, undoubtedly, an element that aims at the reconstruction of industry on guild or Marxian lines. The general body of trade unionists hostile to this movement or indifferent to it. In any case the issue belongs not to the present, but to the future. The immediate problem is much narrower. It touches monopolies like liquor, railway land and minerals. And on this restricted ground there is room for conflict only on the subject of coal. On liquor and railways, the question is one mainly of price on land, Mr. Asquith's statement Paisley goes very far. On the public ownership of the coal mining industry there is disagreement, but by no means all Liberal opinion is hostile to nationalisation, and by no means all Labour opinion favours it without qualification. It ought to be possible to agree on experiment, say, with the South Wales coal-field.

From this brief and necessarily inadequate survey of the situation certain conclusions seem to emerge: (1) The government of the country must present circumstances be carried on compromise. (2) If Labour is in ascendant it will have to take office on its own terms, and not as a mere factor in the House to give it a workable majority. (3) Liberal and Labour are approaching to a common policy on immediate issues. (4) In view of this common responsibility it involves, electoral entente should be arrived at wherever possible.

The Case Against a Liberal-Labour Entente.

By Dr. ROBERT DUNSTAN.

Plans for defining the relations between Liberals and the Labour Party usually take one of two forms—an entente or an actual alliance. The objections to an "entente" in international affairs, which were underlined in red by the war, apply with equal force to domestic matters. There is a confusion of obligations and the entente either hardens into an alliance, often a secret one, or becomes too indefinite to have any value.

It would be interesting to know exactly what is meant by those who suggest an entente or an understanding between the Liberal and Labour Parties. If they mean that we should regard each other, as Mr. Chadband might say, "in a spirit of love," it is largely a matter of individual temperament, and some people would find it easier than others. In practice, the loosest form of entente with any meaning at all would probably be an agreement not to oppose each other's candidates. It is worth while to examine what this would mean.

Its first and obvious meaning would be a surrender of the Labour position and an acceptance of a Liberal contention which we have most strenuously denied. The accommodation would be made in the interest of what is called the Progressive vote. But what is the Progressive vote over which so many tears have been shed? It has never been isolated, being in fact a figment of the Liberal imagination. In a world full of real tragedies the splitting of the progressive vote leaves me unmoved. The Labour contention is not that you have a Progressive Party with Liberal and Labour wings on the one side and a Conservative Party on the other. It is that the contest lies between a Capitalistic Party with Liberal and Conservative sections and a party of Labour. This contention is supported by the results of the recent by-election. The return of Mr. Asquith at Paisley was a victory over Labour, a Liberal triumph made possible only by the rally of Unionists to the Liberal standard against the Socialism of the Labour candidate. If the Labour

contention is once clearly recognised it will be seen that the proposed entente is not a suggestion for co-operation between equals, but a cool request that Labour should abandon its whole philosophy of politics and adopt a delimitation of parties based upon Liberal assumptions.

The story of this fallacy of the Progressive vote (so dear to the Liberal press) is instructive. It goes back a good way in our political history. In its early form, however, it was not a polite invitation to mutual agreement. Liberals did not say: "We between us are splitting the Progressive vote." They said: "You are splitting the Progressive vote," and the only invitation they gave to the Labour Party was an invitation to get out of the way.

The tables have since been turned. If anybody splits the Progressive vote it is a Liberal candidate masquerading in Labour garments. The new appeal is in effect an S.O.S. It is a pathetic appeal from the "Wee Frees" for an arrangement under which they may become less wee and Labour may become less free. In whatever form it may be disguised, this proposal in face of recent electoral results is a cry for mercy. Not only for themselves but for the traditional form of government by "Ins" and "Ours."

What are the Liberal Party's claims to mercy? I dismiss at once the idea that our aims are the same. They are not. Socialists believe that the problems of to-day demand a remedy which Liberalism does not include in its pharmacopoeia. The great motive force behind the Labour movement, since the war, is the desire for a new world and a realisation that nothing but a revolution in thought and government can gain it. Any attempt to compromise this intense demand for better things with the aims and objects of the Liberal Party would rend the Labour Party from end to end. But to return to the Liberal claims as to the so-called Progressive vote. Have they realised the logical implications of their own insistence on the likeness of our policies? This

insistence on similitude reached high water mark at Rusholme, but ebbed so much at Paisley as to disclose the impassable gulf which lies between the two Parties.

If it be really the "Liberal" part of our programme that the electors want, why are they deserting the Liberal Party in battalions? Clearly because the Liberal Party has failed to give it to them and offers no promise of giving it. And this conclusion, so probable in face of the trend of elections, is borne out also by the facts of political history.

The Liberal Party has never lived up to its programme. Mr. Asquith attacks the Peace Treaty, as well he might, but it was Mr. Asquith's Government which negotiated those secret treaties in which *real politik* and the old diplomacy found their most complete expression. We have now reached the point in these matters at which "the multitude make virtue of the faith they once denied," and Mr. Asquith in his attempt to revive a moribund party comes in with the multitude.

Free Trade? The Coalition never devised a more muddled Protectionism than the Paris Resolutions, to the making of which so much of Mr. Runciman's hard thinking was devoted.

Of Land Reform, an old reformer who has advocated the cause under the Liberal banner finds it difficult to write without bitterness. Nowhere have more splendid sentiments about land settlement been expressed than on Liberal platforms. The conviction that nothing fundamental in this matter will come from the Liberal Party is as widespread as anything in contemporary thought. The more the Independent Liberals assure us that they have always stood for what the people are now demanding, the more clear they make it that the people do not believe them. It is possible that public opinion does them a great injustice, but that requires proof.

In all forms of partnership the first question to be asked is what the respective parties can put into it. There is no doubt what Labour has to offer—political prospects which any party in the state might envy. What is the Liberal contri-

bution? A heritage of past failure and betrayal. At a time when Labour derive a great deal of its electoral strength from a perfectly natural public distrust with the old parties it is asked to take one of these old parties under its wing. The Liberal shop is one of those in which the new proprietor is careful to display a notice: "Under New Management." But if Labour could survive this deadly heritage what present contribution is Liberalism making? There are two issues on which public opinion is really roused. One is the national ownership of the mines—the socialisation as I prefer to call it—and the other is an attempt to remedy our top heavy social condition by a levy on capital. There are members of the Liberal Party who support both these proposals. But Mr. Asquith meets nationalisation with the oldest and rustiest weapons in the anti-Socialist armory, and his proposal on the Capital Levy is the time-honoured Committee of Enquiry. That I suspect is the real Liberal contribution to our difficulties; eternal committees—interminable enquiries.

It is unfortunate for the advocates of fusion or alliance that they have continually to admit the bankruptcy of the Liberal Party. This is just as true of foreign policy as it is of purely domestic and industrial concerns. It is a little difficult to discover what the policy of Liberalism is. Nor was it quite clear till after the Paisley result who the Liberal leader was. The Liberal candidate at the by-election in which I took some interest was very emphatic on the point that Mr. Asquith was not his leader, but now notice his name prominent amongst those who welcomed Mr. Asquith back to London fresh from his victory in Scotland.

There have been Liberal votes in the House of Commons which are not easily reconciled with pronouncements in Paisley. In a party with more and less advanced sections, there is no doubt which is likely to dictate policy under the conditions which normally prevail in politics. The pace of a Government is most likely to be that of its slowest member. Having regard to Mr. Asquith's prestige, I have little doubt that we may fairly look to his declarations as representing

ing the utmost that can be expected of the Liberal Party. And with no desire to be cynical it may fairly be said that Mr. Asquith when in office is certainly not bolder or more radical in his policy than when he occupies a position of greater freedom and less responsibility. What has Mr. Asquith to offer? I have mentioned his past record with regard to International affairs. That he is still obdurate is admitted by so friendly a commentator as, *The Nation*. That candid journal in its issue of February 21st declared that Mr. Asquith's defence of his secret treaties on "strategical" grounds was "much the kind of defence which the Germans could make as cogently for their schemes of annexation in Belgium." It is not for me to speculate on the process by which Liberals can reconcile themselves to the author of a foreign policy that they are able to characterise in such terms as these, but the comment is very relevant when we are asked to add this kind of policy to our political burdens.

To pursue this question through all the details of political controversy would require far too much space. One consideration, however, stands out. There is no task of statesmanship more urgent than that of reconciling the democracies of Great Britain and Ireland. Now Ireland is looking hopefully to the Labour Party. It is not for me to analyse here to what extent the present mood of Ireland represents her permanent mind or how far misgovernment has caused opportunities to pass for ever. One thing is abundantly clear. It is that all sorts of Irishmen are sick to death of the old parties. That is the one thing which unites the Protestant North with the Catholic South. But Nationalist Ireland has a special and peculiar grievance against the Liberals. It was they who promised and betrayed. It was Mr. Asquith who took Sir Edward Carson into the Coalition—an act of cynicism which will never be forgiven or forgotten. It was he who had already given the pledge that Ulster should never be coerced, a pledge that in the circumstances could only mean that the rest of Ireland should be coerced, and in the face of these hard facts we are coolly asked to go to

the Irish people with the Liberals as our associates! This is more than a matter of party tactics. I would ask those who realise the need of an Irish settlement whether it would be a wise thing to bar the door upon the last remaining hope of persuading the democracy of Ireland that honour and a love of freedom have not entirely vanished from British politics.

To sum up: the Labour Party can only form a working alliance with the Liberals by abandoning our fundamental position and coming to theirs; we could provide them with a chance of getting back to power, which is now denied them, and get in return all the odium of a black past and blank present in foreign and domestic politics; we should kill the one remaining hope of peace with Ireland; and above all this, there is such a gulf between us in outlook and ideals that any attempt to blend them would bring disruption to the Labour Party. There are excellent men and women in the Liberal Party. One respects their ideals and their uphill fight to make them effective. But they are asking of that party what it cannot give them. They are nursing a delusion, and the prime necessity of the moment is an awakening to political realities. Who that walks by the light of commonsense in the domain of realities—to use a famous phrase of Mr. Asquith's—can return other than a negative to the question here proposed?



L4(e)

Whose turn next? [New York]

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

CAN A BREAKDOWN OF THE EXCHANGES BE AVOIDED ?

An editorial article in *The Round Table* (March) deals exhaustively with the financial chaos that has made trade practically impossible throughout the greater part of Europe. The writer insists that it is imperative to secure some stability of currency conditions in all the disorganised countries. On the other hand he regards it as doubtful whether the time has yet come when any joint international scheme, which will almost certainly be necessary later on, can be undertaken.

A stable currency seems impossible for any country whose foreign trade still shows an enormous adverse balance, and whose budget makes no pretence of balancing its receipts and expenditure. To be able to maintain a sound currency a country must pay its way in the world. Therefore, from the point of view of currency, as of everything else, the productive process must first be set going again. Just as serious currency depreciation diminishes production, both industrial and agricultural, so a restoration or an increase of production is the only foundation for a return to sound currency, as indeed it is the foundation of taxation. We must deal first with the basic problem of restoring the cycle of production and exchange, though hand in hand should, of course, go an insistence on proper taxation, on the imperative necessity of the various Governments balancing their budgets, and on some control over the too free creation of credit.

All the Central European countries are faced with apparently insuperable difficulties in the way of reconstruction. Even if they could resume their export trade, many of them have lost their foreign markets, and their over-seas trade has gone. Political difficulties, and the hardening of racial differences which have been made the basis of political frontiers, have enormously increased the problem of rebuilding international trade. Capitalism, which would seem to be the only economic machinery capable of achieving a rapid

reconstruction, is itself challenged by Labour in every country.

Great as have been abuses of the capitalistic system, it is doubtful whether any other system can free itself from the soulless and monotonous character of modern industrial life, which is at the bottom of nearly all the unrest, and more doubtful still whether it can produce wealth at the same rate. It is ominous, therefore, that at a time when greater saving and greater production are essential to our recuperation, the great mass of workers in all European countries, resenting bitterly the profiteering which inevitably arises from existing conditions, should be dimly contemplating the overthrow of our whole economic structure. So far are they from realising that their very life depends on working it at full blast that they believe there exists even now in the world great stores of ready-made wealth which they ought to and can secure if they are only insistent enough and if they can utilise the machinery of the State to extract it from its present owners. In consequence all over Europe, at a moment when Government expenditure should be reduced to a minimum, clamorous demands for the extension in every sphere of Government activities are pressing forward. Government expenditure thus goes up, and, since the limits of taxation and loans are reached, further currency depreciation and a further approach towards the abyss are the result.

The situation in France and Italy is not yet so desperate as in Central Europe, but their future is extremely dark. It is quite impossible for them to continue importing on the scale they are doing now. It is not generally recognised that a year ago these countries were able to obtain much more credit than they can to-day.

In the last year both London and New York have advanced them very considerable sums through ordinary banking and private channels. The most recent National City Bank circular states that "the present volume of trade can be accounted for only upon the theory that individual credits have been granted upon a larger scale than is generally known," and that "there is much evidence to confirm the opinion." But this

cannot continue indefinitely. Most of these credits cannot be paid off, except by renewals of some sort or by raising long loans in foreign countries, the public response to which is doubtful. It will be difficult in these circumstances to secure fresh credits.

There would seem to be no alternative between an enormous, perhaps an impossible, decrease in imports from overseas or a collapse of the exchanges. The statistics published by the Supreme Economic Council show that between January and October, 1919, French imports exceeded exports by £538,000,000, and Italian imports exceeded exports by £890,000,000. A collapse of the French and Italian, as well as of the German exchange, would, of course, very seriously affect all the smaller nations of Europe as well as ourselves. Our exchange is being depressed now because of European nations meeting their obligations in the United States through London, and as long as these nations have any sterling they can so use, it must continue to be depressed.

What ought to be done? The writer believes that the simple remedy of raising an immense loan in America to provide credit for Europe would be like curing a drunkard by giving him more to drink. We may kill him at once if we cut off his drink altogether, but if we go on giving him as much as he wants, he will certainly die soon anyway.

It is not by easy tinkering that the European nations can attain equilibrium, but by the very opposite—namely, by the most painful efforts at readjustment, by diminishing their consumption of imports to the very lowest point, by buying from countries who can afford to sell to them, by getting their imports from fellow-sufferers in distress, food from Russia and Roumania, manufactures from Germany, and so on, and by taking advantage of the depreciated exchanges to increase their exports, so far as they can, outside Europe. It is essential that the real economic burden should weigh heavily on each individual. It is only by his efforts and sacrifices that the evils we are all suffering from can be remedied. An easy supply of commodities on credit, especially if coupled with increased purchasing power from increased credit and currency, will merely confirm his optimism and his extravagance and make the evil day more evil when at last it comes.

Moreover, most of our troubles cannot be cured by credit. Except in so far as it provides essential articles not procurable internally, credit cannot restore the railway systems or recover lost foreign markets. And neither credit nor anything else is of value, if fighting one another is to be the chief industry of European nations, or if workmen will not work. Again, if further inflation of credit and currency constantly increases the public's purchasing power, credit might do actual harm in increasing instead of diminishing unnecessary imports. The grant of credit should not be made to enable the bankrupt countries to escape increasing their taxation, but should be made conditional upon their taking such necessary measures. Otherwise matters will only be made worse.

In normal times a depreciated exchange brings its own remedy by encouraging imports. But this is not so now when the import of raw materials is necessary first in order to make exports possible. Various suggestions have been put forward to supply raw materials and capital to the countries that need them without the necessity of raising new loans. But barter, or the direct exchange of goods that are superfluous in one country for those that it needs, is practically impossible in the complicated conditions of modern Europe. A much more feasible suggestion is that Britain or America or any country that is in a position to send capital abroad should form companies with branches in the countries where trade has to be restored. The goods which are sent abroad to these countries would then be consigned to these branches, and would remain all the time the property of the company which exported them. Ultimately the manufactured articles would be sold in some country which had either exports that the trading company could buy or a currency which had an exchange value. Another possible scheme is that private enterprise should supply the necessary capital to re-open the derelict factories throughout Central Europe, so that they would then command all the credit they needed for purchasing their raw materials direct from the countries which have supplied the capital.

THE CONDITION OF CENTRAL EUROPE.

In the *Nineteenth Century and After* appears a striking article by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Samuel Hoare on "Vienna and the State of Central Europe." The cardinal fact to be faced is that Vienna has been on the verge of starvation practically since the war began, and is to-day as near the absolute starvation point as it is possible for any civilised centre to be.

Of the adult population at least 60 per cent. are gravely underfed. Strange epidemics are spreading as the result of this semi-starvation. According to Dr. Schiff, the Medical Chief of the Health Insurance Associations of Vienna and Lower Austria, a new and very severe complaint has been noted in the form of a general softening of the bones which sometimes leads to complete inability to move. Hundreds of cases of this malady—Osteomalacia—have been notified. Moreover the reference files of the relief agencies show that the starving and semi-starving comes from almost every class. Indeed the working-class seem to be better off than the middle and professional classes. In the queues outside the soup kitchens there are more black coats and women's hats than workmen's blouses and working women's shawls. As the minimum income upon which a man or woman can be fed has now risen from 12,000 to 60,000 crowns a year, there is nothing surprising in this downfall of the professional, the *rentier* and the pensioner. Perhaps there is no sadder fact in Vienna than this collapse of the middle and professional classes. The black coats and well-made dresses are the last that many of the Viennese-bourgeois will wear. When they are worn out, their owners will, if they survive, sink into the mass of manual labour. It is no snobbery that makes this a depressing spectacle. The Viennese *bourgeoise*, the class that produced Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn and Gluck, maintained a high standard of culture; many of its members were government officials who served the State conscientiously and with no little ability; others were officers in the army, for the Austrian army, never the preserve of the Junkers, offered an honourable career to young men of the middle class. The civilisation that they stood for is being irrevocably destroyed. If for no other reason it would be doomed by the depreciation of the currency. A fixed income that before the war amounted to hundreds of pounds a year is not worth as many shillings. The collapse of the Austrian crown has destroyed the Viennese middle class almost as surely as Trotsky's Letts and Chinese exterminated the bourgeois of Petrograd and Moscow.

All that is possible to relieve distress is being done by the Hoover Commission, the British Quakers, and philanthropic

bodies in Scandinavia, Holland and Switzerland, who are feeding and housing the exiled children of Viennese parents. But this state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue. "Economically two million people, be they friends or enemies, cannot be indefinitely kept alive upon Anglo-Saxon charity." It is indefensible to maintain a great city on doles. Apart from the moral question, it is political madness. "Without a definite and considered policy, the Allies will not only postpone and endanger the day of economic recovery, but they will inevitably land themselves in Central Europe in as deep a pit as the slough into which they have fallen in Russia."

One of the reasons for the paralysis of economic life is, in this writer's opinion, the splitting up of the Hapsburg Empire. But he warns the Allies against any attempt at a political re-union: that and a customs union are almost equally impossible. Something, however, must be done. As a first condition of Austrian recovery, the Treaty must be ratified. Already,

By these months of delay the racial problems of Central Europe have been immeasurably embittered and its economic recovery retarded by many years. Of the embitterment of racial hatred a single instance will suffice. Under Article 50 of the Treaty a plebiscite in what is known as the "Klagenfurt area" is to be held upon a date fixed by an Allied Commission three months after ratification. The district called by the Peace Delegates the "Klagenfurt area" is the heart of the historic province of Carinthia, a province that since the Middle Ages has formed an integral part of the Hapsburg dominions and possesses a mixed population of about 400,000 Germans and Slovenes. By its history a political entity, by its geographical formation an economic unit, it has been arbitrarily divided by the Peace Delegates into two zones, of which the southern, pending the decision of the plebiscite, has been handed over to Yugo-Slav control and the northern retained under Austrian administration. A less defensible arrangement could hardly be imagined. The country districts have been cut off from the market towns, farms and properties divided between the two areas, and a military regime of extreme severity set up in the Yugo-Slav zone under which no one may pass to or from the Austrian zone even though it be to visit his own property, sell his goods at the nearest market town or attend his parish church. Moreover there is little doubt that the Yugo-

Slav officials have arrested and deported many of the inhabitants whom they thought inclined to opt for Austria in the plebiscite.

After Ratification, and not till then, the Reparation Commission can begin its function. This is most important. For in the meantime Austria is left with a limitless liability; no definite amount is fixed for the indemnity; and though the circumstances are entirely different, the Reparation clauses have been lifted almost *en bloc* out of the German Treaty and applied to Austria. "Austria cannot pay, and the Peace Delegates know it.

All that they have done is to make an impossible demand, and greatly to complicate the problem of recovery."

Perhaps their foolish action can best be illustrated by the fact that in two adjacent rooms of the Hofburg there are now sitting two Allied Commissions, the one to exact from Austria the whole cost of the war, the other to provide Allied relief for the starving population of Vienna. Further, whilst under Annex IV. of the Treaty 6,000 milch cows are taken from Austria and given to Italy, Yugo-Slavia and Roumania, the Allied Governments and the charitable citizens of Great Britain are collecting money to send condensed milk to the Viennese mothers and children, whilst the British Quakers have actually bought several cows as a gift for the municipality of Vienna.

There are other paradoxes. Of all the soldiers on the Italian front the Croats in the Austrian Army were the hardest fighters, while the population of Vienna was half-hearted, if not actually hostile. Yet the Viennese who to-day are bearing the crushing burden. Again the Bohemian Pan-Germans who were the most bitter enemies of the Allies are now our victorious associates, while the Anti-Prussian Austrians are our defeated enemies.

Yet the Peace Treaty is not wholly responsible for the sufferings of Vienna. Take the question of timber for fuel. The Social Democratic Government have taken this trade out of the hands of the timber merchants and have failed miserably to conduct it efficaciously themselves. They have imposed maximum prices for commodities; but, through fear of the working man, they are so low as to discourage production, and they directly encourage smuggling. Then the various states are at economic logger-heads with each other. "One state will not even

accept from another state its own currency in payment for its own debts." Even Vienna and her own provinces are at economic and political war with each other.

The peasant will not sell food to the city; the provincial governments jealously clinging to their local resources seem not only indifferent but actually hostile to the reconstruction of Viennese economic life; every kind of restriction is placed upon the intercourse between city and country, and it not infrequently happens that the provinces deport from their territory Viennese citizens against whom they may have some political objection. Even the fuel for the hospitals of Vienna, mainly purchased by the charitable funds raised in the United Kingdom, has to be brought from Czecho-Slovakia at great delay and expense for the reason that the Austrian provinces refuse to allow their timber to be used for the city.

There is no coal in Austria, but there is plenty of timber; yet "no attempt is being made to burn wood on the local trains, and no attempt is being made principally because the Provincial Governments maintain that the forests being provincial property cannot be felled for the Federal Railways."

Here indeed is a pretty problem for the Economic Council to unravel. And over all stalks the spectre of a revived militarism.

To anyone who has visited Central Europe and seen the terrible effects of racial enmity, the predominating need is the need for disarmament. In the north, Poland, its territories devastated and depopulated by the ebbs and flows of war, its Treasury empty, its political constitution unsettled, its economic future uncertain, is staggering under the burden of an army of 700,000 men. In the south Roumania keeps mobilised as large a military force as ever it possessed during the war. In spite of the loss of half the male population of Serbia, Yugo-Slavia still counts its standing army in hundreds of thousands. Even Czecho-Slovakia, of all others a country fitted by its geographical position, by the culture and industry of its population, by the democratic ideals of its President, to be as peaceful and prosperous as Switzerland, has felt it necessary to raise and equip a great army for the defence of its national claims. And finally Austria, starving and for the moment bankrupt, will under the Treaty have to pay for its voluntary force of 30,000 men a larger sum than the Dual Empire paid for the whole Hapsburg army. Is this the result of the war that was meant to end war? A Central Europe more militarist by far than in 1914? A race of armaments tenfold worse than before the war?

IS A NEW WORLD WAR COMING?

When next spring comes, declares Mr. Frank H. Simonds in the *American Review of Reviews* (February), nothing is more probable than that Europe will suddenly find itself face to face with a new war on a grand scale; nothing is more likely than that the nations which conquered Germany may have to turn to the Germans and seek in them allies against the Bolshevik peril, risking thereby the loss of all the reparations provided for in the treaties of Versailles and the possible reappearance of militarist control in the German Empire.

As I close this article, the signatures are being attached to the documents which put into operation the several treaties liquidating the World War. But it is perhaps significant of the disappointment of the hopes of a year ago that at the moment when the recent war is officially terminated the prospect of a struggle hardly less dangerous to our civilization becomes unmistakable.

Mr. Simonds makes full acknowledgment of the achievements of the Allied victory in setting free more than 25 millions of people from the persecutions and the tyranny under which they suffered as part of the Hapsburg Empire.

On the whole, no similar deliverance of millions from tyranny and servitude is discoverable in history. Taken in conjunction with the liberation of the people of Alsace-Lorraine and of the German and Russian borders, this constitutes one of the great feats in all human history.

But in liberating the subject races and creating new political states, we have created a new problem more dangerous even than the first by isolating Austria. Central Europe has been "Balkanised" and thrown into utter confusion since all normal communication between the different parts of the Continent, which depended upon international trade for their supplies, has been practically brought to a standstill.

It is as if the United States had been broken up into its component State units, the minerals of Pennsylvania had been shut off from the manufacturing district of New England; the foodstuff of the West stopped at arbitrary frontiers west of the Alleghenies. It is as if, travelling from New York to Boston, one had to change trains at the Connecticut boundary, at the Rhode Island frontier, and finally at the Massachusetts line.

We have in the matter of communications created a condition surpassing the chaos of the Middle Ages. Austria-Hungary produced food and minerals and possessed great manufacturing regions. All three were necessarily united in the economic whole. Now all three are separated, and the result is starvation, paralysis, a condition growing worse every week and becoming more and more a peril difficult to exaggerate and perhaps presently becoming impossible for us to check.

In the days when Hoover ruled in Middle Europe he set afoot a system of barter and exchange, while he placed his own men on railroad trains to guarantee the return of the rolling stock. For a period he kept economic breath in the frame of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. But Hoover is gone. The system of barter and exchange has practically come to an end. Communications are almost non-existent. The Rumanians who invaded Hungary took back with them the railroad equipment which they found—largely, to be sure, their own equipment which the Hungarians had in their turn stolen from Rumania.

By some means or other, the economic life of Central Europe must be restored.

We shall not save the situation in Middle Europe by sending food or by sending money, however necessary it may be momentarily to send both. The states which we have created at Versailles out of the old Hapsburg Empire are incapable in several instances of supporting themselves—that is, of separate economic existence. Unless some system of co-operation can be found, Middle Europe will be Boche or Bolshevik within the next decade. And it may be both. The pathway of Germany southward, of Russia eastward, must lie through regions in which the semblance of order is rapidly disintegrating. It is a great triumph to have rescued millions of men and women from tyranny, to have established equality between races. It was not possible to preserve the old system. But the great single circumstance in our recent victory will be vitiated unless we can now find some method of restoring economic equilibrium.

If we fail, millions of men and women and children will perish from starvation. Following this tragedy one must look for political disasters of incalculable gravity. Everything depends upon the real plans of the Bolsheviks, who have protested again and again that they intend to spread their dominion all over Europe. Military resistance to Bolshevism has now broken down. Victorious Bolshevik armies have reached the Black Sea, are overflowing into Persia and pressing southward towards India. The Baltic States have

capitulated. Rumania is prepared to make a separate peace, and the sole forces that now bar the progress of Bolshevik armies in the East and the West are the Japanese and the Poles.

Unless all signs fail, declares Mr. Simonds, the coming of spring will see an enormous attack on Poland by the victorious Bolshevik armies, now fully equipped and munitioned as a result of the capture of equipment and supply.

In the United States we are going through a temporary excitement over the domestic manifestations of Bolshevism. We are engaged in arresting and exiling a few hundreds or thousands. In some curious fashion this minor activity has seized upon popular imagination and serves to satisfy the mass of Americans that effective measures are being taken against the Bolshevik peril.

The truth is obviously otherwise. While we are engaged in disposing of a handful of agents of anarchy, that vast and terrible menace, which is Bolshevism, is gathering under its control millions of men and women and enormous areas of fertile territory. It is consolidating its power, preparing itself

against the hour when it can attack the systems and the political ideas of the West.

In my judgment, so far from world peace having been restored, the World War is entering a new phase. We have been victorious over Germanism, but our very victory has left us weak in the presence of Bolshevism, which is a peril hardly less menacing. Our governments affirm that they will not make peace with the Bolshevik, and our people refuse to make war upon them.

Activity along the Hudson River will not materially affect the Bolshevik advancing along the Vistula. A truce with the Bolsheviks in arms in Europe now will be no more than the kind of truce the Treaty of Amiens was with the French Revolution, at that moment emerging into the Napoleonic phase. The world cannot exist half-Bolshevik and half-Republican, just as the United States could not continue half-slave and half-free.

While the Paris Conference has struggled over the making of frontiers and the adoption of principles designed to promote peace, a great new peril has arisen and a new enemy has consolidated his hold upon one of the greatest empires on this planet.



SHALL THE TURK STAY?

The decision of the Supreme Council to allow the Turk to remain in Constantinople—under what conditions is not known at the moment of writing—has aroused a storm of protest. Writing in *The New Europe* for February 19th, Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee makes a vigorous attack upon this policy, asserting that the decision "ensures the Turk the recovery, sooner or later, of that full political sovereignty and military control over the Straits which he enjoyed before the war; that is, of opening or closing at his pleasure an economic highway, of the assured and permanent freedom of which is essential for the economic reconstruction of the Danube countries and Russia; in fact for half the Continent of Europe." He blames, principally, the Indian Government for having persuaded Mr. Lloyd George.

It is no secret that the battle over the destiny of Constantinople has been fought, not between the British and French Governments, but between two factions in the British Government, whom we may call respectively the "Europeans" and the "Orientalists," and that the "Orientalists" have won. In other words, Mr. Montagu has persuaded Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Lloyd George the Supreme Council, to settle the question of Constantinople and the Straits, not on the merits of the case, not with reference to the wishes of the local population, not with any consideration, for the stricken countries of Eastern Europe which must revive their international trade or perish, and whose only avenue of trade is through the Straits—not on any of these pressing European grounds, but in order to gratify a remote Moslem community at a delicate stage in the constitutional development of an Asiatic dependency of the British Empire.

Napoleon accused us of being the enemies of Europe, the Germans echoed his indictment; and now the Constantinople decision has gone far towards transforming an extravagance into sober truth. Since the Armistice, and still more since the virtual withdrawal of America from the settlement, the casting vote has been in our hands; and in this vital question of the Straits, which affects the economic future of half Europe, and which ought to have been settled for Europe's general good, we have used our power irresponsibly, with no eye to European interests but simply with regard to the passing expediencies of our Indian policy. If errors of policy like this are repeated, a conflict between Great Britain and a united Europe will be inevitable.

In the following issue of *The New Europe* the same writer develops his

onslaught under the title of "Mr. Montagu's pound of flesh." He pauses, however, to ask the question what, in the Supreme Council's interpretation, does "Constantinople" mean?

It can be interpreted in three senses: (i) as the actual city of Stambul, confined to the peninsula between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmora, and bounded landwards by the famous triple wall; or (ii) as the entire urban area of Greater Constantinople, extending beyond the Golden Horn to Pera and Galata and beyond the Bosphorus to Scutari and Haidar Pasha on the Asiatic shore; or (iii) as the Vilayet of Constantinople, the metropolitan province of the Ottoman Empire, which includes not only Stambul and its European and Asiatic suburbs, but the entire length of the Bosphorus and a strip of territory along each shore of it from the Marmora right up to the Black Sea.

Mr. Toynbee believes that, under Mr. Montagu's influence, the Supreme Council intended to leave the Turk master of Constantinople in its widest sense, that is master of the entire Vilayet. He recapitulates his reasons for rejecting this interpretation absolutely. The second interpretation is also put out of court by the same objections, since "it would leave Turkey in full control of one entrance to the Bosphorus and therefore, in effect, of the whole passage." "The first interpretation alone, which limits 'Constantinople' to Stambul, is conceivably compatible with the secure and permanent freedom of the sea passage which skirts the Pharos and Stambul." And this alternative "would satisfy any reasonable claims that can be put forward either by the Turkish Nation or by the Moslem community in India." Stambul, moreover, contains everything in Constantinople that is valued by Turkish or Moslem sentiment.

But let us avoid misconceptions; if the destiny of Stambul were to be decided by sentiment, it would be awarded not to the Turks or Moslems, but to the Greeks. Greek emperors ruled in the imperial palace for eleven centuries before a Turkish sultan set foot there, and the Caliphs of Islam (or, rather, of one sect in Islam) have sojourned there only for four centuries—since 1517 A.D. The great Caliphs, who in a literal sense were Commanders of the Faithful and exercised political sovereignty over the whole Islamic community, reigned at Damascus and Bagdad; and Constantinople was the capital of their mightiest Christian contemporaries, the very Greek sovereigns who built *Agia Sofia*

and the other magnificent churches in Stambul which are mosques to-day. Sentiment and history would assign Stambul to Greece, and though Mr. Venizelos, with rare statesmanship, forebore to claim it when he laid the Greek case before the Conference last year, he waived his title in favour of an international administration, and on the understanding that the city would in no circumstances be left to the Turk.

The question to be decided is whether the retention of the Sultan in Stambul

(as an enclave) is compatible with the security of the Vilayet placed under an international commission, and with the permanent freedom of the Straits. If "experts" decide that it is so, well and good. If, on the other hand, the Turk, under this arrangement, would be able to exercise any sort of power over the Straits, "out this sovereignty must go, bag and baggage, to Anatolia, where it belongs."

AMERICA AND THE PEACE TREATY.

Writing on "The Hesitation of America" in the *Fortnightly Review* (March), Mr. Holford Knight sums up a number of impressions of American public opinion received by him during a recent visit to the States. In brief, this writer is convinced that the matter at the root of America's unwillingness to ratify the Peace Treaty is simply and solely her intense dislike of the old European system of diplomacy, and her suspicion that the Treaty, and even the Covenant, seeks to perpetuate it. "To put the matter plainly, millions of Americans believe they have been argued (through President Wilson's failure to resist) into slavery—slavery to the hated European system, with its secret machinations ostensibly directed to 'national' objects, but used as a screen to cover economic exploitation by favoured groups in the Parliament of the Great Powers."

Writing with this distrust of the Peace Treaty:

The territorial annexations offend American opinion not only by the wrongs they inflict and the revenge they excite, but by the use to which they will be put. The process of "mandates" has ceased to deceive. America is persuaded that under high-flying words these schemes are designed to promote exclusive financial interests. Personages connected with European Governments are believed to be directly associated with these ventures. It is also thought that the machinery of European diplomacy (unknown to the peoples concerned) is used habitually to promote and cover these designs, and that American power and credit is to be relied upon in part to provide international protection. America has no intention of effecting any such insurance.

The distrust is carried over to the Covenant of the League of Nations. The cardinal American objection to the present League is that it is to be used, primarily, to underwrite the revived designs of the old European

diplomacy. It is certain that whatever action the American Senate may take in regard to the Treaty, the territorial and political guarantees contemplated by Article X. of the League Covenant will not be assumed by America, for the reason here given. I argued with American statesmen that Article XX., abrogating understandings and obligations *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant, provided a safeguard against this contingent support of territorial annexations. Such efforts failed. America on no account will accept responsibility for the proposals of European Chauvinists of any nationality.

Also, in connection with the League, the absence of any reference to the freedom of the seas, coupled with the failure of the Paris Conference to consider the reservation, "as promised in the memorandum of the Allied Powers transmitted through President Wilson to the German Government on November 5th, 1918," is held to constitute a breach of what was implied in the Anglo-American discussions before America entered the war.

Nevertheless Mr. Knight regards the present deadlock as only a temporary misfortune which will pass away. He offers some suggestions designed, to facilitate this process. First of all, the unqualified acceptance of the Peace Treaty is "an idle dream."

The only way out is for America to ratify the Peace Treaty, coupled with a declaration of the principles that instrument is expected by America to operate. By this course America assumes her rightful part in the execution of the Treaty while safeguarding herself from participation in, or responsibility for, arrangements she cannot accept. This carries her co-operation in the League, before which at the earliest moment these parts of the Treaty to which she objects must be brought for revision. On these terms I am convinced that American aid can be assured. Otherwise her abstention is certain.

BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT.

Two important articles, by expert authorities, discussing the problems of British rule in Egypt are published this month. In the *Fortnightly Review* Sir Malcolm Mellwraith explains how the prevailing discontent has arisen and refers to memoranda issued by himself to the Government during the war in which he urged the necessity of clearly defining the nature of the British protectorate.

The Protectorate was established by a Proclamation of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs which was published in the *Egyptian Official Journal*, and placarded on the walls of Cairo, on December 18th, 1914, and which stated that "in view of the state of war arising out of the action of Turkey, Egypt was placed under the protection of his Majesty, and would thenceforth constitute a British Protectorate; that the suzerainty of Turkey was terminated; and that His Majesty's Government would defend Egypt and protect its interests and inhabitants." This was supplemented by a further Proclamation, on the following day, deposing the Khedive, Abbas Hilmy II., and replacing him on the throne by his uncle, Prince Hussein Kamel Pasha, under the style and title of Sultan of Egypt.

What the Egyptian people, and more particularly the ruling classes, wanted to know was the degree of intervention that would be exercised thereafter in the internal affairs of Egypt. The critics pointed out that international law invariably restricts the intervention of a protecting power to such matters alone as may be indispensable to safeguard its responsibility to foreign nations. But Sir Malcolm argues that the Protectorate declared in 1914 was in fact no more than a formal regularisation of the military occupation and civil administration of Egypt that had been in existence for thirty-five years. Nevertheless he regards the methods of our procedure in relation to the protectorate as unfortunate and ill-advised. He pointed out to the Government soon afterwards, in his official capacity at the Ministry of Justice in Cairo, that

if no steps are taken to place British control upon a more definite basis, it is probable that the government of the country, far from becoming easier under the new Protectorate, will become increasingly difficult. It is impossible to ignore the fact that there is a profound and growing tendency on the part of the more enlightened—or rather, of the

better educated—classes of the population to demand increased powers for existing representative institutions, and further and constant eliminations for all the foreign elements in the Administration.

But his representations were unheeded. The destinies of Egypt were at that crucial moment to all intents and purposes in the sole charge of a *locum tenens* at the British Agency. This indeed invariably happened in Egypt before the war, during the summer and early autumn. That a country of some twelve or thirteen million inhabitants should be habitually governed, so far as the real authority was concerned, for some three or four months every year by a Councillor of Embassy, or even a First Secretary in the Diplomatic Service, was a scandal which could not be defended. Sir Malcolm points out that there should at least have been associated with him a Commission of Advisers or other experienced officials whom he should have been obliged to consult.

My submission is, he concludes, that, in view of the peculiar complexity of Egyptian affairs, which are quite as difficult as those of India and necessitate an intimate acquaintance with the country for their comprehension, the Government Department responsible in future for whatever degree of control is retained over the Egyptian Government—and it is to be hoped that it will be substantial—should be assisted by some independent council or body of expert advisers, without whose co-operation it should not in matters of importance, be at liberty to act.

In the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Cyril Goodman, late Assistant Director-General of the Egyptian Public Health Department, suggests a number of constructive proposals for the better government of Egypt during the transition from its present status to self-government. At the present time there are two separate governing bodies in Egypt. The one consists of the Egyptian Council of Ministers, with the Sultan as President, the official body to which all power nominally belongs. The other consists of the High Commissioner, the advisers to the various ministries, and any other of the higher British officials the High Commissioner may desire to consult.

This body is quite unofficial and informal, keeps no records of its decisions and cannot in theory issue any official orders, but is

practice it is all-powerful. The former represents the Egyptian, the latter the British point of view. The amount of influence possessed by each of these two bodies depends upon the policy in force at the moment. At times the decisions of one body are simply sent to the other to be registered and promulgated officially; at times the official council of Ministers is allowed practically a free hand. In case of difference of opinion between these two bodies a sort of diplomatic negotiation takes place, the final decision resting with the High Commissioner, with or without reference to the Foreign Office.

This arrangement, clumsy enough as a temporary makeshift, combines almost all the possible disadvantages which a permanent system could possess. It divides the two chief influences of the Government into two separate and potentially hostile camps. The abolition of this dual system and its supersession by a single official body including both British and Egyptian officials is urgently called for. This body would be a Council similar to the Indian Council, under the presidency of the High Commissioner. Its members would be the Egyptian minister and the British adviser.

This Council would constitute the Government of Egypt, and within it would be fought out all such differences as might arise; it would be in fact at once the symbol and the foundation of the whole new system. It should keep itself in close touch with the legislative body; its members should be *ex-officio* members of the legislature and they should, at least in the case of Egyptians, habitually attend its meetings; Egyptian Ministers should be chosen to a great extent for their ability as speakers and debaters and should wherever possible be selected from amongst the ablest and most reliable members of the legislative body.

A complete change would thus take place in the position of the High Commissioner. He would no longer be a perplexed and irresponsible autocrat acting as arbiter in disputes which he imperfectly understood. He would act as his own Foreign Minister, his present diplomatic staff being transferred to the existing Egyptian Foreign Office for that purpose, and replaced in their present functions by the permanent staff of the new Council.

One of the chief consequences of this change will be to divest the Sultan of all political power, and to confine his position to that of a constitutional monarch. As compensation and to maintain his prestige as the titular head of the Egyptian nation, it will be necessary to improve his ceremonial position: the

palace must cease to be either a centre of intrigue for discontented Egyptians or a gathering place for second-rate Europeans. The most profound respect both for the person of the sovereign and for the ceremonies of the Palace should be required from British and Egyptians alike; this could best be done by appointing a British diplomatist of rank equivalent to Councillor of Embassy to the highest post in the household of the Sultan. His duties would include the maintenance of the dignity of the sovereign by gathering at Court all the best elements of the Egyptian upper classes, and he would also accompany the sovereign at all official ceremonies and would be responsible for all his official utterances.

One of the chief duties of the British administrator during the interim will be to find suitable Egyptians for all the posts in his administration, to train them when found and to promote them wherever possible.

The field of development of Parliamentary Government in Egypt is not promising, as most Egyptians who have held high office would readily admit. A much needed sphere of Parliamentary activity can be opened up by allowing the legislative body to be the judge of the nature and extent of all new duties to be laid upon the local authorities. The condition of Egypt is peculiarly favourable to the adoption of such a scheme. Not only is the existing local taxation so light as to be almost negligible, but the most urgent need for reform lies almost entirely within the sphere of local government activity. Unfortunately both the legislative body and the Provincial Council as at present constituted in no way represent the local life of the community. The members consist principally of large landowners with no particular interest in or knowledge of local administration. The village community is the true unit of administration as it is the real centre of local life; it must be made the unit constituency both for the local authorities and the national legislative body.

Mr. Goodman argues that a legislature and local authorities so constituted, working in the closest co-operation with the benevolent assistance of a strong central government, would give Egypt the best possible introduction to Parliamentary government, and that the men who come to the front under such a scheme would be the future leaders of a self-governing Egypt.

THE NEW FRENCH PRESIDENT.

The election of M. Paul Eugène Louis Deschanel to the French Presidency gave this country a slight shock. It seemed almost incredible that so typical a Frenchman and so admirable a European statesman as M. Clemenceau should have had to give place to any compatriot, however accomplished and however experienced in the niceties of political office. M. Clemenceau had won the election; why should he not have won the Presidency of the State where for four years he had been a popular hero? We accepted the event as indicating a sudden revolt against the ex-Premier on account of his handling of the international situation. So, in a sense, it was. But M. Deschanel's election was due to more than that.

Mr. Sisley Huddleston's article "Paul Deschanel" in the *Contemporary Review* (March) supplies a clue to the mystery. The President's life has been "a straight march to the Chief Citizenship." "Just as constitutional Kings are trained from boyhood to suppress what in them is too obtrusively personal, are educated to be all things to all men, to offend nobody, to please everybody, so by a singularly happy fate has France found for the difficult years ahead the one man who is truly representative in the sense that he will accommodate himself to the vastly varied forces which may make themselves felt. . . . When the storm comes he will bend to it; M. Clemenceau would probably have been broken." Such a man "simply could not be ignored." One is very apt in this country to think of the French President's position as analogous to that of the President of the United States. As a matter of fact it is much more like that of King George V. When one has grasped this truth, it is much easier to perceive the logic of the choice of Paul Deschanel. Mr. Huddleston writes:

When one puts him beside his rival, M. Clemenceau, one sees clearly that although the chances were greatly in favour of M. Clemenceau, nothing but a sense of the dramatic would have been satisfied by the appointment of the aged statesman. He would indeed have reached the *Elysée* by accident—by a tremendous accident, by the accident of a great war and by his own ser-

vices in the latter war years—but still an accident; and if his popularity had indeed carried him shoulder-high to the coveted position, there is no doubt that he would have violated all the rules, have shocked all expectations, would have destroyed the idea of the Presidency. His past particularly unfitted him for that post; he is the rebel, the critic, the fighter, and an aggressively personal ruler when in power. M. Deschanel is the opposite of all this; his past particularly fitted him for the post; he has an intense respect for all authority, he is the eulogist, the conciliator, the man who will sink his personality in order to retain power.

I am not contrasting them from the point of view of comparative greatness—whatever that word may mean—but only in respect of their suitability for the presidency. And in this respect there simply is no comparison—the only argument in favour of M. Clemenceau was the sentimental argument that he had *bien mérité de la patrie*: but as a witty though malicious Frenchman put it, the *Elysée* is not the Pantheon.

M. Deschanel is the son of a Republican father, and he was nourished on the ancient doctrines of Republicanism. These included the art of classic oratory, moral maxims, exalted political principles, and a love of literature. His official life has been very varied, and it has endowed him with one special qualification.

M. Deschanel has a long and exact experience of foreign politics. He was perhaps the best *Président de la Commission des Affaires Étrangères* that the *Palais Bourbon* has known. The post is of great importance; it demands the most precise knowledge, the most extreme prudence. It is recalled that as long ago as 1883 M. Deschanel was the advocate of the alliance with Russia, and warmly espoused the Entente with England. I will not attempt to follow his policy in detail, but, in a word, he has always striven for friendships in the international domain, and he is genuinely devoted to the League of Nations. Of this there is no doubt; though it is also true that he allowed his patriotic ardour to carry him so far as to demand a policy of the breaking-up of Germany, as he predicted the breaking-up of Austria. It is possible that the results of the Austrian smash have caused him to modify his ideas; at any rate, it was made a reproach against him that he did not actively work for the destruction of the German Empire during the year of peace-making. He showed a prudent reserve, and is not likely now to pursue a policy of blind hostility to the sick Power whose fate, after all, is linked with that of France.

BOLSHEVIK ECONOMY.

Very little is known of Russian industry and finance since the Bolsheviks seized the reins of government, and Lenin has taken good care that as little information as possible on these subjects should reach foreign countries. A Dr. Erwin Respondek, however, recently gave to the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* what purports to be an account of the position up to the middle of last year, and a translation of his article is published in the *Contemporary Review* (February). Briefly, the Bolsheviks in November, 1917, inherited a war debt of nearly 50,000 millions of roubles, of which 10,000 to 12,000 millions are owed to Great Britain and other foreign countries. But inasmuch as they have stopped paying interest since 1917, this does not greatly trouble them. In the meantime, however, they have added enormously to their heavy internal debt, as the following budgets show:—

EXPENDITURE.

	Roubles.
Jan. 1st to June 30th, 1918 ...	17,602,000,000
July 1st to Dec. 31st, 1918 ...	29,074,000,000
	46,676,000,000

RECEIPTS.

	Roubles.
Jan. 1st to June 30th, 1918 ...	2,852,000,000
July 1st to Dec. 31st, 1918 ...	12,730,000,000
	15,582,000,000

According to this, the deficit for this year would amount to some 31 milliards of roubles. That for the next half-year is approximately 30 milliards. The latter figures, however, are chiefly interesting in regard to the items of expenditure, which shed a good deal of light on Bolshevik economic policy, as well as a striking increase over the previous figures.

Expenditure in millions of Roubles.

	1st Half-year, 1919.	2nd Half-year, 1918.
Army	12,180	7,000
Foodstuffs	8,153	3,000
Nationalization of Industries	5,162	800
Supreme Industrial Council, Agriculture	6,346	1,700
Ministry of Culture, Health Board, Social Welfare	7,471	—
Interest to the State Exchange	1,625	—

The heavy expenditure on the "Supreme Industrial Council" leads the writer of the article to some interesting conclusions. It points to the fact that the Bolsheviks not only adhere to the nationalization principle, but are resolved to extend it, though more quietly and systematically than before. The Industrial Council is a Department of State, and the highest authority in the industrial sphere. The so-called Central Boards for the leather, sugar, wool, and other industries work, according to its instructions and decisions. "Every individual factory again is managed by a directorate on the spot, . . . of representatives of the workers, . . . the technical and economic experts, and delegates from the Supreme Industrial Council, each in the proportion of one-third." But these bodies no longer have the political power they once possessed—and used for capricious interference with the capitalist of the concern—but work in accordance with their single instruction "to raise the productive power of labour to the utmost."

This policy of nationalization is closely related to the desperate condition of the currency. Indeed it is hoped that by carrying it sufficiently far the currency problem will be solved altogether.

According to a statement in *Pravda*, the average monthly issue of notes in the current year is 2.5 milliard roubles, so that on the third anniversary of Bolshevik rule there will be a total circulation of some 80 milliard roubles, that is 160 milliard marks, if the old gold value of the mark is taken as the basis of exchange. In addition to the banknotes issued by the Russian State Bank, there are the issues of towns and provinces. This local money, together with false money, is said to amount to a very large sum. There is a further point to be considered in connection with Russian currency: the large variety of notes. Four different sets of notes are current together: the Tsarist rouble, the Duma rouble, the Kerenski rouble, and now a purely Bolshevik note. The difference between all these types consists solely in their colour and design, for none of them have a basis of reality. This variety and excessive amount of money, emphasised in the home market by the various values of the notes (the Tsarist rouble has the highest exchange value), has destroyed the currency. It is true that the Bolsheviks are now trying to purify their paper money circulation, but that alone will not solve the currency question. For the time

being their financial strength and their industry are based on the paper rouble. If once the rouble falls in value to zero, then the Budget exists only on paper. This condition would be in harmony with the Bolshevik theory of money. But the Russian Minister of Finance, Krestinski, declared that he wished to pass over to a pure "Budget of commodities." By nationalizing industry as a whole, he hoped to produce such a surplus of food, clothing, and other goods, that the exchange of commodities could take the place of money through money; this would solve the currency problem.

"Then, too, the international value of the rouble would recover with equal ease. But there is no reason to expect this. For the present nothing can be reported of foreign trade with Bolshevik Russia." Nor, obviously, in spite of the Allies' decision to re-open trade through the Co-

operative Societies, can there be much progress till Lenin establishes better relations with the foreigners, and gives some practical proof of his willingness, which he has repeatedly declared, to pay his foreign debts. Another question arises: Are the Bolsheviks really making the end of the capitalistic system their prime objective? We are told that "fresh anti-capitalistic steps have been taken." But it is also reported that very considerable concessions have been promised to American capitalists—probably the most truly capitalistic capitalists in the world—if they will but come and exploit Russian resources. It really looks as if Lenin were trying to destroy the system and encourage it at one and the same time!

JAPAN'S FOOD TROUBLES.

What bread is to the Western world, rice is to Japan. Recently, rice riots in the latter country have called the attention of the Japanese Government to the importance of increasing the supply of home-grown rice, and various ways of effecting this have been proposed; amongst others, land reclamation and the utilization of land now used for other purposes and lying waste, and the further employment of fertilisers. The reasons for the present scarcity and the position generally are dealt with by Mr. F. Miyamobo in an article on "Japan's Food Scarcity" in *The Japan Magazine*.

The cardinal fact is that consumption has increased and will increase. During the war Japan was able to export certain foodstuffs, but this was only a temporary phenomenon, and she is now obliged to import. In the case of rice, the home production last year was between 250,000,000 and 260,000,000 bushels; yet approximately 100,000,000 *yen* was spent on imports of this cereal. As the population is increasing at the rate of nearly a million a year, the expansion of rice imports is a foregone.

Will the Japanese people even accept a substitute for rice?

The question as to whether the Japanese will ever prefer other food to rice is, as we

have already said, no one open to discussion at present, not only for reasons given, but for other and even more potent reasons, principally in the direction of economy and convenience. Not only do the Japanese prefer rice to all other general food, but they like it even better than Westerners like bread; and even if they substituted bread they could not find side dishes to eat with bread so cheaply as they can find such dishes to eat with rice. The chief side dishes to eat with rice are bean soup, horse radish, and pickles, none of which could be eaten with bread, which requires butter, jam or meat, and fish, all of which are much more expensive in Japan than the side dishes for rice. Not only so, but from an agriculture point of view, rice can be raised in Japan more plentifully and successfully than other cereals, owing to the extent of paddy fields. These considerations militate very seriously against any possibility of substituting bread or other cereals for rice in this country. But rice continues to be the staple food of Japan how is the yield to keep pace with consumption?

During the years from 1912 to 1919 the price of the cereal rose from *yen* 20.76 per five bushels to about *yen* 87. A large part of this increase is due simply to under-production; but it is also owing to the fact that foreign rice is only eaten when the home-grown product cannot be obtained. Consequently rice imports had very little effect on the price of the domestic product. This conservation militates against the prospect of immediate relief.

THE RECOVERY OF BELGIUM.

Most of us have heard—and that with genuine satisfaction—of immense progress made by Belgium in the work of post-war reconstruction. She can be said, indeed, to have done more towards her complete rehabilitation than any one of her Allies can justly claim as regards their own countries; notwithstanding the fact that her initial disadvantages were heavier than anybody else's since, industrially speaking, the Germans stripped her of very nearly everything that was worth taking away. How has she effected this recovery, and what steps has she actually taken to put her house in order? The answer to these questions may be found in two articles contributed to the March reviews.

The first of these, entitled "The Recovery of Belgium," is written by M. Emile Cammaerts, and appears in the *Contemporary*. During the first weeks after the Armistice there was a disposition among Belgians not to worry themselves unduly about the future; they still regarded themselves as the all-deserving heroes of 1914, to whom immense credits would be opened, and unlimited supplies sent, by grateful Britain and America. Naturally there followed a period of disillusion. Her Allies were over-occupied with their internal difficulties; scarcely any raw material arrived at Antwerp or Ghent; and the cost of living rose substantially. To make matters worse, Belgium's belief in a glorious political future received a rude shock by the substitution of Geneva for Brussels as the seat of the League of Nations, and by the treatment of her affairs by the Paris Conference.

Then, however, her war debts were remitted by her Allies, a first instalment of £100,000,000 on the war indemnities was promised her, and hope, accompanied by a practical determination to set to work, revived.

The first task to be undertaken was the restoration of the means of communication.

The success achieved in this direction by the Ministry of Railways, under the strong control of Monsieur Renkin, is by far the most striking feature of Belgian revival. In 1913, 3,300 trains ran every day on the Belgian railway system, carrying an average of 250,000 tons. At the time of the Armistice all bridges and double-tracked lines north and west of Brussels were completely or partially destroyed over a distance of a thousand miles, the signalling system was out of order all over the country, most of the rolling stock had been taken away, and there were only 500 engines left in the country. In December, 1919, 90 per cent. of the goods traffic was restored, and an average of 171,000 tons per day was being carried. Within twelve months, in spite of the difficulty of getting back from Germany either the Belgian rolling stock or German waggons, in spite of many obstacles arising from labour difficulties and lack of building material, the whole Belgian railway system with the exception of a few secondary lines, whose total length does not exceed thirty miles, was again in full activity, the only noticeable change being the reduced speed of the trains, owing to signalling difficulties.

Within a few months the canals had been cleared and the road system, which had been damaged or destroyed over a length of 1,000 miles, practically restored, so that Belgium found herself in possession of all her means of communication long before her trade and industry were ready to make full use of them. But the passenger services were at once taken advantage of by crowds of Belgians eager to travel freely after having been so long hampered in their movements.

The contrast between the Belgian and our own handling of the transport problem is certainly not flattering to our national pride!

The worst handicap in Belgium has been the deliberate destruction by the Germans of industrial plant. The removal of machinery was not so serious, since the Germans left card indexes behind them, and it was possible to locate and retrieve the stolen articles within a few months. But the total ruin of such iron and coal works as those of John Cockerill, near Liège, and those in Hainault and Charleroi, was a different matter. Nevertheless, taking all industries together, 76 per cent. of the pre-war personnel are at present employed. The following table shows the order in which the various industries approach the pre-war standard.

Food industries	89 per cent. of 1914 personnel	
Building	86	" "
Art and Instruments	82	" "
Glass	81	" "
Paper	78	" "
Books	76	" "
Tobacco	75	" "
Chemicals	74	" "
Ceramic	71	" "
Clothing	67	" "
Woodwork and Furniture	66	" "
Metal	64	" "
Textiles	61	" "
Skins and Leather	58	" "
Quarries	57	" "

Among the food industries, it may be noticed that the sugar factories have already exceeded the pre-war production, and are able to export.

Only in housing has Belgium failed, as yet, to make much headway; this matter, according to M. Cammaerts was deliberately postponed until the question of transport had been dealt with.

Meanwhile, as Mr. Julius Price, writing on "The Reconstruction of Belgium" in the *Fortnightly* (March), points out, the question of temporarily sheltering the houseless population of the devastated areas has been partly solved by the erection of wooden barraques; "but the accommodation so far is totally inadequate to meet the demands." Mr. Price does not take so cheerful a view of the progress made as does M. Cammaerts. He remarks upon a certain lethargy in the authorities, and a very varying degree of energy in different districts.

Whilst in some places rehabilitation has been undertaken with remarkable energy, the only traces of devastation being the numbers of new buildings one sees on all sides—in others the magnitude of the task facing them appears to have quite sapped the activity of the people, with the result that grass is rapidly obliterating the ruins left by the Germans.

But he acknowledges that a triumph has been achieved in the re-building and re-organisation of the railway system; and he admits that "there is a noticeably general effort to get over the difficulty," and notes that "Brussels to-day, in spite of the high cost of living, does not appear to be at all depressed." But as regards the capital,

a somewhat curious state of affairs exists:

there is a wave of speculation about, and everyone who can scrape together a few francs seems to be taking a hand in the game. Industrial shares, the exchange—all, in fact, that presents a sporting chance of "making a bit." One is constantly overhearing "Stock Exchange talk" in railway carriages and other places. I was told by a *bourgeois* that many people are making quite a good living out of the fluctuation in the franc on foreign exchanges, hence the amount of money so many apparently ordinary people have to spend on cars and other luxuries.

A visit to Antwerp disclosed more healthy symptoms. He noticed

an enormous amount of preparation in readiness for the speedy revival in the trade of the Port, for during the war, owing to the closing of the Scheldt, activity in Antwerp came to a standstill, so there is a deal of leeway to make up. This will be gathered from the following figures taken from the official report. In the first seven months of 1914, 4,129 ships entered the Port, with a tonnage of 8,311,064 tons. In December, 1919, 436 vessels entered and cleared tonnage 636,848, of which 330 ships cleared with cargoes and 135 with ballast. Calculating on the average tonnage, we get an advance of about 100,000 tons of laden vessels in December over November, a very healthy sign, as will be agreed. Otherwise, conditions in the town itself apparently approximate to those in the capital.

Again, he was impressed by the prosperity of Charleroi, where the Boche did little damage.

Every factory or mine is in full swing to-day. Manufacturers of tissues have enough work for the next three years, and will not accept any more orders! The same thing is told you with regard to glass, iron works, electrical plant and machinery.

Never has there been such prosperity among the working classes as at present. There are no unemployed in Charleroi—unless a man does not want to work, you are told—pauperism is unknown, and charity organisations no longer exist. The money that is being earned by every class of worker here would have appeared fabulous in pre-war days: 17 to 20 francs per day for miners; labourers in the metal works, 13 francs; in the glass factories, 260 to 280 per month, with an eight-hour day, and double pay when working on Sundays.

The result of all this is that the *bourgeois* has been quite displaced by the *ouvrier*—who spends his money as easily as he earns it; only the best on the market satisfies his wife, and in the evening he crowds the cafés and cinemas.

Mr. Price does not display the same optimism as M. Cammaerts, but his facts point to the same conclusion—that Belgium is at least on the high road to a wonderful recovery.

WHY SUGAR IS SCARCE.

An exhaustive analysis of the causes that have produced the present scarcity of sugar is contributed by Mr. Albert Atwood to the *American Review of Reviews* (February). He points out that as the great masses of the East in China, India and Japan become more free and independent a large expansion is to be expected in the consumption of sugar. The use of sugar has shown a fairly steady increase for fifty years, and it always goes up with prosperity and high wages. Even before the war the production of sugar reached the enormous total of 17 million tons a year, and the food administration ranked it close up to wheat and beef in importance as a food product. Mr. Atwood notes that there are many signs that the consumption of sugar in America has been increased by prohibition. In plain language, he says, the trouble with sugar is that the world's demand far exceeds the supply. For sugar is a world crop like wheat and cotton, and prices at all times are intimately related to the international conditions. Most of the important countries of the world normally have either a large surplus or deficit of sugar, England and the United States usually having annual deficits of from two to three million tons.

Under normal conditions, England, which up to the war had been relatively the greatest consumer in the world, bought 60 per cent. of her sugar supplies from Germany and Austria. The war naturally stopped that. France had partly taken care of herself, but, roughly speaking, two-thirds of her beet sugar factories were in the war zone, and it is said that 85 per cent. of these were destroyed. The same was true of Belgium.

In Europe, as a whole, from 1914 to 1919 the production of sugar fell off 4,573,515 tons, or about the amount of the entire consumption in this country. The falling-off amounted to about a million tons each in Germany, Austria, and Russia. Two-thirds of the entire source of supply in Europe was within the battle lines.

Allowing for the normal yearly increase in consumption and the actual falling-off in production, the world is probably short some

four or five million tons of what it might use in the way of sugar. Cuba and Java are the only countries which have increased production, but Java sugar is pretty well snapped up in the Far East. India is a very large sugar producer, but solely for domestic consumption, and its last year's crop was disappointingly small.

At first England turned to tropical islands, including Java. But as the war went on, shipping became too scarce to bring sugar all the way from Java. More and more England had to draw upon Cuba. Formerly Cuba had marketed its entire crop in this country. Soon Cuba had two anxious purchasers, with a third—France—looking on eagerly, where before it had had one indifferent purchaser who had known that the Cuban producers must come to it sooner or later. In 1918-19, Europe (chiefly England) took one-third of the Cuban crop, although before the war it had taken practically none.

Thus the whole weight of sugar production for this part of the world was thrown on Cuba, practically speaking: for while sugar is raised in the Hawaiian Islands, Porto Rico, and Louisiana, as well as from beets in our own West, the Cuban production so exceeds that of any other place as to dominate the world market since the closing of Russia and Germany. Furthermore, its ability to increase production in a period of extreme scarcity gave Cuba another powerful lever. It found itself almost with a monopoly.

During the war, producers, refiners, dealers—all the various factors in the industry—must be compelled to keep prices down. But control is now over, to all practical purposes, and the natural laws of supply and demand are asserting themselves. Prices in this country during the war were kept artificially low, lower than the world price, and this fact stimulated exports of all the available sugar not owned by the Government, and also tended to stimulate consumption.

One sugar broker said to Mr. Atwood that "the Cubans are now eating from gold instead of silver plates," and there is no doubt that they have made enormous profits by seizing the opportunity presented to them. However, the cost of producing sugar in Cuba has at least doubled, or nearly trebled, within five years. The United States Government last summer could have bought the entire Cuban sugar crop of this winter and spring at a price of about 6½ cents per pound. But the purchase was not made, and foreign buying together with the direct purchases from America have sent the price up much higher.

SHOULD WE HAVE A NICKEL COINAGE ?

The recent rise in the price of silver has led to much discussion as to the advisability of making a change in our coinage system. Two proposals are now under consideration. The one is to adulterate the silver used by the Mint to an extent that will restore the actual value of the metal in a silver coin to the level of its face value; that is, to make the shilling once more worth a shilling's worth of metal, or preferably rather less, instead of the fourteen pence odd that it is worth now. The alternative is to substitute a pure nickel coinage, or an alloy of nickel and copper, for the silver.

In *The World's Work* (March) Mr. Jasper Lockett advances the case of "Pure Nickel Coins." He points out that with the exception of Great Britain and Canada and the Scandinavian countries, practically all the important countries of the world have adopted the principle of nickel coinage. Then, the difficulties that were formerly experienced in melting and rolling pure nickel have now been overcome. The London and Manchester Chamber of Commerce have recently passed resolutions in favour of nickel being employed for coins of small denomination; and indeed, from the economic standpoint, the change is incontrovertibly desirable. At present the Mint is producing its silver coinage at a loss, instead of a profit, which means simply that the national exchequer is a loser by some millions of pounds that would otherwise be devoted to the relief of taxation. Again, in present circumstances there is a strong temptation to unscrupulous persons to acquire all the

silver coins possible with a view to melting them down and selling them as silver at a higher price. This has happened in Germany to such an extent that silver coins have now entirely disappeared from circulation.

The only question therefore to be considered is whether the new coinage should be pure nickel or nickel-copper. As will be seen from the tables at foot of page, pure nickel is more expensive.

On the other hand, pure nickel, compared with silver, is sufficiently cheap to be minted at a considerable profit, and it has certain practical advantages over the other. In this connection, Mr. Lockett summarises a historical and critical survey of the Swiss nickel coinage which was issued last year by the Director of the Swiss Mint. The conclusion arrived at by this authority is that pure nickel "may be regarded as the ideal metal of low value for coinage purposes" for the following, among other reasons:

Pure nickel coins have been definitely proved to be superior to all other coins as regards resistance to abrasion. They "wear," as people say, about twenty times as long as coins of aluminium alloy, about ten times as long as coins of silver, about five times as long as coins of copper-nickel. In short, speaking generally, they are as nearly indestructible as can be.

Pure nickel coins do not oxidise. That is to say, they are free from the green disadvantages from which our English brass coins suffer. Everybody is familiar with the dirty appearance of these coins, but it is not, perhaps, so generally known that this is due to oxidation of the copper, commonly known as verdigris, a poison that may easily be conveyed to the mouth. As a matter of fact it

COMPARATIVE WEIGHT AND COST OF NICKEL, NICKEL-COPPER, AND SILVER COINS

DESCRIPTION OF PIECES.	PURE NICKEL.			NICKEL-COPPER.			SILVER.		
	Pieces per ton.	1,000,000 Pieces.		Pieces per ton.	1,000,000 Pieces.		Pieces per ton.	1,000,000 Pieces.	
		Weight.	Cost.		Weight.	Cost.		Weight.	Cost.
One Shilling	213,333	Tons. 4.668	£ 1,008	208,066	Tons. 4.783	£ 698	179,672	Tons. 5.565	£ 59,840
One Sixpence	426,666	2.344	504	418,133	2.3915	349	359,344	2.782	29,920
One Threepence	853,333	1.172	252	836,266	1.1957	175	718,688	1.391	14,960

has been claimed for pure nickel that it is more sanitary even than silver owing to its hard quality.

Pure nickel coins are almost as brilliant in appearance as coins of silver. Furthermore, this original brilliance lasts practically indefinitely, in especial contrast with coins of copper-nickel which, after a few years' wear, become dull and yellowish in colour. Everybody who is familiar with countries (such as France and Italy) where coins of pure nickel and copper-nickel are in simultaneous circulation will have remarked the great difference between them in this respect.

Pure nickel coins are practically impossible to counterfeit. Lack of brilliance or magnetic quality follows the use of any alloy, so that a counterfeiter must necessarily have recourse to pure nickel. But pure nickel is

difficult to melt owing to the high temperature required, and even more difficult to prepare suitably for blanks. Consequently a counterfeiter would have to acquire an expensive plant and raise a great deal of capital. Thus, even if his scheme could be made profitable at all, it would certainly be frustrated by the publicity inevitably attendant on his preparations.

The writer pleads that nickel should make a special appeal to us "because it is one of the few metals entirely produced within the British Empire—Canadian mines being responsible for some 80 per cent. of the world's output, and refining works being found in the United Kingdom itself."

THE RUSSIAN THEATRE.

In the *Fortnightly Review* for March Mr. John Pollock gives an interesting account of his impressions of the Russian theatre as he saw it before the Bolshevik revolution. The organisation of the Russian Theatre, he says, being dictated by the immense size of the country is not quite like anything else we know in Europe. In Russia there is no regular touring system, such as has developed under similar geographical conditions in America. Petrograd and Moscow each have their State Opera House and Theatre, supplemented by a special popular state supported theatre, known from before the revolution as the People's House. Petrograd has two other theatres, one for comic opera and the other where French comedy alternates with classical drama of various countries. Beyond these the two capitals have scarcely three sizeable private theatres each. Variety theatres on the modern scale are unknown, but Petrograd and Moscow both support large and permanent circuses.

The State Theatres have permanent companies; so has the Artistic Theatre of Moscow; other private theatres in the capitals renew their companies each season, and this is the practice followed by provincial theatres. The season lasts from September till Lent; Lent and Easter constitute a separate short season, for which theatres are frequently taken by different managers; and after Easter life stops altogether in those known as "winter" theatres, and in Petro-

grad and Moscow and all over the country freshly combined companies appear before the public in "summer" theatres, which are frequently buildings of wood in gardens offering as further attractions variety entertainers and divers side-shows. Besides restaurants and tea-houses where citizens may disport themselves on the warm light evenings. There is one house in Petrograd where the summer abuts on the winter theatre, the same stage being used for both, but the back wall, of brick, being taken down after Easter and rebuilt where the footlights stand in winter. In the provinces every town has one summer and one winter theatre, and the larger cities, like Kiev, two or three. In the capitals, except in the subsidised theatres, the long-run system is coming into practice, but in the provinces repertory work is universal. The bill is changed every night. Sunday is the chief theatre-going day, when every manager looks to have his house full. Matinees are only given during Christmas and on other holidays.

It might be thought that the immense size of Russia and the length of travel from one town to another would encourage the development of local dramatic talent, but in practice this is not so.

Unity is maintained by the strong Actors' Union of Moscow, which, in addition to protecting the interests of its members, acts as agent for obtaining them employment and as a sort of clearing-house for managers, and by the almost autocratic Union of Dramatic Authors, which has a representative in every town in Russia, and is the sole agent for collecting royalties. Except in the case of productions of unprinted plays, these consist

of a fixed fee per act, and throughout the provinces managers have the right, without any negotiation, to perform plays that have been produced and printed.

Consequently the importance of the provinces in the Russian theatrical world is very great. A play is successfully produced in Petrograd. It is immediately printed and acted perhaps ten times during the season in each of a hundred provincial theatres. This gives in the course of six months the equivalent of nearly three years continuous touring by a single company.

Royalties are low, and there are probably no Russian dramatists who make the fortunes amassed by their lucky English *confrères*; but there are undoubtedly far more than among us who make a respectable living out of writing or translating for the stage. For the actor, too, the Russian provincial system has great advantages. A good actor has an enormous field of activity open to him. He is less dependent upon the taste or prejudice of the metropolitan managers. The wide demand for talent brings up salaries to a distinctly higher point than with us, when the regularity of work is taken into account.

In discussing the results of these conditions Mr. Pollock declares that, generally speaking, the theatre exists on a repertory ten or fifteen years old. This is particularly true of the Artistic Theatre which was founded in Moscow by Stanislavsky as a protest against the vulgarity of the Imperial productions in Petrograd more than a quarter of a century ago.

A few plays have been added, but Chehov continues to furnish the *pièces de résistance*. This cannot be healthy for a theatre. Chehov is not so classic or strong an author that a great theatre can live by him alone. On the contrary, he was peculiarly representative of his epoch, and while depicting the traits of his time and class with delicious art, lets go by much of the broad stream of Russian life, to say nothing of problems that vex the world beyond its borders. In so far as it still relies upon Chehov, the Artistic Theatre is in danger of becoming a backwater.

Chehov has had a further influence on the Artistic Theatre, also not a good one. To produce their perfect effect his plays require a uniform, as it were, grey quality in the acting that from dialogue, often apparently trivial, creates a cumulative impression of deep feeling. If brilliant acting is devoted to them they become meaningless, and, in fact, we see that *The Seagull* produced by the Imperial Theatre in Petrograd failed completely: Stanislavsky made it a lasting success. But the method he perfected for

Chehov, applied to most other plays, results in monotony and bore.

He pays a fine tribute to the Imperial Theatre of Moscow, known as the Little Theatre in contrast with the Opera House. He describes it as the best theatre in Russia, and one of the best in the world. Taste in plays, in Russia, he declares to be superior to that in England, because where subsidised theatres exist a standard is kept, and a constant process of education goes on that spreads far beyond the walls of the actual theatre.

Of British authors, Oscar Wilde, Pinero, and Bernard Shaw, whose new plays always prove an attraction, are the most widely known, but Barrie, Somerset Maugham, Sutro, and others also are played, and adaptations from Dickens, with whose novels every educated Russian is acquainted.

The organisation of the theatre throughout Russia in stock companies of which there must be two hundred or more has, besides the merit of providing much well paid work for actors, that of rendering them remarkably quick at their work.

A further result of the universality of the stock company is the creation of a special class of actors, who, either for racial reasons or because of their strong liberal opinions or their personality or temperament, are too important to be engaged even as leaders of a big provincial theatre where they would overbalance the company.

These, then, are engaged to give special performances with local companies, sometimes in the capitals, sometimes in large provincial towns, or sometimes themselves run isolated seasons with temporary companies or make extended tours through Russia and Siberia. They receive very large salaries, as much as a thousand roubles (when fifteen roubles equalled a pound sterling) having been paid to Davydov and offered to Madame Yavorska for each of ten performances. They are usually invited to restore the finances or the prestige of a theatre in need of a fillip, and losses on a bad season may be entirely recouped by a week with a successful gastroler, such will be the business done at raised prices.

But this results in some of the best Russian actors occasionally living in retirement for months together, and has the further disadvantage that these eminent artists seldom have the chance to study new parts.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

During February German attention, so far as foreign affairs are concerned, was apart from the result of the first plebiscite which gave the first Schleswig zone to Denmark almost exclusively rivetted on two questions, that of the attitude of the Allies to the discussion over the trial of the "war-criminals" and, secondly, the prospects of peace between the Russian Republic and any of the European countries. As regards the first the details are well-known from the daily press—the refusal of Baron von Lersner to transmit the list of accused persons, about 900 in number, the German Government's disavowal of his action but none the less clear intimation that they, too, could not proceed to the arrest of military and naval "heroes," such as Hindenburg, Ludendorff, von Tirpitz and von Capelle, the hints of moderation in Paris and London and the suggestions for a compromise which would satisfy the Allied demands and yet not endanger the German Government's position—a subject that was still under discussion at the close of the month. What has not been made quite so clear in the newspapers is the fact that German opinion showed itself, on this question, more at one than on any other since the Revolution. The motives, of course, were varied. On the Right the note struck was one of pure defiance, in official circles and those of the majority parties generally the reason for opposition was political inexpediency, while on the extreme Left the fear was lest the Allies, by being inflexible in their demands, might not find the first of nationalism and reaction. A typical moderate German view was expressed in *Die Hilfe* for February 12th:

We cannot deliver up the German citizens whose names appear on the enemy's list, because any attempt to do so would stir up civil war. Since last May, when the German people arose in anger and wrath against the terms of the Peace Treaty, forced on us in defiance of all promises made us before and on the occasion of the Armistice—since that time Germany has never been so united as on this question of the delivery of the "war criminals." Whether the Entente will draw from this unanimous refusal the conclusion

that it can be dangerous for the victor to draw the bow too tightly is not yet clear. Lloyd George's change of front—he has always been an excellent barometer of the state of British popular feeling—only proves at present that the opposition of prudent and just men in England is so strong that the statesmen, who have hitherto found their surest support in overheated chauvinism, are now being compelled to change their opinion.

On Russian policy a significant change took place in Germany in the course of the month. The German official attitude had hitherto been one of aloofness from Bolshevik Russia, an apparent—if not always a real—waiting on Entente policy. But during February the Bolshevik envoy in Berlin, Kopp, was called into consultation by the Government, at first on the question of German prisoners in Russia. Later it looked as if commercial negotiations might be entered upon, and although this probability was not translated into certainty by the end of February it is sufficient to say that the comments of several of the most influential German papers, headed by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, were an indication that Germany intended in no way to be forestalled by the Allies in the matter of the resumption of trade-relations with Russia. This change, when it comes, will of course not mean any kind of capitulation to Bolshevik ideas or the agitation of German pro-Bolsheviks. In February there were, in fact, renewed attacks by Majority Socialist spokesmen of the Independents, and it now seems impossible that the two main sections of the German Social Democratic Party can ever come together again. But, once given the certainty in Germany that the Russian Bolsheviks will not carry on aggressive propaganda, it would appear that the transition to a Russo-German commercial rapprochement will be rapid.

In inter-state activities the most important event of the month was the visit, on February 2nd, of the Prussian Premier Hirsch to the Rhineland. Although for some months there had been very little heard of the separatist movement there—the mere cry of "French

propaganda " had sufficed to consolidate practically all parties against it—there was nevertheless a feeling of distance, a subdued sentiment of distrust towards Prussia, and no doubt the tour undertaken by Herr Hirsch was in part planned with the object of dispelling this. In a speech delivered in the Town Hall of Cologne on February 4th he assured the Rhinelander that the German Government was deeply conscious of their unpleasant position and would do what they could to alleviate its hardships. Separatism was a misleading cry, and those who uttered it should know that separation from Prussia must mean separation from Germany. At the same time, in any territorial redistribution of the Republic that might be effected it would be necessary to consider the particular rights of the individual provinces. The question was of the strengthening or weakening of the German State as a whole.

This latter portion of Herr Hirsch's speech was, of course, a reference to the controversy over the "unitary state" (*Einheitsstaat*), over which discussion had raged so hotly during the preceding month. This fell comparatively into abeyance during February, but it is worth noting that a conference of Prussian Ministers was held to debate the question and decided that territorial readjustments in the South would not be necessary, the implication being that it was principally a geographical re-organisation of the Prussian State that was in contemplation. This may have the effect of diminishing South German "particularist" demonstrations, but it will only increase agitation in Prussia proper, and in any case the practicability of the proposal to divide up Prussia has yet to be fully explored. A lengthy discussion of the *Einheitsstaat* question in the *Hilfe* for February 12th leaves the impression that the subject has retired to the academic sphere, at least for the present, and that the outpourings of the Bavarian particularist leader, Dr. Heim, are likely to have no immediate practical result.

Among party-activities of the month the most important was the general meeting of the Centre. It was anticipated that differences within the party on the question of co-operation with Social

Democrats might come to light, but the conference ended with a vote of confidence in the party-leaders, and the unity of the Centre seemed assured. Towards the end of the month, however, an event occurred of which the full import for the party, as for the German Republic as a whole, is not yet apparent. This was the voluntary self-suspension of Herr Erzberger for the period of his action against Herr Helfferich, who was charged with libellous statements made in connexion with Herr Erzberger's income and his alleged interested motives in proposing his capital levy. On the Right the suspension of Erzberger was regarded as a triumph over a persistent and dangerous enemy, for he, more than any other man, had transformed the direction of the Centre Party from Right to Left. His disappearance from effective intervention in the politics of the Republic might mean the withdrawal of the support of the Centre from the Government and its consequent collapse. Apart from this fact, the question at issue in the Erzberger-Helfferich trial is an important one, for it is agreed on all sides that the Centre Minister is one of the ablest men in the present German Government.

No indication of the approximate date of the next elections in Germany has yet been given, but various leading periodicals, *Die Hilfe*, *Das Demokratische Deutschland* and *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, among others, have taken up electoral questions. Thus the first, in its issue for February 19th, contains a long exposure of the unworkable character of the new Electoral Bill. *Das Demokratische Deutschland* for February 22nd discusses the principle of the election of the Imperial President, and although no names of possible successors to Herr Ebert are mentioned in this connexion, it is interesting to note that, in this its party-organ, the Democratic Party stands definitely committed to a republican programme. In other quarters during the month there was a suggestion that a leading Hamburg Senator might be requested to succeed President Ebert, but no official confirmation of this report was forthcoming.

On the present position of the German Coalition Government the two most

important articles of the month appeared in the *Neue Rundschau* and the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, for February 9th, respectively. The first, from the pen of Erwin Steinitzer, is a frank and clear critical attack on the principle of parliamentary government, particularly as exemplified in the present German governmental machine. The writer contends that the German Revolution, which did away with the "authority-state" (*Obrigkeitsstaat*), should have brought the "popular state" (*Volksstaat*). It had the choice between a model from the West, the representative democracy, or of one from the East, commonly called dictatorship of the proletariat, but ideally forming a pyramid of classes and economic and industrial groups. The first was chosen without hesitation and Germany became a parliamentary republic, an historical accident, a form assumed because of the force of outward circumstances. Herr Steinitzer does not consider the experiment to have been, up to the present, a success. The principal reason for this, in his opinion, lies in the fact that the special party-interests and preoccupations have not changed, and in the present coalition form of government have to be assimilated one to another, with the result that legislation becomes colourless and progress is hindered. The basis of government must, Herr Steinitzer urges, be one of production. "We can only grow the class-war if we organise all those who are creators in any particular sphere."

Something akin to this idea lies at the foundation of the article in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* by Heinrich Peus. He, too, holds that the German Government has not been a success in the organisation of the country's productive powers. He recognises that a territorial redistribution is the preliminary to economic reconstruction and commends the Centre Party for its advocacy of this reform, in other words, the *Einheitsstaat*. Until unification is brought about and jealousy and lack of co-ordination between the various states is done away with, there can be no advance towards the ideal of a state organised for production. Granted, however, that this comes, there will then need to be considered the machinery by

which the productive forces of the country can be, not only guided and controlled, but afforded their opportunity of self-expression. Peus, like the Centre Party—he himself, it may be remarked, is a Majority Social Democrat—declares for the establishment of a number of representative economic organisations, to be set up in commune, in province, in state and in the Republic as a whole, side by side with what one may call the ordinary parliamentary institutions. In other words the demand is that, in conjunction with every town council, every provincial assembly, as with the central National Assembly itself, there should be organised a body representing productive labour in the wide sense of the term. This is a leading matter of discussion in Germany at the present moment, and it would be well for its significance not to be overlooked in this country.

Practically the only approach on the part of the Berlin Government to the ideals of economic government advocated by Herren Peus and Steinitzer is to be found in the Industrial Councils Act (*Betrieb-rätegesetz*), and this measure, as will be realised from a critical summary by the present Foreign Minister, Hermann Müller, which appears in the *Neue Zeit* for February 6th, does not go very far. It does not, in the first place, extend the principle of industrial councils to anything approaching a majority of German industrial undertakings. It includes only those which employ at least twenty operatives, leaving the host of small businesses, which it might well have been the care of the Government to protect, unrepresented. Moreover, as members of the owner's family are not counted as employees, the number of agricultural undertakings excluded from the operations of the act must be very large, and Müller seems justified in calling the measure an experiment, a foundation on which may be built up the productive organisation of the country. A broad foundation, however, it at present certainly is not.

The general lines of Germany's moral and political future are laid down in an interesting article in *Deutsche Politik* for February 20th, by Dr. Paul Rohrbach,

the well-known German "expansionist" of before the war. As a significant pronouncement from the Right on the popular subject of German reconstruction the following may be quoted:

In dealing with the ills of humanity methods of organisation will not alone suffice; there must be a profound revolutionisation of thought. Before his death Schiller wrote to Wilhelm von Humboldt that they would be ashamed to have it said after them that "things formed them and not they things." This is the watchword of the anti-materialistic, religious *Weltanschauung*. This alone is strong enough to transform the foundations of our social and industrial existence. A mere "social reform" does not touch the moral roots of the problems which industrialism has brought forth. It moderates its results, but does not provide the means of attaining to the principle of social and moral righteousness. For the elevation of the German idea in the world once more the watchword has been uttered: If Germany succeeds earlier than other nations in bringing about a state of society in which there are no more employers and employed she will have in spite of all won the war. This sentence does not mean that leadership and initiative should or can disappear from our economic life. National economy, world economy—these cannot be bureaucratised. The impulse to production must remain; profit must remain, the will to a higher form of life, higher payment for greater production—all these must remain. What must go is birth into a class without privileges.

This is a fair statement of the German case for private enterprise from a writer who still remains influential. There is not likely to be excessive speed in nationalisation in Germany.

On February 8th the death occurred of Richard Dehmel, one of the leading poets and critics of contemporary Germany. A tribute to him appears in *Die Hilfe* for February 19th. Although over fifty he volunteered for the army, and while on service undermined his health to such an extent that he never fully recovered. Dehmel's chief work was the sequence of poems entitled *Zwei Menschen* (Man and Woman), a passionate story in verse which incurred great hostility when it was first published, but has since been recognised in German literary history as a work of great lyric power. Among the German literary reviews *Das Literarische Echo* maintains its high standard; the same can be said of the excellent organ of the younger German drama, *Die Neue Schaubühne*.

FRANCE

The economic situation of France is somewhat worse than that of Great Britain, though it is much the same in the nature of its problems. Similarly, public opinion is seriously alarmed, and there is an identical clamour for greater economy, with a corresponding reluctance to take any drastic step in that direction. A reasoned plea by M. L. Paul-Dubois "For Public and Private Economy" appears in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (February 1st). Its burden is that it is no longer possible to believe that the prospective German indemnity will solve the problem; and that, though France is entitled to expect some assistance from Great Britain (and presumably America), she must show by her handling of her own affairs that she deserves it. Drastic reforms are therefore necessary in the internal administration. Let her scrap all her new socialistic undertakings, monopolies, nationalisations, etc., and restrict State assistance to certain industries within the narrowest possible limits. Only thus "will industries recover their liberty and our budgets their elasticity." But the most startling of this writer's proposals is that France should exchange her present system of financial authority for the English one. He points out that there is really no responsible authority for French finance under the existing constitution, that is to say, there is nobody with the power of control exercised by a Sully or a Colbert in the days of the monarchy. There is a Minister of Finance; but he has no more authority than any other minister; he is generally "little listened to." He has to prepare the annual budget; but the other departments bring their individual budget schemes to him, and all he does is to pass some "discreet observations," preparatory to embodying them in the general scheme. In short, policy controls finance, instead of finance policy. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the other hand, "enjoys a traditional supremacy over the other ministers," and "departmental demands" are granted or rejected by the Treasury, and though this department "has lost a good deal of its authority since it became, in 1908, with Mr. Lloyd George, a spending department, its right

exists and to-day still opposes a serious obstacle to extravagance." • One hears the British citizen ask: Does it?

In *Le Correspondant* (February 10th) an anonymous writer puts forward "a possible solution of the Eastern Problem," meaning the Turkish problem. In substance, the proposition is that the Sultan should be retained at Constantinople, but only in the capacity of Spiritual Head of the Mahommedan world, and not as the real ruler of the country. This, the writer thinks, would satisfy Moslem susceptibilities and at the same time secure the Christian populations against oppression. The administration would be in the hands of "a financial company, constituted by the military and economic co-operation of the various allied states," who would be the "sole shareholders of the company," and placed under the suzerainty of a small nation such as Belgium. The Belgian representative at Constantinople would act as Mandatory of the Allied Powers. The first thing to notice about this ingenuous plan is that the League of Nations is not mentioned. It is the Allied Powers who would supervise Belgium as Mandatory; and it is the Allied Powers, acting through their financiers, who would relieve Belgium of the burden of governing the country. A very pretty plan from the cosmopolitan financiers point of view—also a striking illustration of the grotesque lengths to which a certain section in France is prepared to go in order to avoid the League of Nations solution.

French agitation over the question of Syria is dying down, but the matter of the ex-Kaiser's extradition remains an active issue, with a sharp division of opinion. For example, there is M. Georges Scelle writing in *L'Europe Nouvelle* (February 14th) in support of the theory that the new law of the League of Nations and the new world over-rides any juridical distinctions of the old regime, asserts with some vehemence that the execution of this clause is the touchstone of the entire Treaty, and of the future of the League of Nations. On the other hand, we have Mr. René Pinon who in discussing with a refreshing frankness "The Future of Franco-British Friend-

ship" in *The New Europe* (February 10th) condemns this country for opposing French wishes in insisting upon the extradition. Meanwhile, Syria having been disposed of, Dr. A. Leger's next attention in *L'Europe Nouvelle* is to the British occupation of Persia. He details the commercial possibilities of the country, especially the production of oil, and demands whether a land of such immense potentialities should become "the colony" of a nation which would some time or other use them against other peoples. He seems to find the solution of the difficulty in the control of the Iran plateau by the League of Nations. But elsewhere he refers to political and financial co-operation between the Allies; which renders his meaning ambiguous, to say the least of it.

In the *Revue de Paris* M. Antoine Albalay gives some entertaining personal reminiscences of the late Emile Faguet, who was well-known, not only for his work but for his disregard of the lesser social conventions. At one time it was his practice to lunch at a certain restaurant in the Boulevard S. Michel.

Before entering the restaurant he supported himself against the door with one hand while with the other he extinguished, by means of the heel of his boot, the burning end of his three-quarter-smoked cigar; he then sat down, uncorked his bottle of wine, placed the cork upon the table cloth and carefully deposited the cigar end against it. He took it up again at the end of the meal, and re-lit it while going out. Such solicitude remained inconceivable when one had once sniffed the odour from this precious cigar. Emile Faguet carried out this rite with an openness that proved he was quite unconscious that the performance might be noticed.

Faguet, however, was revered not merely in the literary and Bohemian world, but by that very practical person, the French bourgeois. An impeccable acquaintance who was being greatly worried by his tailor, and who frequented the same restaurant as M. Faguet, evolved an ingenious scheme for using the latter as a bulwark against his creditor. He contrived matters so that the tailor, armed with his bill, encountered him at the restaurant in Faguet's company—and was promptly invited to lunch. So flattered was the good man by the honour that he paid for the coffee and liqueurs, and left with his account still unsettled.

SPAIN.

The month opened in Spain with a slight improvement in the social and industrial situation as compared with the preceding month. The majority of the factories at Barcelona, which had been closed by an employers' general lock-out following on a strike of workmen, were re-opened, and although at first a large number of the employees refused to return, insisting on payment for the weeks during which they had been locked out, there was a general increase during the first weeks, and by the middle of the month the railways and the harbour were both normally staffed, and the industrial establishments resuming work. In centres other than Barcelona there were certain disturbances, for example in Valencia, where one or two prominent employers of labour were murdered during the month—a species of terrorism that has increased recently. The use of violent measures by the strikers was justified by a Socialist deputy in the Cortes and the declaration made that unless the Government ceased to support the capitalists such outrages would continue.

The economic and industrial situation, however, was surpassed in gravity by the political crises through which the Government had to pass. The first of these was brought about by Count Romanones, who threatened to withdraw his representative, Senor Gimeno, from the Government unless the Premier, Senor Alende Salazar, condemned the alleged action of the Captain-General of Barcelona, General Milans del Bosch, in giving confidential documents to a deputy with which the said deputy was able, during a heated debate on conditions in Catalonia, to make an attack on Count Romanones. The result of the threat was an apology by the Premier, and later the withdrawal of the Captain-General and the appointment of a successor by the Government, which thus incurred the hostility of the *Juntas*, or military committees. The agitation aroused by Count Romanones nevertheless continued until the 19th, when a vote of confidence was carried in the Government by 120 to 18, there being numerous abstentions on the part of the extreme Conservatives and the

Regionalists. A few days later a second crisis was provoked by the opposition of the Cortes to the Government's Railway Tariff Bill, and Senor Alende Salazar tendered the resignation of the Cabinet. He was requested, however, by the King to withdraw it and continue in office. This he agreed to do, postponing for that is all his action, until the solution of the serious political and social crisis through which Spain is passing.



De Notenbreker]

[Amsterdam

The Extradition Problem.

Marianne: "Give me that thing quickly!"

Michael: "All very fine. You ought to be doing the same with your own!"

TWO PLAYS OF THE MONTH.

In addition to the revival of Mr. Shaw's *Pygmalion*, there were two plays produced within the last month, whose interest is beyond that of the general run of successful West-end plays. One of them is hardly a play at all in the general use of the word, but rather a curiously happy adaptation of an uncommonly amusing book—*The Young Visitors*. And the other, and by far the most dramatically important of the two, is Mr. St. John Ervine's *John Ferguson*.

This last play has already had great success in America, and played as it is at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, by a cast which includes some of the old favourites from the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, it is in many ways the most considerable event which has taken place in our theatre since "Abraham Lincoln" was produced a year ago at the same place.

It is of course excessively easy for an Englishman to be carried away by any Irish play, or any play for that matter written in a speech which bears the charm of novelty to his ear. It is the peculiarity of dialect to appear more natural than it is to one who is only half familiar with it. And unless one is prejudiced in the other direction by the knowledge that one has been taken in by this fact before it is easy to be sentimental whenever Ireland is concerned at all. Both these facts should be borne in mind in considering an Irish play. Indeed the safest test, as well as the severest, of the intrinsic worth of any play is to ask oneself if it would bear translation. If one is convinced it would, the test is plain sailing enough.

The dramatic conflict of Mr. Ervine's is the old conflict between Christianity and righteous paganism. John Ferguson, the old Ulster farmer, now an invader, is a genuine believer in the absolute truth of the gospels, and for him there can be no paltering whatsoever with the plain duty of forgiveness. His son, who has been trained for the ministry, finds that there are wrongs which no man ought to allow to go unpunished. That as it stands is the primary conflict. And Mr. Ervine has chosen for the test of these two beliefs as terrible a one as can be imagined.

But he has done more than this—he has introduced into the conflict a coward, a man who believes as the son believes that there are men who cry out before God for the punishment of man, and had not the courage to carry out his beliefs. This man, Jimmy Caesar is like "The Play-boy," a hoaster. He has been threatening to kill Henry Witherow, the great coarse miller for years. Henry Witherow has poisoned his life for him. He turned his father and mother out of their homes, and has bullied and jeered at Jimmy whenever they have met. And Jimmy with the longing for vengeance in his heart, and the boast of it upon his lips, cowers like a beaten dog before him.

Then comes the test. Witherow holding a mortgage on Ferguson's farm is on the point of foreclosing, when Jimmy, who has been in love with Ferguson's young daughter Hannah since he was a boy, offers to pay off the mortgage if she will marry him. But Hannah, another Pegeen Mike, despises him. Why will he be always talking and doing nothing? She accepts him to save her father, and then revolts against it. The Father says it's God's will. And Hannah goes off to Witherow to tell him to foreclose. When she returns Witherow has done his worst. The cup of the family is full to overflowing. Jimmy, at Hannah's wild and terrible entrance, goes out vowing vengeance. Old John persists in his belief that it is not for man to punish, and goes off into the night to save Witherow's life. But Andrew, the son, after a talk with a half-witted beggar, decides that Jimmy will never have the courage to carry out his threat, and he too departs into the night—with a gun under his arm.

Further than this there is no need to tell the story. The drama is set and follows out its logical conclusion. But it is easy to see the clash of character that Mr. Ervine's theme involves. Jimmy, the coward, pitiable in the abject misery of his self-atonement; Andrew, the son, a man of few words, but a man; old John Ferguson, the Christian, forbearing, upright, just, with his anchors deep in the family Bible—they all of them are dramatic figures in their sharp outlines.

and contrasted moral qualities. The old wife, too, whose husband's words go in at one ear and out at the other, and whose only desire is for her family to be happy about her, is another fine creation. But it is the part of Hannah that makes most demand for acting, and the part is so beautifully played by Miss Moyna MacGill that the success of the play is assured. The horror of her entry in the second act sent a shudder through the audience, and the abandonment of her grief was one of the most perfect bits of natural tragedy that we have ever witnessed in a theatre. Nor does her excellence stop there; against this wild agony we have the downright loveable girl of the first act, young in her contempt for Jimmy's cowardice, courageously striking Witherow in the face on his first brutal entry, fondly caressing with her father; and after the tragedy we have her again, white and mute with pain and horror, a lovely thing broken in its youth. The whole part was wonderfully conceived. Hardly less good were Miss Mairé O'Neill as the mother, and Mr. J. M. Kerrigan as Jimmy.

The play is strong and intensely moving. It owed much to the actors we mention but by no means all. It is finely conceived all through, and the characters are differentiated with real dramatic power. The only weakness is the old Father's momentary failure at the end, when he would persuade his son not to follow his conscience and give himself up to the police. A man of his quality would have endured even the loss of his son.

The Young Visitors at the Court Theatre has been adapted by Mrs. George Norman and Miss Margaret Mackenzie from the book of Miss Daisy Ashford that everyone by this time must have read. One's chief interest in going to see it is the natural curiosity of wondering whether anything can be made of it at all. As a fact the adapters have succeeded far better than we expected.

They have lost something of the flavour of the original certainly. What else could be expected? But by following the words of the original as closely as possible they have succeeded in producing a very amusing entertainment. In addition to this fact, *The Young Visitors* gives an opportunity for two brilliant little pieces of *bravura* acting. Harold Anstruther's Bernard Clark, languid, elegant, and romantically passionate, was the sort of young man a child would build her dreams around after a diet of Ouida's heroes. Mr. Anstruther not only realised the part but filled in its gaps. His clothes were as delightful as his manners and his voice. He, if anyone could be, was a "man of a noble nature." Scarcely less good was Mr. John Deverell's Earl of Clincham as the non-romantic aristocrat. The well-bred ease with which he pocketed Salteena's ten pound note and dismissed him to the "Lower Range" of the "Compartments" at the Crystal Palace was a lesson in the art of keeping one's dignity and one's eye on the main chance. We are sure that though he believed that royal blood was "as piffle before the wind," he knew very well its commercial value where "there" people were concerned.

The adapters have made no attempt whatsoever to give *The Young Visitors* an ordinary dramatic form. They have sliced the book up into seven continuous scenes, and thus have maintained almost everything that is in the book. It is a pity that they are, even so, compelled to make Bernard Clark appear at the "Levee" in his boating costume, a solecism we are sure he would have been incapable of committing, but seventeen scenes are probably about as many as any one can dare to put on in one evening.

The delight of the book, of course, is half its unconscious simplicity and half its glorious narrative style. Both these are partially lost in a stage representation. Nevertheless *The Young Visitors* even in this form is almost irresistible.



Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

LABOUR IN THE NEW STATE.

THE HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONISM. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. (Longmans. 21/- net).

Mr. and Mrs. Webb have revised the original edition of their classic "History of Trade Unionism," and enlarged it by including several supplementary chapters which bring the history of the trade union movement up to the present year. During the twenty-six years since their first edition was published, trade unionism has grown and strengthened to an extent that would have seemed incredible a quarter of a century ago. The Trade Union Congress at that time represented roughly one and a half million workers, drawn from a large number of industries in which trade unionism was still in its infancy. The last meeting of the Trade Union Congress represented close on six million workers, and in many trades the unions have acquired such far-reaching power that membership of the union is all but compulsory. Moreover this growth in the numerical strength of trade unionism has accelerated in recent years, and since the war has received a new impetus in the spontaneous organisation of women workers, and, still more, of the large section of middle-class workers who have hitherto been unorganised.

A characteristic instance of this development is the progress of the National Federation of Women Workers, which increased its membership from 11,000 in 1914 to more than 60,000 in December last. There is scarcely any trade union in the country which has not at least doubled its membership during the past twenty years. But the most remarkable

tendency of the period has been the transference of influence within the Trade Union Congress from the older and firmly established unions of skilled workers such as the cotton operatives or the building trades to the less skilled and more recently formed unions. So, the miners, the dockers and especially the general workers, who were so disorganised, and whose labour was so casual and intermittent that any permanent organisation of it seemed to be extremely difficult, have increased their numbers and their influence in the Trade Union Congress to such an extent that they now practically dominate it. And while it was to be expected that casual labour would be more likely to produce revolutionary leaders and greater industrial unrest than the more highly skilled industries, it is remarkable that most of the best brains of the Labour movement have come from the more or less unskilled trades. Mr. Clynes, for instance, belongs to the General Workers' Union, and Mr. Bevin, the representative of the dockers, was driving a horse tram-car only a few years ago. Mr. J. H. Thomas was a railway guard before he became a member of Parliament, and Mr. Frank Hodges, who is scarcely out of his twenties, was a mine worker. On the other hand, the more highly skilled trades have produced singularly few leaders of any note. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers is largely dominated by young and inexperienced trade unionists, who found their opportunity of advancement as shop stewards during the war.

The first part of Mr. and Mrs. Webb's book is too well-known to require any

fresh notice. It deals with the history of the origins and rise of the trade union movement throughout the last century, and although the new edition of the book has been carefully revised, these first eight chapters are substantially unchanged. But the succeeding chapters, which bring the history of trade unionism up to date, are so full of detail and so comprehensive in their scope that they make the volume practically a new book. The authors deal exhaustively with the more recent episodes in the trade union movement, such as the Osborne Judgment and the various Acts which have been passed in relation to the status of the trade unions. They give an elaborate analysis of the various intellectual forces that have shaped the movement in recent years, in which they have themselves played a large part through their work in the Fabian Society.

The most interesting part of their criticism of the trade unions is their scheme for a better method of selecting the trade union officials, and their plea for a fuller recognition of their enormous responsibilities and of their inadequate payment under present conditions. It is one of the stock arguments of Socialist writers that the history of trade unionism and of the co-operative movement proves how many highly gifted and ambitious young men are willing to devote their lives to the service of a cause in which they are paid no more than a living wage. If the Labour movement can command so much loyal and devoted service, it is argued that a Socialist State could count no less upon securing the best work of its citizens for a fair wage, without the incentive of profit-making, which the capitalists declare to be the mainspring of all industrial enterprise. But even if this contention were fully proved, would it necessarily follow that the same qualities which make an admirable trade union official would ensure the success of an industry owned and managed by the State? The annual report of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which has just been published, shows an extremely successful year's trading and yet another record turnover, running to over thirty millions, with a gross profit that actually exceeds the costs of management. But

the bulk of these profits have been earned, not by the industries which the C.W.S. has established to supply its own needs, but by the distributive stores in which the administrative costs are relatively small, and in which the *clientèle* is already assured and does not require to be attracted by persistent advertising.

The really important aspect of Mr. and Mrs. Webb's chapter on the trade union officials is their apparent uneasiness as to the ability of the unions to preserve the loyalty of their own employees. It is no unfriendly criticism of the trade unions to say that they have not hitherto obtained the best type of workman for their minor official posts. Frequently they are filled by unbalanced and discontented men who have a natural distaste for regular work and take to professional agitation as a more congenial way of earning their living. The same criticism, of course, applies to all political life. And the most hopeful of the present tendencies of the trade union movement is the determination to select the best possible leaders for every branch of its organisation. About two years ago Mr. G. D. H. Cole, in one of his endless series of monographs on the Labour world, pleaded urgently for the necessity of equipping Labour with a body of experts who should be able to meet the employers on equal terms and know more about the inside of the industry than the employees themselves. Since then, the Labour Research Department and the various Labour Colleges have made enormous progress in this direction, and both the Coal Commission and the Dockers' Inquiry have proved that the trade unions are now able to present their case to the public much more effectively even than the employers, and with a power of analysing the essential facts of the industry that has made the blundering Board of Trade look ridiculous on a number of occasions. This very significant achievement of the Labour movement is undoubtedly due to the assistance it has received from "intellectuals" who have given all their energies to the emancipation of the working classes, and we may expect that this improvement in their organisation will prove more noticeable as the middle

class trade unions attain to greater influence in the movement.

The co-operative movement does not fall within the scope of this massive volume, but it is impossible to estimate the full strength of trade unionism without taking it also into account. The two movements have progressed side by side, and they have within the past few months arrived at a working agreement which is nearly tantamount to a union of forces. While the co-operative movement has built up an immense organisation for the distribution of food and of supplies and has accumulated vast reserves of credit in the C.W.S. Bank, which now holds the assets and the bank balances of nearly all the trade unions and benefit and friendly societies, the trade unions have been making no less rapid progress in their own industrial and political spheres. The past quarter of a century has witnessed, side by side with a steady and ever increasing growth in the membership of the trade unions, a progressive consolidation of the movement. Smaller unions have combined in powerful federations to which others are continually becoming affiliated. The whole movement has gradually acquired a more definite unity of purpose and a coherent policy. Hitherto decisions on questions as they arise have been entrusted to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, but in recent months a new proposal has been under consideration, as one of the most important results of the last railway strike, for creating a real "Cabinet of Labour" with wider powers. The proposal has been unfairly interpreted as a plan for stampeding all the trade unions into a general strike at the shortest possible notice; but experience proves that the more closely the whole body of the trade unions can be brought together the more likelihood is there that moderate counsels will prevail, and the greater is the influence of organised Labour upon the questions that concern it most intimately. The fact that the proposal was vehemently opposed at the last Trade Union Congress by the most prominent advocates of "direct action" is highly significant.

MEMOIRS.

Lady Georgiana Peel's *Recollections*, compiled by her daughter Ethel Peel (John Lane, 16/- net) has much the same effect on one as Mr. Archibald Marshall's novels of country families and country life. The book absorbs, soothes, gently entertains. Lady Georgiana is a daughter of Lord John Russell. She was born the year before Queen Victoria's accession, and her girlhood was passed in times that witnessed the Chartist Riots, the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the great "Peace" Exhibition of 1851, the marriage and demise of Albert the Good, and many other events of varying historical importance. She has personal memories of all of them; but her main interests lay in the happenings at, she goes to and coming from, Pembroke Lodge, the beautiful house in Richmond Park bestowed on Lord John by his Sovereign. Naturally she followed her father's career with a great deal of interest; but here again the interest was in personalities with whom he was politically or socially connected, rather than in politics. Politics in those days were very distinctly not "women's sphere."

Lady Georgiana remembers Lord Brougham, that solitary figure whose desire at one period to attach himself to any party that would have him—"by whose help," wrote Macaulay, "he may be able to revenge himself on old friends whose only crime is that they could not help finding him to be an habitual and incurable traitor"—was the pathetic outcome of his brilliant oratorical gift. Speculation was aroused as to why Lord Brougham in his closing years always wore trousers of the same loud black and white check pattern. Here is the explanation. He was inspecting a weaver's factory, and being pleased with some check tweed he saw being woven, ordered "two pieces" to make trousers. When the pieces arrived, they proved to be each fifty yards long!

Jenny Lind entertained the Russell family at Roshampton. Cabinet ministers, men of religion, of letters and of science, poets and novelists, came to Pembroke Lodge. She has anecdotes of Jowett, Goldwin Smith, Tennyson

Gladstone, and many another. The style of the book is quite unaffected, and though pride of ancestry betrays itself ever and again in the writer's intellectual make-up, it is balanced by a sane and kindly tolerance towards all sorts and conditions of men, irrespective of their political or social creeds.

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY.

A cynic, if asked to define the modern meaning of Democracy, might evade the difficulty of the question by saying that it is the best abused word in any language. Even if this is inadequate as a definition, it is not as very far wrong. There is no phrase that has given rise to so much vague or erroneous thinking. To some, Democracy is merely a form of government which is somehow unimpeachable; to others, a sure road to the happiness which is held to be the end of human life; to others, it is merely a covering for a multitude of sins; to everybody it is an abstract term that can be safely interpreted according to one's immediate personal interests. But only one or two have the energy or the wit even to attempt a real definition. Mr. Ivor Brown, in *The Meaning of Democracy* (Cobden Sanderson, 6/- net), does so; and what is more, applies to his attempt a good deal of energy and not a little wit.

His method is the Socratic one. He analyses the various constituents of Democracy. It is founded on equality. What, then is equality? A careful sifting reduces it to "the right to fair treatment and equality of consideration." How does it compare with equity? Is there any answer to the assertion that the democratic ideal is an illusion, since property is the sole source of power? He disposes of the last by proving that there are other sources of power which, in a real democracy, rank, or should rank, as of equal importance. So he builds up the fabric of his main premises stone by stone; a fabric of political theory, amazingly lucid and interesting, which is the nucleus, as it were, of the city of his democratic dream. Many other writers, in speaking of democracy, have got thus

far—but no farther. Their fabric has crumbled when they began to superimpose upon it the massive weight of existing material facts. They have become distracted—as Edward Carpenter was distracted in a famous book by the vision of his hated modern railway engine. But Mr. Brown goes gaily on. Fearlessly he tackles Party Politics, methods of parliamentary representation, the control of industry, the pros and cons of direct action, and everything he handles he clarifies with the elixir of commonsense, until one wonders why the confused mental processes that have done so much to retard the settlement of these problems should ever have been suffered by an educated nation. Best of all, by showing how democracy should be made to begin—is in fact already beginning—in the workshop and thus extend, by the natural process, to the national Parliament or Parliaments—for he regards devolution as the corollary to pure democracy in this country—he establishes the thesis that politics, being the personal business of all, deserves to be studied by all. It is a book for all who are groping in the outer darkness of political and social doubt or despair.

In *The Unfinished Programme of Democracy* (Swarthmore Press, 6/- net), the Rev. Richard Roberts views the subject from a slightly different angle. Whereas Mr. Brown's ideal is pre-eminently social justice, that Mr. Roberts is human fellowship. The latter sees in Democracy a means to that end, and this, we suspect, is the sum total of his interest in it. We doubt whether it appeals to him as an institution that is admirable for itself; it is quite certain that he has no use for it merely as a form of government—for that matter, few of us have. As a form of government, Democracy connotes for Mr. Roberts the rule of the majority, and he inclines very decidedly towards minorities when these happen to suit his book. For example, he upholds the Conscientious Objector as against the Collectivist Conscience. But Democracy is a convenient label for his own way of life, and its "Unfinished Programme" is simply that which, in this context, Democracy ought to mean. So he takes it as it exists in a very imperfect

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condition, and asks himself what can be done to improve it—what, in fact, is wanted for Democracy. His answer is More Democracy, meaning more fellowship. His programme is sufficiently extensive. Like Mr. Brown and Mr. G. D. H. Cole, he regards the capitalist system of industry not only as wrong, but—in the world, as it now is—as impossible. Like Mr. Brown, too, he is not any more in love with the Direct Actionists who would put the social structure right by turning it upside. Only as a result of "extreme provocation" could such a course be justified. He would replace modern industrialism by Guild Socialism. He would nationalise the vital industries and their tributaries. He would insure to the working man not a minimum wage, but a minimum *real* wage, otherwise a minimum standard of living. As with national affairs, so with international. The League of Nations must be a League of Peoples. Foreign office traditions must be swept out of sight. In short, world-society must be re-organised on a basis of common interests, reciprocity and brotherliness. But it is the Fellowship ideal, we plainly perceive, that is first and always in Mr. Roberts' thoughts. He is quite right. If that ideal were capable of realisation, the economic ideal would clearly follow it without difficulty. It is not nearly so evident that the Spirit of Fellowship would follow the economic ideal expounded by Mr. Roberts, or, for that matter, by Mr. Brown, Mr. Cole, and many more.

ECHOES OF ARMAGEDDON.

One heard that there was a Chinese Labour Corps in France during the war, but one did not hear much more. One story of them, however, obtained fairly wide currency at the time. It was said that when the Huns, in their desperate onslaught of March, 1918, very nearly succeeded in breaking through, the "Chinks" voluntarily seized pickaxe and shovel and helped to fill the gaps in the hard-pressed British fighting line. That was a tale that tended to quicken one's interest in the Chinese Labour Corps. Lieut. Daryl Klein's book "With

the Chinks" (John Lane, 6/6 net) cannot fail to deepen that interest. Lieut. Klein had his first experience of the Labour Corps at Tuang-kou. He helped to train the coolies there. He helped to escort them on the transport to Canada, and from Canada to France. This record includes both these stages of their military career, and though it is written in light vein, it constitutes a serious and intimate study of the Chink and his ways. He is treated individually and in the mass; and it is always with the interest that a father might feel in his children. In truth, these Chinks were very child-like people—before they got to France, at any rate. Whether China will find them equally so in the after-the-war period, still remains to be seen. Lieut. Klein thinks not. On the contrary, he is of opinion that the European experience of these coolies will make itself felt throughout all China. One is disposed to agree with him. China is a big lump, but the biggest lump is liable to infection from the smallest leaven.

In *London Gunners* (Methuen, 6/- net) Mr. W. R. Kingham tells the story of a typical Siege Battery in action at Ypres, at Paschendael, and in the retreat of March, 1918, and the advance of the subsequent months. The battery in question was an offshoot of the Honourable Artillery Company, and was formed only in 1917; but its record of service certainly makes up for the shortness of its career. Mr. Kingham was a gunner, and, like most of his comrades, had never fought before. Possibly for this very reason, his narrative is extraordinarily fresh and vigorous. The philosophy of the book appeal to our sympathies. Mr. Kingham neither cherishes, nor seeks to perpetuate, any illusions about the glories of war or even the fascinations of hate. Friends were struck down, almost by his side, and he felt the tragedy too deeply to attempt to gloss it over. Yet he maintains a note of cheerful optimism. A feature of his record is the expression of an almost reverent belief, seemingly widespread, in the justice and wisdom of President Wilson's principles of peace, and of the faith that the President would be able to carry them out.

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[APRIL, 1920]

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, April 7th, 1920.

A Disappointing Session.

Parliament has adjourned for the Easter recess after an uneventful two months in which the only noteworthy events have been the return of Mr. Asquith to Westminster, the betrayal of all its pledges by the Government in regard to Constantinople, and the formulation of its Irish proposals. Mr. Asquith has figured largely on the political stage during the past month, and it cannot be said that he has fulfilled the expectations of his friends. His policy since his return has been to revert to the traditional lines of party politics; and by his failure to adapt himself to the new political conditions that have arisen since the war, he has estranged the sympathies of a large part of the public which looked to him for constructive and vigorous leadership. The effect of his re-appearance at Westminster soon made itself felt, and the Prime Minister was obliged before long to make overtures to the Unionist Party, since, with Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, he could no longer hope to attain to any sort of leadership among the Liberals. But Mr. Asquith made a bad mistake at the outset in refusing, early in the month, to accept the opportunity which Mr. Lloyd George seized upon at once, of outlining his political programme to the Coalition Liberals. Mr. George Lambert, the Chairman of the Liberal group in the House of Commons had suggested that both rival leaders of the Liberal Party should come and state their case at a meeting of all the Liberal Members of Parliament, whether Independent or followers of the

Coalition. Mr. Asquith immediately declined to attend the meeting because Mr. Lloyd George had agreed to be present, and the Prime Minister had a free field in his address to the Liberal Members of Parliament who answered the invitation. Mr. Asquith reserved his thunder for a more congenial platform which was specially arranged for him at a luncheon of the National Liberal Club. There he replied at length and with considerable bitterness to the criticisms which Mr. Lloyd George had delivered against himself. He accused the Prime Minister of deliberate perversions of the truth, and was at great pains to repudiate any suggestion that he owed his own election to a combination of Liberal and Conservative voters. Why he should have been so anxious to deny that anyone who was not a thoroughbred Liberal had supported him, it is not easy to say. But his energies have been devoted, since he returned to Parliament, to an endeavour to restore the old political cries and to interpret politics in terms of the futile personalities of pre-war days. In the House of Commons itself, his leadership has been equally disappointing. He has been careful to avoid committing himself to any policy that would be likely to provoke controversy, and he has done little more up to the present than throw cold water upon the younger and more eager members of his own small following in the House.

The Proposals for "Fusion."

There was good reason to hope that his election at Paisley would have produced more exhilarating results. The Prime Minister's political advisers were seriously alarmed at the prospect of his detaching a sub-

stantial number of the Liberal members of the Coalition, and a movement was set on foot to hand over the leadership of the Unionist Party to Mr. Lloyd George. Letters passed between him and Mr. Bonar Law which formulated a definite agreement that would have handed over the Unionist leadership to him on the assurance that he was to contribute, as his share of the bargain, a considerable proportion of the Liberal organisations throughout the country. The idea of a fusion between the Coalition Liberals and Unionists into a new and coherent party was excitedly canvassed in the Press during the early part of the month. It was declared that Mr. Lloyd George had at last definitely made up his mind to throw in his lot with the Conservatives, and to become their acknowledged leader, and a number of fantastic titles were suggested for the new party that was to come into being. There was wild indignation, not without a scarcely disguised satisfaction at finding that the Prime Minister was at last about to renounce his Liberal record, among the Independent Liberals. His "trenchery" was advertised in great headlines all over the Asquithian Press. And on the Unionist side also, the announcement that Mr. Lloyd George, with his deplorable record of revolutionary speeches

before the war, was to be installed by the political organisers at the head of the orthodox Unionist Party created a widespread panic. The *Morning Post* declared that whatever the Unionist Members of Parliament might have decided, it would never regard Mr. Lloyd George as anything better than an unscrupulous political adventurer. Then the proposals of fusion suddenly hung fire. The meeting with the Coalition Liberals had shown that the Prime Minister need have little fear of being deserted by them in the House of Commons, and the objections of the older Unionists in the country to adopting Mr. Lloyd George as their leader had to be seriously considered. A Cabinet meeting was held at which the Liberal Ministers showed very little enthusiasm for the proposal that they should make a formal renunciation of their political faith.

The Plan Collapses.

Within a week the whole scheme, which had been carefully prepared beforehand by inspired pronouncements in the Press from Mr. Churchill and Lord Birkenhead, had practically fizzled out. But the discussion had thrown a great deal of light upon the relative strength of the various groups in the House of Commons. It had shown that Mr. Lloyd George's personal position was neither so isolated nor so unassailable as critics on both sides had frequently declared. He is a Prime Minister who practically governs without a party. The Unionists follow him, somewhat diffidently, because they have no magnetic leader of their own, and because his present policy suits them particularly well. The Coalition Liberals support him because of his extraordinary hold upon the imagination of the country, and because there is apparently no alternative to him as a Prime Minister. The Free Liberals oppose him chiefly because of their loyalty to Mr. Asquith, and their traditional hatred of the Unionist Party. But they have no clear policy except for a few suggestions that the younger members have borrowed from the Labour Party, and in the absence of any defined programme, the country is not likely to look upon them with any favour. In such a combination of circumstances, the Prime Minister has no need to fear any formidable Coalition of interests against



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Our Public Credit Improving.

There is no doubt that the Budget, which Mr. Chamberlain is to introduce within a few days after this number of the REVIEW has been published, will show a large balance on the credit side, and that the Government will be able to pay off a fairly substantial instalment of the war debt. The total amount of the funded National Debt now stands between 7,000 and 8,000 millions, and it will be long before the surplus of revenue over expenditure can make any considerable reduction in the gross amount. But it is not so much the amount of the instalments, which are paid off from time to time, as the fact that the process of repayment has begun and is being steadily continued, that will surely bring about a revival of our public credit. During the month there has been a highly satisfactory recovery in the American Exchange which has now risen to just above four dollars to the pound, after it had been below three and a quarter dollars early in February. The cause of this recovery is perfectly clear. The adverse exchange brought its own remedy, as it always does, by discouraging imports from America, since no one would do any trade that could be avoided or postponed at a discount of forty per cent. Moreover it led to a determination on the part of the British and French Governments to commence the repayment of its debts to America. It was decided to make a beginning with the first Anglo-French loan of £100,000,000 which falls due for repayment this year. The total British indebtedness to America is roughly 1,000 millions, and the redemption of only one-twentieth part of that amount could not in itself have produced the recovery in British credit which has taken place this month. Nor is there any likelihood that the immense pre-

ponderance of exports over imports in our trade with the United States can be overtaken in the near future. We are still importing far in excess of our own exports, and the weight of our trade indebtedness towards America is increasing rather than diminishing. But the growth of our own exports, the unmistakable recovery of our own industrial supremacy, and the proof which the Government has given that it intends to start paying off its loans out of the proceeds of its revenue, have between them convinced the United States that our solvency is unimpaired.

Why War Loan is Low.

But there is no sign as yet of any definite appreciation of the Government's securities. Five per cent. War Loan is now on sale at less than £90, and the rate of interest on certain classes of Government investments is actually over seven per cent. The Bank rate has not yet been raised beyond six per cent., the figure to which it was increased in November last, but there is such a demand for money for industrial purposes that a rise in the Bank rate has been expected from week to week. The decline in Government securities, however, is not due to any lack of confidence in the stability of British credit, but is the natural result of the financial conditions which always follow a great war. All sorts of industries are crying out for fresh capital to extend their business, and to build new factories. At the same time the demand for commodities is so great that very large profits are being earned, and are likely to continue until increased production has overtaken the intense demand which has followed upon the world shortage of goods. The flood of new prospectuses shows no signs of abating, and the capital required to finance the immense undertakings which are advertising every day in the newspapers appears to have been forthcoming in an unending stream. A great deal of it, however, has been found by selling out Government stocks, which are gradually passing by this means out of the hands of the big industrial companies into the control of small investors who want a safe investment for their savings. This intense demand for capital, coupled with the boom in speculation that always results from the acquisition of new wealth

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by a new class of business men, was to be expected, and it gives cause for no uneasiness. Within a few years at most it will have run its course, and the level of profits will have sunk below that which is now available to anyone with money to invest. When that happens, and when the industrial capitalists have got all the new capital that they require, and have ceased selling out their Government securities, there will be an inevitable recovery in the War Loan.

War Fortunes and the Floating Debt.

For the time being the serious problem is the repayment of the Floating Debt. It amounts to fully 1,200 millions, and from month to month considerable instalments of the total fall due for repayment. If the Floating debt could be wiped out it would release at once such a considerable volume of capital for industrial purposes that the present selling out of Government stocks to raise capital would come to an end, and it would relieve the Treasury of the constant necessity of going to the banks for large advances of money to pay off its short dated borrowings as they fall due. It was in order to cope with this situation that the Government appointed the Select Committee to inquire into the possibility of a special levy of war profits. The evidence taken by the Committee during the month has shown that the Treasury were almost desperately anxious to have the levy on war profits introduced, while the banks and the business men have for the most part met the proposal with a determined opposition. By a curious coincidence, the Treasury experts estimate that the War Profits Tax if it were levied according to their own suggestions, would bring in a revenue that would correspond almost exactly to the amount of the Floating Debt. They calculate that by exempting all capitals below £5,000 and by imposing a steeply graduated tax upon all increases of wealth that have accrued during the war, they could count upon a yield of at least 1,000 millions, which would cost only a negligible fraction of that amount to collect. When the Committee met first, the Inland Revenue Commissioners laid such emphatic evidence before it that it seemed likely that the proposal would

be carried. But the representatives of the bankers unanimously protested against the proposal, and expressed all sorts of alarming fears as to what would happen if a levy were introduced. Their evidence was supported a few days later by Mr. A. J. Hobson as the representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, who dwelt less on the possibility of a financial panic, which the bankers had already emphasised in the most lurid terms, than on the injustice of the Government's proposal. He argued that since the value of money has declined by more than one-half during the war, the man who is now worth £1,000,000 is actually worse off, even though his fortune has apparently doubled in the interval, than he was when he only possessed £500,000 in 1914. Undoubtedly his income from that amount is far more drastically curtailed by direct taxation than it was in pre-war days, and his purchasing power, even if he were allowed to enjoy it intact, is in fact diminished. But if these considerations are to be taken into account, the proposal for the War Fortunes levy is obviously unworkable. The Chairman of the Committee, Sir William Pearce, virtually admitted this by introducing a scheme of his own which would exempt from the proposed levy anyone whose capital had only doubled during the war. The Committee reached a complete deadlock owing to the evidence of the bankers and Mr. A. J. Hobson, and they reported to Mr. Chamberlain that they considered it useless to continue their inquiry unless its scope was to be greatly extended. Mr. Chamberlain went himself to attend one of their meetings after receiving this report, and implored them to come to a favourable decision on the War Fortunes levy, since he declared that the Treasury must find some means of increasing its income in order to pay off the floating debt.

Is a Capital
Levy
the Only Way?

But there is little ground for hope that the Committee will come to any such conclusion. Mr. Hobson's statement of the case was perfectly reasonable from the capitalists' point of view. The only justification of the War Fortunes levy that has been urged by the Government

rests on the assumption that no one has any right to grow rich at the expense of the community in war time. Mr. Hobson, however, disposes of this contention by pointing out that the great majority of those who are alleged to have grown rich during the war are in fact poorer than they were when it started. Mr. Chamberlain, if he pleads financial necessity as the reason for demanding the levy, may easily find himself compelled to reconsider his attitude towards a general levy on capital. The public have commonly believed that the War Fortunes levy was only a polite name to disguise the wider measure, but the Select Committee have taken a stricter view of their terms of reference. They interpret their instructions as precluding them from recommending any levy on capital except in cases where they can prove that the owner is actually in a better financial position than he was before the war. Obviously, if a levy on capital is really to be made, it must be levied on large capitals simply because they are large capitals, without regard to how they came into existence. In the interests of all classes it is essential that some means should be found of wiping out the greater part of the War Debt. The theory that there is an immense reserve of war-made wealth which the State could rake in at once, without any suspicion of a desire to confiscate capital as such, has been proved to be without foundation. Some means of redeeming the floating debt must be found and it is not easy to see any alternative method of raising the necessary funds except by claiming the right to confiscate a certain proportion of individual wealth above whatever figure which Parliament may determine to be just. It is, in fact, no more an act of confiscation than is the present system of taxation, whether in imposing specially high rates of taxation upon large incomes or in taking a fixed proportion of a man's property on his death. It is unfortunately probable that the Government, acting upon Mr. Chamberlain's timid and conservative advice, will take the line of least resistance, and allow the burden of the floating debt to continue, except in so far as it can devote the surplus of revenue in the Budget and the proceeds of the Government's stores to paying off as much of it as possible.

The Home Rule Bill.

This lack of courage and initiative which has been the worst failing of the present Government, is perhaps inevitable in any coalition of conflicting interests. It is to be hoped that the recent clearing of the air as a result of the Prime Minister's controversies with Mr. Asquith will encourage him to go straight ahead on the big issues, and to avoid the continual compromises which have hampered the programme of the Coalition at every turn. Unfortunately the present House of Commons is a deplorably accurate reflex of the spineless character of the Coalition Government. Whenever the Government has decided upon a safe compromise which leaves everybody more or less discontented, it has invariably obtained enthusiastic support from the House. The Home Rule Bill is a typical instance of the sort of legislation which is introduced in the hope of securing general consent. It is criticised fiercely by opposing parties, both on the grounds that it gives too much and that it gives too little. All that can be said in its favour is that it has secured the assent of Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Unionists. No other argument that is worth considering can be adduced in its support. As an attempt to settle honourably with Ireland, it is ludicrously and tragically inadequate. Even Mr. Asquith, whose own Home Rule Bill was a very feeble instalment of national self-government, denounces this new measure as a fantastic travesty of self-government. The Irish people treat it as a deliberate insult, worse than no offer at all. But the Government's reply is that some bill has to be thought out which will pass through the present House of Commons more or less by consent, and that any larger and more generous measure would be too controversial to introduce. Yet it would be difficult to find any instance of legislation on a great subject that aroused so little enthusiasm. It provokes not hostility so much as contempt. It is bitterly opposed not only by the Irish Nationalists, but by the Labour Party, the Independent Liberals, and Lord Robert Cecil. In Ireland, it is regarded as an insult added to injury, while even Sir Edward Carson, who is chiefly responsible for the character of the Bill, protests vehemently against its introduction.

although he quietly accepts the financial advantages that it will confer upon the six Ulster counties which he insists on regarding as a separate province. We have pointed out before that the Bill, even as it stands, is capable of sufficient improvement to make it worth acceptance in Ireland, if Parliament would recognise the necessity of treating the whole of Ulster as the basis of the Northern Parliament.

The Artificial "Ulster."

A movement was set on foot among the Unionists in the three Ulster counties which it is proposed to exclude from the Northern province, in favour of their own inclusion in the area of the Northern Parliament. The question was discussed at length in the Ulster Unionist Council and the representatives of Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan urged their obvious claims to be treated on the same footing as the Unionists in the other six Ulster counties which are to receive special treatment under the Bill. They pointed out that they had taken as large a share as anyone in the agitation in Ulster before the war, and that they believed it unthinkable that they should be deserted now by their former colleagues who owed their own privileged position very largely to their efforts and assistance. But Belfast and the counties of Antrim and Down, in which the Unionists are in an overwhelming majority, refused flatly to listen to their appeal. They justified their refusal on grounds which deserve close attention. At the beginning of this year the municipal elections in Ireland were held under the new system of proportional representation which was specially introduced by the Irish Government in order to reduce the hold of Sinn Féin upon all the elective assemblies in the country. It failed completely in its object in the three Southern provinces, and its one decisive result was to disintegrate the solid Unionist electorate in North-East Ulster. In Belfast, for the first time in history, the Nationalist minority obtained a substantial representation on the municipal councils, and Labour candidates captured so many seats that the Unionist political machine was gravely impaired. So, when the question of defining the boundaries of Ulster under the Government's Home Rule Bill came before the Ulster Unionist

Council, Mr. Moles, M.P., for one of the divisions of Belfast, delivered an impassioned speech in which he declared that if the Northern Parliament was to include the whole of Ulster, the Unionists, so far as he could judge from the results of the municipal elections, would find themselves actually in a minority.

Making Partition Permanent.

Considering the persistence with which the Ulster Unionists have declared that they represent "Ulster," this speech by Mr. Moles was astonishingly outspoken. It caused consternation among the Unionists in the three outlying counties, but it actually persuaded the Ulster Unionist Council to vote in favour of confining the Northern Parliament to an area in which they could count upon an absolutely safe majority. The forsaken Unionists issued a furious manifesto, accusing their former colleagues of the basest treachery, and declaring that they could have understood such callous and unscrupulous betrayal from Mr. Lloyd George, but that it was incomprehensible and unpardonable on the part of their former friends. They were, in fact, insisting upon the only policy by which the Bill could have been made a feasible and constructive settlement. For with the whole province included in the Northern Parliament, the interests of the Catholic and Nationalist minority, who are much more numerous in proportion to the population of Ulster than are the Southern Unionists, are related to the rest of Ireland, would be adequately safeguarded. They would have been in a minority of 700,000 to 900,000 in the whole province, and the history of Ulster leaves no doubt that they would have secured even less than their proportionate representation on the public bodies in the province. But they would have been sufficiently numerous to prevent the Northern Parliament from becoming definitely hostile to the rest of Ireland. Under the present arrangement, which the Government has accepted at the dictation of Sir Edward Carson, and seems likely to uphold for fear of his opposing the Bill, the Northern Parliament covers a fantastically artificial area that is based on a definitely religious and political cleavage. The Northern Parliament, with Donegal and Cavan and

Monaghan excluded, will be permanently antagonistic to the rest of Ireland, and it is most probable that the cleavage between North and South will be intensified rather than assuaged as time progresses. If the Government persists in its efforts to establish the proposed Northern Parliament, there is no possibility of the scheme being accepted on such a basis by the rest of Ireland.

Parliament's Opportunity to Amend it.

But there is still an opportunity for revising and improving the Bill in its Committee stages.

Had Mr. Asquith taken a different view of his duties as Leader of the Opposition, he might have succeeded in strengthening the Bill where it requires to be strengthened, and insisting upon a reasonable and natural basis for the Northern Parliament. But he is apparently committed to a purely negative policy, and in the present state of the House of Commons it is unlikely that any serious opposition will be shown to whatever policy Sir Edward Carson is determined to enforce. So long as the false basis of the Ulster Parliament remains, it is practically hopeless to expect any sympathetic attitude towards the Bill from the rest of Ireland. Nor can we believe that Mr. Lloyd George's professions of a desire to make an honourable settlement with Ireland are sincere. He declared himself in the House of Commons that it was impossible to find a solution that would be acceptable at once to the Imperial Parliament, and to the Irish people. In the same debate, his principal colleague, Mr. Bonar Law, stated that the Government could now say with a clear conscience to its critics in America that it had left the fate of Ireland unreservedly in the hands of the Irish people. The two assertions are manifestly contradictory. As for the Bill itself, apart from the question of Ulster, it cannot possibly be regarded as a genuine offer of self-government. It would be intelligible if it had been put forward as a first instalment of self-government, with a candid admission that the powers that it conferred upon Ireland were obviously inadequate to a National Parliament, but that it was found impossible to take the responsibility of introducing a totally new form of government all at once in the present disturbed state of the country.

But the Bill has been produced in no such spirit. Mr. Lloyd George introduces it in spite of the fact that it withholds all powers over customs and excise, and even income tax as well, as a generous settlement of the demand for self-government which the Irish people have made year after year. The Bill which he has introduced creates such a dividing line between North-East Ulster and the rest of Ireland as must place an insuperable barrier in the way of national unity. At the same time he proposes to set up a Central Council to link the two parliaments together, which is invested with practically no real power.

The Reign of Terror in Ireland.

Meanwhile the state of Ireland has become more disturbed than at any time during the

past forty years. Political assassinations are of almost daily occurrence, and the police are no longer able to go about unarmed or except in groups of four or five. All the remote and isolated police barracks have had to be closed down. Police barracks have been attacked day after day with bombs and rifles, and even with dynamite, and every member of the force is now exposed to all the dangers of a hostile garrison living in a country that is held down by force of arms. On the nights of Easter Sunday and Monday over 220 police barracks and huts were burned down or destroyed. The Irish Executive still persist in their policy of using the Irish Police, who are predominantly Catholic in religion and Nationalist in their politics, as an instrument for suppressing free speech and imprisoning the popularly elected representatives of the country. The result has been to intensify the prevalence of political crimes. Dublin Castle has tried vainly to cope with the growing volume of discontent by introducing one new coercive order after another. Raids upon the premises of Sinn Féin clubs and organisations and upon private houses suspected, whether rightly or wrongly, of containing evidence of the plans of Sinn Féin, have been more numerous than ever. Members of Parliament have been arrested without any charge being brought against them, and deported secretly to England, until fully one-third of the seventy Sinn Féin Members of Parliament are now in gaol in this

country without having been tried or convicted of any offence, while the majority of those who really control the Nationalist movement have managed to escape to America, and are working night and day at the organisation of an anti-British propaganda in the United States. In Ireland itself, there is no longer any freedom of political discussion, and the entire political activity of the country has been driven underground into secret societies. In such an atmosphere crime is not only inevitable, but is almost impossible to trace, for the police have become no longer the recognised custodians of property and of public order, but part of the military system which the Irish people feel themselves obliged to oppose with all the resources at their command.

Murder of the Lord Mayor of Cork.

Under such conditions, it was only to be expected that the police would before long undertake reprisals. They have shown themselves wonderfully long-suffering in the face of a vendetta that leaves everyone of them in doubt as to whether he will survive from day to day, and the feeling in the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police has become fiercely embittered. Naturally enough, the bitterness that they feel is directed primarily against the secret societies who have brought about the present reign of terror in Ireland. But they are, when all is said, brothers and fathers of the young men who have found that under the present military despotism in Ireland politics must be carried on with utter ruthlessness if the traditional cause of Irish Nationalism is not to be stamped under foot. The heaviest responsibility for the present crime wave in Ireland must rest upon those who are using the Irish police to perform work which no self-respecting people would tolerate in a country that is supposed to be governed by democratic principles. After a long series of particularly revolting outrages against the police, the country was suddenly startled by the news that the Lord Mayor of Cork, himself a very prominent Sinn Féiner, and the principal organiser of the Republican Volunteers in the South of Ireland, had been shot dead by a band of masked and disguised men who had

forced their way into his house during the night, and murdered him in the presence of his children. Every political crime in Ireland is now shrouded in mystery, because no one will take the risk of giving evidence that may incur the hostility of any secret society. But the circumstances of the Lord Mayor's death were most extraordinary. In the inquest that followed it, the counsel for his next of kin put forward, with absolute conviction, the theory that he had been murdered by the police in Cork in retaliation for the murder of a police constable during the same night. The theory seemed at first too horrible and too appalling to be possible, but the evidence at the inquest presented an extremely circumstantial case against the police. It was shown that the Lord Mayor's house was within 150 yards of a police barracks on the opposite side of the street, and that although at least twenty men were concerned in the attack on his house between one and two in the morning, no policeman from the barracks came to make any inquiries as to what was going on until nine o'clock. Other witnesses declared that they had seen some of the men who took part in the attack actually entering the police barracks when they had finished their work. But the state of intimidation is so great that practically no oral evidence can be believed on any side at present. It was perfectly clear that the Lord Mayor had been deliberately murdered in accordance with an elaborate, organised plan, and several days before the murder took place he had actually received an anonymous warning that he was to expect to be killed.

Gen. Macready sent to Ireland.

A still more startling and audacious murder was committed a few days later in Dublin, when Mr. Alan Bell, an Irish Magistrate, who had been placed in charge of the special investigation of all private banking accounts in Ireland that had been instituted by Lord French, was shot dead in broad daylight on his way to Dublin Castle. Here also a considerable body of men took part in the murder, but all escaped without detection. Affairs in Ireland have become intensely critical, and the Government at last decided to

send over General Macready to assume command of the whole of Ireland in succession to General Shaw, who has been acting as Commander-in-Chief under Lord French. General Macready is the very best appointment that the Government could have made. He is an Irishman with no political prejudices in favour of either party, and he should be able to administer the law impartially, as it has never been administered in Ireland during the war. He is a brilliant soldier who held office as Adjutant-General, both in France, and later at the War Office. But his special qualifications are the result of his experience in quelling disorder at a famous strike in Wales when he was only a Colonel, and still more as Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in London. He succeeded to that important position at an extremely critical time last year when there was intense unrest among the police, and when there was every probability of an extensive police strike. General Macready succeeded in gaining the reforms which were due to the police, and won their loyalty and affection both by his tact and firmness in enforcing discipline, and at the same time by insisting upon their obtaining all the rights that were due to them.

His Prospects of Success.

He has gone to Ireland to take over much wider military responsibilities than have hitherto been entrusted to the Irish Commander-in-Chief, and the situation will be made much easier by the unification of authority over both the military and the police. But his chief chance of success lies in the fact that he goes to Ireland with the reputation of an independent and impartial administrator who will not pursue whatever policy of prosecution or coercion Sir Edward Carson may wish to dictate. Lord French, ever since he became Viceroy, has been surrounded by members of the military caste which was mainly responsible for organising the campaign to resist Home Rule before the war. Several of the most notorious soldier-politicians who figured largely in that fanatical campaign in Ulster between 1912 and 1914, have since been given control of extremely important commands in Ireland, and their combined influence is so strong that Lord French, who is an indolent administrator,

has been entirely in their hands. If General Macready can succeed in breaking this ring of Ulster politicians, and persuading the Irish people that he is not merely executing Sir Edward Carson's orders, he will have gone far towards winning public sympathy to his side. And the real problem in Ireland is to gain the sympathy of public opinion. So long as it is estranged, the police and the machinery of government will be ceaselessly opposed by the Irish people, and not until it has been given some reason to believe that it is going to be regarded with consideration by the Irish Executive can there be the remotest chance of obtaining the assistance of the public in suppressing crime and the attacks on the police. A further change in the Irish Executive is the retirement of Mr. Ian Macpherson from the Irish Secretaryship. He is succeeded by Sir Hamar Greenwood, a Canadian, who has shown considerable industry and ability at the Department of Overseas Trade, and at the Home Office. He has had so little previous experience in important administrative work that it is impossible yet to judge of his prospects. But the removal of Mr. Macpherson is in itself a change for the better.

Direct Action Defeated.

The Irish question has been allowed to become far more inflamed than it need ever have been, and it is high time that the Government made a serious attempt to deal with it. Its hands will be less tied now that foreign politics are no longer a constant source of embarrassment, and since the signs now show that labour unrest has been practically allayed. This month has apparently witnessed the end of the controversy upon direct action, for the time being, at least. The special Trade Union Congress which was summoned on March 11th to discuss the future attitude of the Trade Unions towards the Government's refusal to nationalise the mines, gave an overwhelming vote against the policy of trying to force the Government's hand by the threat of a general strike. The miners had decided to make a strong attempt to carry the whole Trade Union Congress in favour of a general strike. But when the motion was put to decide upon the alternatives of a general strike or intensive political propaganda in preparation for a

general election, the voting showed a majority of 8,782,000 in favour of political action against 1,015,000 for "direct action." In the face of such a defeat the direct actionists have had to abandon all hope for the present of precipitating a general strike. However, the miners themselves have not acquiesced quietly in the decision of the Congress. They have immediately put forward a fresh demand for increased wages, although they had previously announced that if the Government would agree to nationalising the mines they would make no new claim to an increase in wages. Having failed to carry the Trade Union Congress, however, they at once made a demand for an increase of three shillings a day. The Government replied by an offer of 1s. 6d. a day, stating that this figure represented the increase which is due to the miners since their last wages award a year ago, calculated according to the rise in the cost of living during the meantime. Further negotiations took place, and the Miners' Executive at first adopted a truculent attitude which seemed to threaten to provoke a strike. The Government produced several alternative offers which would involve a considerable increase in wages for piece work, but which could not become operative without a marked increase in the output of coal.

A ballot has now to be taken on the Government's last offer, and it seems probable that a strike will be averted. Labour unrest has gradually subsided, and for a moment the prospects suggest that there will be little cause for trouble in the coming months. The Industrial Courts Act has produced its first success in the report of Lord Shaw's Committee that has been inquiring into the dockers' wages. Although there is a minority report, both reports agree in recommending the minimum wage of sixteen shillings a day that the dockers asked for before the Committee was appointed. This confirmation of their estimates is one of the most significant victories that Labour has yet gained. It goes far to prove the moderation and the justice of the claims that are being put forward by the Trade Union leaders in most industries, and the fact that the first committee of inquiry established under the recent act has reported unanimously in favour of the men's principal demand cannot fail to create among the Trade Unions a new feeling of confidence in methods of arbitration whenever they have a strong case to put forward.

The Revolution in Prussia.

While the domestic situation is reassuring, the situation on the Continent became extremely critical for a short time this month. On March 18th a revolution broke out with astonishing suddenness in Berlin. The Government was driven from power by a carefully prepared plot that had been organised by the Royalist Party in Prussia. Dr. Kapp, one of the firebrands of the Junker party, had come to an agreement with General Lüttwitz, who commanded the military forces in the neighbourhood of Berlin, to bring about a military coup d'état and drive the Ebert Government from power. At the last moment Herr Noske, the Minister of Defence, and the other principal members of the Cabinet, got word of the impending crisis and issued orders for the arrest of Dr. Kapp and General Lüttwitz. But it was too late. Noske and Ebert were obliged to flee from Berlin, and the city passed at once into the hands of the revolutionaries. But their power was not of long duration. The leaders of the Government issued a proclamation urging the



[Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford]

Jack in the (Coal) Box.

German people to reply to the military revolution by a general strike, and within a few days work had stopped pretty nearly throughout Germany. In Southern Germany the revolution never obtained any serious footing, but in several important towns it spread very rapidly, and there was serious danger of civil war. However, the perpetrators of the revolution had evidently found themselves obliged to strike before their plans were fully prepared. The ultimate object of the rebellion was obviously to bring Hindenburg and Ludendorff back into power, but the rising was premature, and Ludendorff, seeing no opportunity of developing a wider movement, held himself aloof from the whole rebellion. At the end of a few days the revolution was found to have completely failed, and Dr. Kapp had to relinquish control unconditionally.

Bolshevism on the Rhine.

But while the Monarchists never came near to success, their conspiracy very nearly precipitated a Bolshevik rising all over Germany. One of the most curious and significant features of the rebellion was the appearance of Tribitch Lincoln, formerly a Liberal Member of Parliament in this country, as one of the chief instigators of the plot. His participation in such a movement seemed to indicate at once that the Royalists were being used by forces more powerful than themselves in order to create a rampede towards Bolshevism in industrial Germany. Tribitch Lincoln is a Hungarian Jew with that varied cosmopolitan experience that is shared by many of the leading agents of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. He belongs to the same type as Trotsky or Litvinoff, or numerous other international agitators who have resided in all parts of Europe and America at different times, and taken a leading part in organising every sort of anarchist and revolutionary society. Wherever revolution has broken out in Europe or America during the past few years, there has always been some member of this enigmatical group of cosmopolitan adventurers intimately mixed up in it. They nearly all speak and write in half a dozen languages, and combine a wide experience of anarchist organisations with great industry and

unscrupulousness of purpose. Consequently, when this familiar type of agitator appeared in Berlin in the person of Tribitch Lincoln, it was fairly evident that there had been previous organisation of a Socialist revolutionary movement to take place as soon as the Monarchists had given the pretext for an appeal to violence. Dr. Kapp was quickly disposed of, but Noske and Ebert soon found that they had raised up an exceedingly serious menace to the peace of Germany by ordering a general strike. The chaos that it provoked might easily have resulted in civil war. For several days the situation in Berlin was acutely critical, but was eventually got under control. In the industrial district close to the Dutch frontier, however, especially in the neighbourhood of Essen where Krupp's immense munition factories are situated, the extreme Socialists started organising themselves for a Bolshevik revolution. Bolshevism broke out in a most serious form on the very banks of the Rhine. Workers' and Soldiers' Committees were formed on the Russian model, and started organising a Red Army, which was



Walter Jacob

Stuttgart

The Entente and Bolshevism.

"So, my dear Lenin, we are removing our ban on trade, but otherwise we are continuing the state of war."
 "Agreed—Honesty is the best Policy."

officered by a group of carefully selected Russian officers who had apparently been actively engaged in preparing for such a revolution. The munition works at Essen which had been converted to industrial purposes, and had been engaged upon the manufacture of rolling stock since the Armistice, were seized by the revolutionaries, who set themselves to reconvert the factory for the production of arms and munitions. Fighting between the revolutionary forces and the Government troops actually took place around Wesel and Duisburg. But the difficulty of obtaining supplies soon brought the Bolshevik outbreak to an end.

The Moscow Soviet Triumphant.

The first experiment of Bolshevism in Western Europe has consequently failed. But the definite appearance of Bolshevism on the Rhine has proved how imminent is the danger of a complete collapse of civilisation throughout Central Europe if order is not promptly restored, and if the Allies persist in enforcing those provisions of the

Peace Treaty which prevent the restoration of trade and normal production on the Continent. Bolshevism has for the moment been prevented from spreading throughout Germany, but in the East Bolshevism is already triumphant. From the coast of the Pacific, right across Siberia and Russia in Europe, to the shores of the Black Sea and of the Baltic, the rule of Lenin and Trotsky is now supreme and undisputed. In Russia, their policy has apparently undergone a considerable modification, and the first extravagances of the Utopia that the Communists attempted to create have been abandoned. But the men who created the Bolshevik revolution, who showed themselves utterly unscrupulous in the means they adopted to bring it to accomplishment, are still in power. The Russian revolution, whatever may be said for or against the changes that it has brought about in the political life of the country, has cost the lives of some thirty million people from the starvation and disease that followed upon the utter poverty and distress into which the Russian people were plunged by the destruction of their ordinary life. In the military field, the Bolsheviks have this month completed their final triumph. General Denikin has been driven from his last port on the Black Sea and has barely escaped with a small remnant of his army. The conquest of Southern Russia by the Bolsheviks is now complete, and the Allies are confronted with the spectacle of all Eastern Europe and Northern Asia solidly organised under Bolshevik rule. There is no longer any possibility of resisting their usurpation of power. Peace with Russia is not only desirable, but inevitable. But henceforth the Supreme Council will have to negotiate with a consolidated Russian power that can deal with it on equal terms. All Eastern Europe has gone Red. All Central Europe is in a state of chaos and despair. If Western Europe is to save anything from the shipwreck of European Civilisation, it must set itself deliberately and earnestly to rebuild in all haste the broken fortunes of Germany and Austria. And since America still refuses to lend a hand in European reconstruction, the future must depend upon the integrity and the imagination of those who direct the policy of Britain and France.



Maternity and Child Welfare

(London)

"Britannia does not fight with Children."

Diary of Current Events

FOR MARCH.

March 1.—A National Health Insurance Bill, providing for larger benefits and higher contributions and amending the former Acts, was introduced by Dr. Addison in the House of Commons.

A sub-committee appointed to inquire into the costs and prices of motor fuel, declares that excessive profits on petrol are being made, and urges international government action to prevent exploitation by trusts.

A new commercial and general wireless service was inaugurated between England and America.

Lord Cavan has been appointed Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

The French Railwaymen's Union declared the Railway Strike at an end.

Sir Auckland Geddes is officially stated to have been appointed Ambassador to the U.S.A.

American railways were returned to private ownership, but for some months the 5½ per cent. guarantee in respect of earnings will be continued by the Government.

March 2.—The Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture protested against the wheat prices fixed for 1920.

The Annual Spring Show of the Hunters' Improvement and National Light Horse Breeding Society opened at Islington.

The Ottoman Government's Budget shows an estimated deficit of £14,300,000, as against a budgeted surplus of £600,000. Expenditure on the frontier operations is expected to amount to £14,750,000.

Admiral Horthy has been elected provisional head of the Hungarian State.

According to the decision of the Peace Conference, the future Turkish Empire will contain a population of 6,000,000, will keep Constantinople, and will have no navy.

The United States Senate re-adopted the Lodge reservations to the Peace Treaty.

In the final tie of the Bath Club Squash Rackets Handicap, the Prince of Wales was beaten by Captain E. Loder by two games to one.

March 3.—Lord Devonport, Chairman of the Port of London Authority, gave evidence at the Dockers' Inquiry. He blamed the Government for the congestion at the docks.

A Chair of Radiology at the Middlesex Hospital has been instituted by London University.

Conditions under which compensation for disability is granted to ex-members of women's corps are published.

March 4.—Lord Bryce addressed a meeting at the Caxton Hall. He said that it was the nation's urgent duty to stop the Cilician massacres and secure justice for the Christians of the East.

The Standing Committee on the Investigation of Prices finds that the manufacturers of metal bedsteads cannot be charged with profiteering.

The United States Senate has agreed to eliminate the references to Japan and China in the Shantung reservation to the Treaty of Versailles.

The Turkish Cabinet has resigned.

French Railwaymen declare that the end of the strike is only an armistice, and that they are preparing a demand for nationalisation.

March 5.—At the annual meeting of the London Underground Electric Railways Company, Ltd., Lord Ashfield stated the case for increasing the maximum fare to 2d. a mile.

The sale of Government ships is estimated to realise a net profit of £3,400,000.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union has adopted resolutions urging that Constantinople and the Straits shall be placed under the League.

Replying to the latest note of the Allies, the Dutch Government maintains its decision not to surrender the ex-Kaiser.

It was stated that a new government has been formed in Albania, under Serbian auspices, with a partisan of Enver Pasha at its head.

March 6.—Mr. Bevin, the dockers' leader at the inquiry, condemned the policy of "ce-canny."

Mr. Wilson's note to the Entente Powers on the Adriatic question practically reiterates his position.

The American Armenian Society has addressed a manifesto to the British people, calling for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe.

March 7.—It was announced that the Ministry of Transport is setting up a committee to inquire into the question of electrifying the main line railways.

Whitby Abbey is to be transferred to the guardianship of the First Commissioner of Works.

March 8.—Mr. Lloyd George announced that the price of the quartern loaf would be increased, probably by 2½d., on April 12th, and the State subsidy on bread would be reduced by £45,000,000.

A dinner was given at the House of Commons, to celebrate the admission of women to the legal profession.

The war loans made to the Allies are stated to be as follows: By the United States, \$9,506,000,000; by Great Britain, £1,666,000,000; by France, 12,000,000,000 Frs.

The Supreme Council has assigned Bessarabia to Roumania.

A Miners' Strike has broken out in France.

March 9.—The Horncastle bye-election has been won by Captain Hotchkin (Co. U.) with a majority of 1,413 over the Liberal candidate, Alderman S. Pattinson. Mr. Will Holmes, the Labour candidate, was more than 3,000 votes behind the Liberal. The claim of the workers in the road transport dispute is, by mutual consent, to be submitted to arbitration.

French officers have been assaulted in Bremen by Germans. The German Foreign Minister has apologised to the French Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin for the attack on the French officer in the Adlon Hotel.

The economic memorandum issued by the Supreme Council calls for thrift and increased production throughout the world. It suggests that further time be allowed to Germany to declare what sum she can pay under the reparation clauses of the Treaty.

The Soviet Government has decreed martial law in the railway workshops.

A new Turkish Cabinet has been formed, with Salih Pasha as Grand Vizier.

March 10.—The Ulster Unionist Council at Belfast decided that the Ulster Members in Parliament should not attempt to defeat the Home Rule Bill, but should press for necessary amendments.

Polling took place in the Argyllshire bye-election.

The London County Council, after an all-night sitting, decided to raise tramway fares.

A reservation directed against the six votes of the British Empire under the League of Nations has been adopted by the American Senate.

March 11.—By a majority of 2,820,000 votes the Trade Union Congress defeated the proposal for a general strike to enforce nationalization of the mines.

The first inquiry into the Dockers' demands was concluded.

Admiral Sims informed a United States Senate Committee that if his advice had been followed the war would have been shortened by four months and 500,000 lives saved.

The Emir Feisal has been proclaimed King of Syria.

March 12.—The total estimates for next year, including repayment of the Anglo-French loan, are approximately £1,250,000,000. Civil Service Estimates amount to £557,474,891, and Naval Estimates (net) £84,372,300, the last showing a decrease of £73,156,500 as compared with those of 1919-1920.

The Miners' Federation has decided to demand at once an advance in wages of 3s. per shift.

Herr Erzberger's libel action against Herr Helfferich was concluded. The defendant was fined 300 marks.

March 13.—A manifesto denouncing the Home Rule Bill has been issued by Dr. McHugh, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry.

A revolution broke out in Germany. The Ebert Government fled from Berlin to Stuttgart, and the Pan-German Dr. Kapp declared himself Imperial Chancellor. There was fighting at Frankfurt and Weimar.

The Executive Council of the League of Nations decided to appoint a commission to visit Russia, and a message was sent to the Soviet Government requesting a safe conduct for the commission.

Wales beat Ireland in a Rugby International match at Cardiff by 28 points to 4 points.

March 14.—An Italian Cabinet has been formed, with Signor Nitti as Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.

March 15.—New retail prices for imported mutton and lamb came into force.

Reports of a compromise arrived at by Dr. Kapp and the Bauer-Noske Government reached this country.

March 16.—The Prince of Wales left England on his tour to visit his mother, Queen Victoria, in New Zealand.

Strong opposition to Mr. Lloyd George's scheme for merging Coalition Liberals in a "new party" was raised at a conference between the Premier and 25 Liberal members.

The second annual London Fair and Market was opened by Lord Morris at the Agricultural Hall, Islington.

A Royal Commission has been appointed to inquire into the financial resources of Dublin University, with a view to providing State help.

The price-fixing policy of the Electric Lamp Manufacturers' Association has been investigated by a sub-committee appointed under the Profiteering Act. The sub-committee gives instances of excessive profits, and urges Government action to safeguard the British consumer. In Germany the Ebert Government has refused Dr. Kapp's request for a compromise.

March 17.—The Statue of Nurse Edith Cavell, the work of Sir George Frampton, R.A., in St. Martin's Lane, was unveiled by Queen Alexandra.

Albert Edward Redfern, formerly a lieutenant in the Devonshire Regiment, was sentenced to death for the murder of Edgar T. Oates, manager of a Leeds bank.

Returns for the South African elections show a majority for the Nationalists in the new House of Assembly, which will include 44 Nationalists, 39 South African Party, 25 Unionists, 21 Labour, and 3 Independent Ministerialists.

A Roumanian Cabinet has been formed, with General Averescu as Prime Minister.

March 18.—Mr. Lloyd George addressed a meeting of Liberal M.P.'s. He attacked the objects of Labour, and made an appeal for "closer co-operation" between the Coalition parties, thus appearing to drop the idea of fusion.

Five divisional commissioners have been appointed by the Irish Government to organise the work of the Irish police force.

The National Federation of General Workers is to take a ballot of the skilled engineering trades on the question whether "payment by results" is acceptable.

The new wages demand of the Miners' Federation was submitted to the Government.

The Ebert Government has returned to Berlin. A serious encounter took place in the Wilhelmstrasse between the Baltic troops and the crowd. Rioting continued. Turkey has been informed by public declaration that the occupation of Constantinople is provisional only.

March 19.—Official announcements were made of the following ministerial changes:—Dr. Mcnamara to be Minister of Labour; Sir Albert Horne, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. McCurdy, Food Controller; Mr. J. A. Clyde, Lord President of the Court of Session.

Mr. Bonar Law, at Worthing, made an appeal for united action by the Coalition parties in the constituencies.

The 44th annual chess match between Oxford and Cambridge Universities resulted in a draw: 34 games all.

March 20.—The Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman MacCurtin, a prominent Sinn Féiner, was shot dead by armed men, who forced their way into his house.

March 21.—A report was published of the case presented by the Indian Caliphate Delegation (on the question of Constantinople), and of Mr. Lloyd George's reply, in which he said that the same principles must apply in the settlement of Mohammedan countries as in that of others.

At a London meeting of the Variety Artists' Federation a resolution was passed that every member should refuse to take part in any engagement in which Germans participate.

The Disposals Board has been authorised by the Ministry of Munitions to sell remaining surplus stores, to the value of £5,000,000, to Messrs. Rowntree, Drew and Clydesdale, Ltd.

Spartacist successes are reported from many German centres. Communists are demanding more favourable terms as a condition of peace.

March 22.—Mr. Morison, Solicitor-General for Scotland, will succeed Mr. Clyde as Lord Advocate. Colonel C. D. Murray, K.C., will be Solicitor-General.

Signor Nitti delivered an important speech on the programme of the new Italian Government. He dwelt on the need of economic help for the vanquished nations of Europe, and expressed a desire for closer friendship with Yugo-Slavia.

March 23.—The Miners' Federation failed to reach an agreement with the Coal Controller on the demand for a wage advance of 3s. a day.

Mr. A. J. Hobson, giving evidence on behalf of the Association of Chambers of Commerce before the Select Committee on Increases of War Wealth, submitted proposals for a 20-years loan as an alternative to a levy on capital.

In Germany, the Ebert Government has come to an agreement with the Left, whereby a purely Socialist Government is to hold office until the elections.

March 24.—The Government's offer of an increase of 1s. 6d. a day was rejected by the Miners' Leaders.

Mr. Asquith spoke at the National Liberal Club. He declared emphatically that the rank and file of Liberals in the country would never consent to the Prime Minister's proposal of "fusion."

The Report of the Royal Commission on Decimal Coinage was issued. It decides against any change in the existing system.

Ronald Light, a schoolmaster at Cheltenham, was committed for trial by the Little Stretton magistrates, on the charge of murdering Annie Bella Wright.

March 25.—The executive committee of the National Liberal Federation has passed a resolution advising to enter into closer relations with the Conservatives.

An amended offer by the Government to the miners was made to the latter's representatives at a meeting with the Prime Minister.

The Transport Ministry was reported to have evolved a scheme for the future nationalisation of the railways, under which the main lines would be grouped into four areas, which is being considered by the Cabinet.

It was reported that the Spartacist army in Westphalia rejected the terms offered by the Ebert Government.

March 26.—Mr. Alan Bell, the resident magistrate in Dublin, who had been engaged in the special inquiry into the supposed relations between Sinn Féin and some of the Irish banks, was dragged from a tramway car in a suburb of the city, and murdered.

Mr. Lloyd George, at a luncheon at the National Liberal Club, answered Mr. Asquith's speech of March 24th, and said that Mr. Asquith had suggested no remedy for the prevalent European unrest.

The Turkish Government resigned. Damad Ferid Pasha was entrusted with the formation of a new ministry.

The German ministry resigned. Herr Müller was appointed the new Chancellor. The Grand National Steeplechase at Aintree was won by Major Gerrard's Troytown. Mr. C. Willcox's The Turk II. was second, and Mr. H. Brown's The Bore third.

March 27.—Polling took place in the bye-elections at Stockport and Dartford.

At a meeting of school teachers at the Kingsway Hall, London, Sir Cyril Cobb, Chairman of the L.C.C. Education Committee, was refused a hearing, and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher was unable to give an address.

March 28.—In Berlin, a Coalition Ministry has been formed by Herr Müller.

Novorossiisk, in the Black Sea, the last base of Denikin's army, has fallen to the Bolsheviks.

The Polish Government has agreed to begin peace negotiations with the Soviet Government.

March 29.—The Government made a new and final offer to the miners, involving an addition to the wage bill of £36,500,000. The Federation is to ask the rank and file to decide upon this by ballot.

The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the feasibility of taxing war fortunes was reported to have reached a deadlock.

The second reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill was moved by Mr. Macpherson in the House of Commons.

The Prime Minister announced that Sir Nevil Macready would go to Ireland as successor to General Shaw (resigned).

March 30.—The Select Committee on war fortunes, after a consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, decided to resume their sittings.

A new Cabinet, to hold an immediate general election, has been formed in Denmark.

At a Bolshevik Congress in Moscow, Lenin referred to his enemies' failure, and said that it proved them to be "nothing but a group of capitalistic beasts."

March 31.—The Home Rule Bill was given a second reading in the House of Commons by 348 votes to 94.

Polling took place in the bye-elections at N.W. Camberwell and Basingstoke.

A deputation of London teachers interviewed Sir Cyril Cobb and other members of the Education Committee on the salaries' question. The reply they received was described as "most unsatisfactory."

The mandate for Armenia has been offered by the Supreme Council to the League of Nations.

The Danish Trade Union Congress has declared a general strike as a protest against the King's action in dismissing the Zahle Cabinet.

OBITUARY.

March 1.—CHARLES GARVICE, Novelist, dramatist and journalist.

JAMES ROWLANDS, Coalition Liberal M.P. for the Dartford Division of Kent, 69.

March 10.—HELEN MATHERS (Mrs. Henry Reeves), novelist, 67. Author of "Coming through the Rye."

March 13.—SIR ROBERT MORANT, K.C.B., First Secretary of the Ministry of Health, and formerly Chairman of the National Health Insurance Commission, 69.

March 21.—THE HON. MRS. EVELINA HAVENFIELD, a prominent suffragist, founder of the Women's Emergency Corps, Women's Volunteer Reserve, and the

Green Cross Corps; commander of the motor transport section of the Fourth Women's Hospital Unit in Russia and Serbia, 58.

GEORGE EVELYN AUGUSTUS TOWNLEY ("Sam") SOYMEN, popular light comedian, 55.

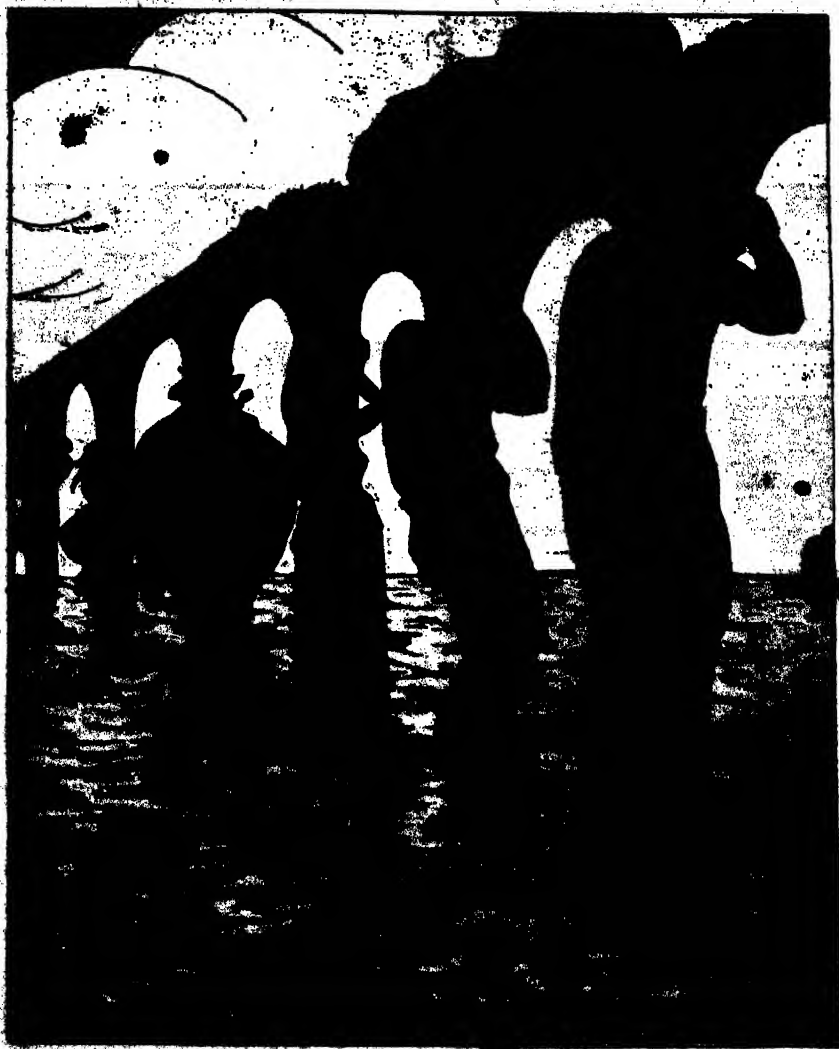
March 24.—MRS. HUMPHREY WARD, famous novelist and writer, prominent anti-suffragist and founder of the Passmore Edwards Settlement and Evening Play Centres for Children, 69.

THE RIGHT REV. JOHN WILLIAM DIEGLA, Bishop of Carlisle, 72.

March 25.—THE RIGHT REV. EDGAR JAMES, D.D., late Bishop of St. Albans, 75.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see ourselves as others see us."—Burns.



Walter Tease

Revision of the Peace Treaty.

(Stuttgart)

Since the first two pillars are so heavily burdened, the Bridge to the League of Nations Land must soon break.

JOHN BULL THE BURGLAR.



Hang it! The beast nearly had me!



[Kladderadatsch]

Perhaps I came too empty-handed

[Berlin]



Valire Jacobi

Easter, 1920.

[Stuttgart

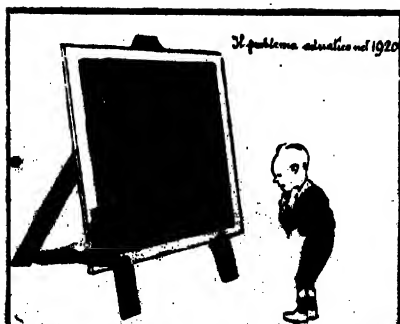
"We are a nation, and we will be a united one!"



Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.

"That's a dangerous-looking weapon you carry, sir."



L'Asino]

[Rome

The Fiume Problem.



Wicks]

"Our" Danzig

[Warsaw

(In the Council of the Free City)

The Footman: Herr Gott! What giant is this?

The Englishman: The Lord of Albania, to sit in the Council of your city together with the Germans and the Poles.

The Footman: Why, such a giant will not have enough room on one chair.

The Englishman: Well, that's why I shall occupy all three seats.



[Wahre Jacob]

[Stuttgärt]

The German Easter Lamb.

John Bull: "We will keep the holiday, and will not kill the German lamb. Repeated shearing is profitable!"



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

A Way Out.



[Kladderadtsch]

[Berlin]

The Danish Dog also is going with the Hyenas of the Battlefield.



Kjødleredatsch]

[Berlin

The Danish Wooser.

Front View.

Back View.



Mellbourne Punch]

[Melbourne

The Hot Potato.

(Mr. Ryan, of West Sydney, says since the elections that Irish affairs should not be permitted to interfere with Australian business.)



KING PUNCH

The Turkish Delight.

[Bombay

Turkey: "Excellent for me, but how will others relish it?"

(At the third Khilafat Conference, held in Bombay, a resolution was passed asking for the maintenance of Turkish integrity).



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

The Temple Breakers.

Millerand: Thunder! He has put me into this fix with his extradition demands, and now he is going to leave me in the lurch!



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

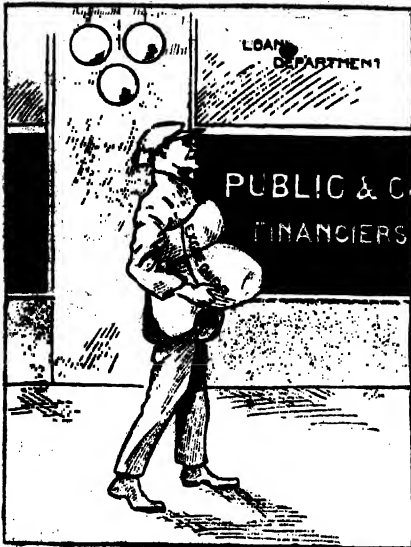
Another Klondike?



[The Star]

[London]

"Move down a bit! D'yer want all der room?"

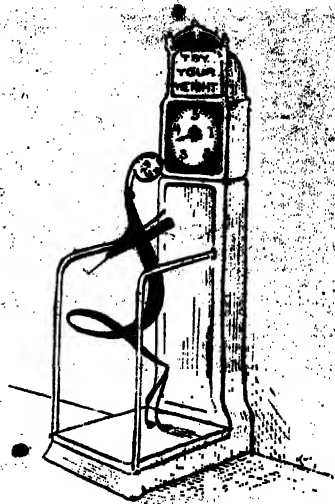


[Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford]

Resisting the Temptation.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has stated that there will be no more borrowing.



[Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford]

Putting on Weight.



[Westminster Gazette]



[London]

Inflation and Explosion.



The Star]

Horse Sense.

[London

When the horses can't get out of each other's way, the what-is-it gets the grass.



Westminster Gazette]

Who'll be the Tiger.

[London

David: Let's play at "There was a young lady of Niger, who went for a ride on a Tiger."

Bonar: All right! I'll be the Tiger!

David: You jolly well won't be! I'm going to be the Tiger!

Are We Heading for a New War?

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

The fall of the House of Usher announces itself by a loud roar. The edifice of civilisation is splitting asunder. There are countries which are apparently prosperous, such as America and even England; but the information which comes to me from other than newspaper sources concerning the United States reveals a menacing situation; while England, comparatively fortunate, is in the throes of a mighty struggle between those who would preserve the ancient world, badly battered as it is, and those who would build up some construction for which it would be difficult to produce the architectural plans.

(Incidentally it should be noted that American exports for February dropped by 78,000,000 dollars, a fact which is an alarming reflection of the fallen European exchanges; and at least one French newspaper frankly declares that the killing of the Treaty happily puts America out of Europe, to Europe's great joy. It is the writing on the wall for America, which is by no means as rich as it has been the fashion to depict her in the Press.)

Elsewhere, as one surveys the world, there is only doleful news to record. R. L. Stevenson somewhere remarks that the gloomy prophet is sure of consolation. If he is wrong he has cause for rejoicing; if he is right, even in the crash of things he can at least plume himself upon his prescience. To find what has been said in these articles month after month coming true, coming startlingly true, cannot give anyone who is genuinely concerned for the future of the world any pleasure. The catastrophe is too terrible. It is painful to observe the approach of disaster: it is more painful to observe the apparent blindness of statesmen. They are kept at least as well informed as any private person can be: the truth seems perfectly clear: and yet it is only spasmodically that the smallest attempt is made towards the co-operation which is essential—the co-operation of friend and foe, of conquered and conqueror, that Signor Nitti, now the most clairvoyant of

European figures on the Allied side, sees to be indispensable.

The notable speech which he delivered a week or two ago ought to be placarded on every wall in Europe. The French order addresses to be printed at the public expense and pasted on all public buildings; but this is an address, not for Italian consumption, but for the whole of Europe. There is, if you like, nothing new in his vision. Every phrase has been employed here and elsewhere over and over again. But no other statesman will inspire himself with the sentiments he expresses. Yet we all know that it is true that Europe must make peace or perish. It is true that there are other defeated nations besides those who were popularly supposed to be the sole vanquished peoples. It is obvious that hundreds of millions of mankind in Europe are in danger of famine. And these imperilled peoples, moved by the petty pride of victory, the pride that goes before a fall, have kept Russia, the reservoir of raw materials, outlawed from their superiority; and have gloated foolishly over the death-agonies of Germany, the reservoir of industrial labour.

The consciousness of these truths does indeed come upon us occasionally. Mr. Lloyd George, I notice, denies that the British Government knew of the coming *coup d'état* in Germany that everybody else had foreseen. That is Mr. Lloyd George's misfortune—I will not say fault. Certainly there were some of us who were aware of official reports about what was to be expected. Certainly I was led to believe that the reason why France consented to sign the economic manifesto which hardly represented her wishes, the reason why she reluctantly consented to make more or less explicit promises to Germany, the reason why England and Italy pressed for a changed attitude and began to talk about the revision of the treaty, was precisely that they had been warned of the consequences of a further exhibition of intransigence. It would be odd if Prime Ministers were thus really kept in ignorance and did not even under-

stand the mainspring of their own policy.

For my part, I affirm that the intentions of the Militarists were known. I affirm that the German Government managed to persuade the Entente that unless some concessions were made they would be overthrown. I affirm that these considerations weighed even with the French, who are always the last to give way when there is question of lightening the burden of Germany. I affirm that the Allies at the eleventh hour tried to do what they should have done at an earlier hour of the clock.

Too late! The blow fell. Even as I write, Germany is in chaos and I do not know who will have the upper hand when these comments are published. But whatever the situation may be, it will remain true that in a perfectly legitimate manner the Entente might have controlled affairs in Germany and strengthened the Government of its choice by the simple process of giving a helping hand and—what is equally important—a helping word.

When we were fighting we assured Germany that her lot would be very different according to whether she remained in the clutches of the Kaiser or became a democratic country. Germany became democratic (That assertion might be disputed, but it must be read in the sense that the Allied Governments certainly preferred the Ebert-Noske combination to any other that could have been discovered). Did we change our attitude towards her? Did we make the distinction between governors and governed, between the people and the Junkers? Not a bit of it. We did our best to persuade Germany that she would have done better to remain a monarchist, militarist nation, that she had nothing to hope from conversion, that, far from being better treated because she had made her revolution, advantage would be taken of her weakness to violate the promise. No wonder the Hindenburgs and the Ludendorffs and the Luttwitzs and the Von Kapps did not despair. What is more, although we crushed the soul of enterprise, and annihilated the spirit of industry, we allowed Noske to keep huge armies, to make camouflaged armies, to become the accomplice of the Militarists. We were more afraid of the Bolsheviks

than of the Militarists. The folly of this policy—apparent to anyone who knew the real conditions in Germany—is now seen. If the Spartacists did chase out the Militarists and make a bid for power, it was because the Militarists, whom we had armed, had struck first and failed, and had created a confusion in which any determined body might win.

Everywhere I have heard the question: "Are we heading for another war?" It is natural that it should occur to men's minds, for we are doing our best to provoke a conflagration, and must necessarily have misgivings from time to time. So far as Western Europe is concerned, I am satisfied that the fear of an immediate conflict on a considerable scale is unfounded, though dangerous collisions are quite possible. I am equally convinced that, unless we are extremely careful, we shall find ourselves engaged in strife in the East almost at once; while in the West another war a few years hence is quite conceivable if we do not change our tactics and apply our minds to restoration rather than to repression and revenge, and if in the meantime we are hopelessly disorganised.

We had to choose, we may still choose, between two policies. One of them, which to certain French minds, for example, appears the safest plan, is in reality certain, sooner or later, to provoke an attempted revanche. We should beware of that plan: we should understand what it involves. It involves a possible rupture of the Alliance, it involves a perilous reliance upon armed force. Armed forces may break in your hand (as Noske, as Von Kapp, as the Kaiser, discovered). There is so much secret diplomatic history nowadays (oh, that cry for public diplomacy!) that those whose business is to watch the events of the world at close quarters wonder how such important happenings can often go unnoticed. This was notably the case of the conversations between Paris, Rome, and London regarding a military move into Germany. M. Clemenceau was pushed into demanding an advance. Marshal Foch was in favour of taking precautions in the Ruhr basin. What happened? London and Rome said no. Paris paused. Paris reflected. The enterprise was hazardous. To assume the sole responsi-

bility for it was fraught with danger. Then the Spartacists came into the neutral zone and the Imperial soldiers came into the neutral zone, and there was much indignation in official circles. Happily at that moment the Allied troops were not on the spot. I dread to think of the sparks that might have flown, and of the powder mixes which might have been struck. The best exponent of this particular French view of force, in the Press, is undoubtedly "Pertinax." He is well-informed: he is logical: he has always pursued the same idea. But is it not plain that, however satisfactory may be the arguments for the protection of France by an extended occupation and a policy of detaching the Rhine provinces, of pitting North against South, there are two fatal defects—one is the inability of the Allies to acquiesce, the second is the certainty that Germany cannot for ever be held down. When the lid flies off —.

It is certainly true that there is a strange resemblance between the idea of the Militarists and the Spartacists and the Moderate Socialists in respect of the occupation of the neutral zone. It will be remembered that this zone was traced on the Eastern bank of the Rhine, and a distinct breach of the Treaty had already been committed when the German representatives at Paris and London sought to obtain the sanction of the Allies for the presence of an army. Did the Communist Army which took Barmen, Essen, Elberfeld, and other towns, with curious Imperialist captains at its head, act with the connivance of the Militarist troops who meekly gave way? Were there Machiavelian intrigues and strange understandings between the Extremists? When the game was up for one party, did it help the other—its opposite—to tear up again the Treaty, because at least the success of the Communists meant the total destruction of the work of Versailles? There is much that tempts me to believe that these proceedings were more than an accidental outcome of the confusion.

But even then it is stupid to tempt the devil. I do not change my opinion that one way leads certainly to the revanche: whereas the other method—the method of co-operation, the attempt to straighten out the tangle by the re-establishment of

Germany—has at least a chance of succeeding.

We have to abandon the habit of putting problems in water-tight compartments. They won't fit in. They spread out and are connected with each other. We cannot ask: "France or Germany first?" It would be too simple. We should all answer: "France, of course." It is amusing, though annoying, to find intelligent people posing the question so crudely. Put it still more crudely, and declare that we must stop German factories in good going order from turning out any articles which the world wants until France has repaired all her shattered factories, and you will see the absurdity of it. No, the world cannot wait. Our interests interlock.

There can be no immediate war with Germany. Let us lay that bogey, which is doing so much harm, to rest. Examine the military resources of Germany. However much she may wish to play the third game of the rubber with France, she has not now the material. She has, as I pointed out, too much material in one sense: total disarmament was called for, but we played into the hands of the Militarist elements, and we are still trying to prick Germany into revolt. But she could not make a serious effort. She has a certain number of men. There were 200,000 in the Reichswehr and another 200,000 available from the old army in different formations which Noske did not dissolve. There were 120,000 men of the Sicherheitswehr, a police guard, and 200,000 volunteers of technicians chiefly composed of non-commissioned officers. There were masses of men in all sorts of protective corps, totalling perhaps two and a half million of men. As a fighting army the latter can be ruled out. And against the others (for they would have to fight on the Rhine, on the Vistula, and on the Oder) there is opposed an overwhelming force. They have far too many cannons, far too much ammunition; but in spite of our weakness and their craftiness there can be no comparison between their strength and ours. Need I add that Germany has no money?

But anything that tends to aggravate disorder, or to sow hatred, or to place men in armed opposition, is fatal for the future. The Treaty is the cause of much

of the mischief. It does nothing to restore order: it does much to create despair and revolt. Its execution is not possible, and the tug-of-war about its execution, first between Germany and the Allies, second between France and the other Allies, only perpetuates the gigantic muddle.

The new Western war towards which we are heading will not take place next week, but unless we get out of the mess, into which the last war plunged us, a little more respectably, unless we do follow the advice of Signor Nitti, assuredly we will later reap a terrible red harvest. There will be unknown horrors. The laboratory will give up its diabolical secrets. Death and destruction will be complete and widespread. European civilisation may easily come to an end.

There is, however, in the East the prospect of grave events. The Turkish question in general has been allowed to drag on until now we are faced with the utmost difficulties. Naturally it is the iniquitous secret treaties that are responsible for the delay and therefore for the present menacing mood of Mustapha Kemal and his hordes. Will we now have to undertake a serious campaign to save the Armenians, to subdue the insolent and murderous bands which have already attacked Greek and French and other Allied troops? What must be our reinforcements? How far has the military party at Berlin inspired the Turk? There may, if my information is correct—and I do not doubt it—be a closer connection than we imagine between Berlin and Constantinople—those two centres of intrigue—and if one regards what is passing in Syria it is apparent that we have our hands really full. There are dark mysteries not yet elucidated: but it is significant that just before the Berlin *coup d'état*—which it was not foreseen would turn to the advantage of the Bolsheviks—Enver Bey was in the Prussian capital. The British Government—to do it justice—did press for the surrender of the arch-plotter. Estimates which reach me of the strength of Mustapha Kemal put the number of his troops as high as a quarter of a million, and it is obvious that in guerilla warfare over a large area it will be difficult to overcome him.

What strikes me as noteworthy is that the Arab people should have become strongly welded. For centuries they have been mere tribes, usually at each other's throats. Now they have a consciousness that the hour of destiny has struck for them. The troubles of the Turks are their opportunity. They are consolidating their kingdom from the Hedjaz to Mesopotamia, and our old friend, the Emir Feisal, subsidised by the British and pampered at Paris, is making out his father's, his brother's, his cousin's, his uncle's, and other relatives' share, quite regardless of the feelings of the French or even of the British.

It would not astonish me overmuch if the French, who have been anxious to colonise Syria, should eventually think better of it. Feelers have been unmistakably put out. Their retirement, not only from Cilicia but from the whole of Syria, would complicate the Eastern problem. Yet I can hardly believe that they will thus change their minds, in spite of certain efforts now being made by those who do not favour the Syrian adventure.

It is certain that Asia Minor is seething. The painful elaboration of the Turkish Treaty, the quarrels about the allotment of territory, the distribution of mandates, allowed the Turk to grow bolder, and it would be hard to predict the end of it all. Could there be an understanding between Brousse and Damascus and Mecca? If so, if the whole of Islam were once ablaze, then there would indeed be a dy- look. Soviets at Berlin? Why, Soviets at Berlin are not half so dangerous as the wild uprising that is to be apprehended as a result of our hesitations, our feebleness, our quarrels, in Turkey and in Asia Minor. If a new war began there, as it well might, then we should have to pay heavily for all our follies.

Disputes between Allies, disputes between the Central Powers and the Allies, disputes in Rhineland, disputes in Asia Minor, disputes with America, disputes, disputes, disputes which are in some sort wars and may be the mother of terrible wars—all this when what the sad world needs is universal agreement, universal co-operation, universal goodwill. The crisis of the drama has been reached: the denouement may follow swiftly.

For and Against Easier Divorce.

At the end of March Lord Buckmaster's Divorce Bill passed its second reading in the House of Lords by a majority of two to one. The Lord Chancellor, while speaking very forcibly in favour of the Bill, declared that the Government intends to leave the question to a free vote in both Houses. The main provisions of the Bill are to amend the existing law by enabling women to obtain a divorce on the same grounds as men, to cheapen the cost of divorce proceedings, and to recognise as sufficient causes for divorce either lunacy, habitual drunkenness, venereal disease, or desertion for three years. Will these concessions lead to further demands for divorce on one pretext or another until marriage is made dissoluble at the desire of either party to the contract? The question is discussed in the following articles by protagonists in the controversy on both sides.



(Photo, Bassano, Ltd.)

MR. ATHELSTAN RENDALL, M.P.

Mr. Athelstan Rendall, the Liberal M.P. for the Thornbury Division of Gloucester since 1906, is a well known social reformer. He was a member of the House of Commons Select Committee on Debtors' Imprisonment, and drafted its report. A solicitor by profession, he has been a constant contributor to many newspapers and magazines on political and social subjects. He has introduced into the House of Commons a Divorce Bill identical with that which Lord Buckmaster has successfully piloted through its first stages in the Upper House; and when it is sent down to the Commons, Mr. Rendall will be chiefly responsible for its progress there.



(Photo, Russell.)

LORD HUGH CECIL, M.P.

Lord Hugh Cecil, the Conservative M.P. for Oxford University since 1910, has been for a long time recognised as one of the most brilliant and independent thinkers in the House of Commons. As the younger son of a former Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, he carries on the political traditions of one of the most gifted and public spirited families in England. He commands in a unique degree the respect and affections of all parties in the House of Commons. He is a man of too marked individuality to be in the usual sense a "successful" politician. But he is a critic who invariably observes and obtains an attentive hearing.

The Case For Easier Divorce.

By ATHELSTAN RENDALL, M.P.

The Divorce Law of England and Wales has remained unaltered, with a slight exception to be mentioned later, since the first act was passed, called the Matrimonial Causes Act, in 1857. After 63 years it will hardly lie in the mouth of anyone to say that Divorce Reformers have been in a hurry or that they seek reform without waiting to see the results of existing legislation. The Act of 1857 legalised one ground for divorce only, viz.: Adultery. That was made the sole necessary ground for a man to divorce his wife. For a wife even that ground was insufficient. To it she had to add proof of physical cruelty, desertion for two years, bigamy or some beastial act of her husband. Even a proposal so restricted as this was opposed by Roman Catholics and High Churchmen. They considered and consider that their construction of the Christian faith does not permit of divorce on any ground, but they admit that there is some warrant in certain words of Jesus for those who make exception in favour of the ground of adultery. But let it be remembered that in the present fight those who are against the reforms we advocate were against divorce on any ground in 1857, and that the State and Parliament decided against them.

Let us see what the evils are from which the State now suffers owing to bad and inadequate legislation. At the same time we will notice what, if any, remedies for these evils are proposed by the ten members of the Royal Commission on Divorce who issued the Majority Report. That Commission was appointed in 1909. It made its report in 1912. Here are the names of the ten members who approved it: Lord Gorell, late President of the Divorce Court; Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. H. J. Tennant, Right Hon. Sir Thomas Burt, M.P., Lord Guthrie (a Scotch Judge), Sir George White, M.P. (a Nonconformist, who approved but died before he could sign the Report), Judge Tindal Atkinson (a County Court Judge), Mr. Edgar Brierly (a Stipendiary Magistrate of Manchester),

Mr. J. A. Spender (Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*), and Sir Frederick Treves (the famous surgeon). In fairness to Mrs. Tennant, it should be mentioned that she made certain reservations when signing the report. Now for the evils and the remedies:

The Divorce Court sits in London only.

First: The expense of even an undefended suit is from £50 to £100, witnesses having to be brought from the country and to be kept in London till their case is called. The Commissioners say they found one law for those who could afford to come to the Divorce Court, and another for those who could not, and that the evidence to support this view was overwhelming. As remedy they propose jurisdiction being given to certain County Court Judges who would sit in different parts of the country, so that the cost of legal proceedings should deny to no unhappy husband or wife the rights which are legally his or hers. Some amelioration of this position was made in 1914 by the Poor Persons Rules, which give free legal assistance to persons whose income is under £4 a week. But the cost is still heavy, and the expense of bringing witnesses to London still denies the law to thousands entitled to and needing to use it.

Second: Women properly of the inequality in the law which makes adultery a sole cause when the husband wants a divorce, but not when the wife wants one. The temptation to a woman to commit adultery may be less and the consequences if she does so more serious. But in either case a breach of faith occurs. The Commissioners recommend that adultery should be a sole ground for divorce for both sexes. With the law so altered, as long as in most cases the husband provides the sole means of living, the majority of wives will not find this alteration make their path to freedom too easy.

Third: Under the existing law tens of thousands, probably hundreds of thousands, of married persons are forced to lead unnaturally celibate lives or lives which are immoral simply because the

law is as it is. Under the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women's) Act, 1895, and amending acts magistrates, when the husband's or wife's cruelty or desertion, neglect or habitual drunkenness have caused the other party to the marriage to leave, have power to make an order that the innocent party be no longer bound to live with the guilty party, and giving the innocent party, if a wife, custody of the children till 16 and ordering the husband to maintain the wife and children. It was and still is argued by some that these offences do not warrant so serious a remedy as divorce; that the offences are in reality often slighter than they appear as stated in Court, and that by making only a separation order the chance of the husband and wife restarting a joint life is left open and is often taken advantage of. Doubtless there are such cases. But the evidence is strong that wives do not seek this, their only existing remedy, and one which makes them homeless, deprives them of a husband, puts them for their support at the mercy of a maintenance order too often unpaid by a husband who disappears, unless the need of even such protection is overwhelming. From 5,000 to 7,000 separation orders are made yearly. In 21 years ending in 1915, 300,675 married persons were legally separated by magistrates. Add to this the thousands of married persons separated each year by separation deed for causes which would have given one of them the right to a separation order, and we get a huge total of separated married persons in the country to-day. The results to the State are clear and cannot be disputed. The break-up of the home stops the birth of legitimate children, and if there are no children tens of thousands of potential parents are sterilised and the birth rate suffers accordingly. If fresh and non-legal unions are formed, the illegitimate birth-rate rises with its regular result, namely a double infant mortality.

For all this great mass of existing and increasing evil with its hideous results on the men and women and the children, what is the remedy?

The Commissioners propose that separation orders on certain limited grounds shall in future be made by

magistrates for brief periods only. They then propose certain new grounds for divorce which will give relief to many persons who have hitherto had no remedy for their misfortunes except the unnatural life offered by separation orders.

In addition to equality for the sexes in the matter of adultery, they propose these new grounds for Divorce:

- (1) Desertion for three years, wilful and without reasonable cause. In Scotland Desertion for four years has been a sole ground of Divorce for centuries. The Commissioners propose three years because modern means of transport has so quickened that there is less excuse than formerly for the deserting spouse.
- (2) Cruelty. This they define as "such conduct by one married person to the other party to the marriage as makes it unsafe having regard to the risk of life, limb or health bodily or mental for the latter to continue to live with the former."
- (3) Incurable insanity for five years. The Commissioners say it is unreasonable to suppose that on marriage the parties contemplate the determination of their marriage for such a cause. Insanity, they say, differs from all other disorders of the body in that it ends family life and all the obligations of marriage and makes the physiological obligation incapable of fulfilment. Ninety-nine medical men were heard by the Commissioners. A majority of nearly two to one favoured the Commissioners' view. It was proved that of certified lunatics 88 per cent. recover in the first two years, 9 per cent. in between three and five years, and only 1 per cent. thereafter. And the Commissioners therefore consider that, after five years' confinement as a certified lunatic, the request for freedom from a marriage which is no marriage should be granted.
- (4) Habitual drunkenness found incurable after three years from the first order of separation. The Commissioners make elaborate recommendations for the attempted reform of the drunkard; but they say that after this has been made and has failed,

the Court should have power to grant a divorce where it finds there is no reasonable prospect of joint married life.

- (5) On the passing of a death sentence, later commuted to imprisonment for life.

So much for the main evils and the principal remedies proposed by the Commissioners. They make many other recommendations of interest and importance. They propose that the clergy of the Church of England shall, if conscientious objectors to divorce, have no legal liability to perform the marriage-service on divorced persons. Under existing laws persons marrying whose spouses have been continually absent and unknown to be living for seven years, and those marrying in the *bona fide* belief that their spouses are dead, cannot be found guilty of bigamy, but their second marriages are void and the children of them illegitimate. This has brought terrible hardship on many innocent persons. The Commissioners recommend that after seven years' absence, or on satisfying the Court that there is reasonable ground for believing the absent spouse to be dead, the Court may grant an order for presumption of death after which their re-marriage shall be legal.

One further point. We admit that as with the present Divorce Law so with any Divorce Law, collusion, or the attempt to use the law to get a Divorce which has been mutually agreed to, is possible. Under the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1884, legal desertion is defined as refusal to obey an order of the Court to return to one's spouse. Women are using this law daily in our Courts. They ask for and obtain an Order that their husband be ordered to return to them, well knowing they do not want him to return. The husband's neglect to obey such Order makes one of the two necessary causes for Divorce, which they require. The husband offers proof of his adultery, and, the second necessary cause being in existence, a decree of Divorce follows on a petition. Religious opponents of Divorce agree to equality of the sexes in regard to the ground of Adultery. They must know that there can be no larger field for "collusion," as it is called, than here. Parties in agreement in desiring a Divorce

cannot be prevented from using this ground. The Court does not ask for, and cannot obtain, evidence actually proving Adultery. It asks for and obtains evidence that certain circumstances have happened making it possible or likely that Adultery took place.

In a recent well-known case the divorced Respondent openly stated that he had not committed the Adultery which had been legally proved against him, and his statement was generally believed by those who knew him. It is probable that the change in the law which religious opponents of the larger measure themselves favour, viz., making the committal of adultery by a man a sufficient ground for divorce, will itself offer the largest field for possible collusive divorces. But this obvious act has not deterred our opponents from favouring this change in the law. Certainly none of the new grounds for divorce proposed by the Commissioners will give a hundredth part of the opportunity for collusion that that proposal will. But are tens of thousands of real sufferers from our savage and adulterous law of separation to go unheeded because in relieving them a few who do not deserve relief may get it? Surely not.

To the proposals of the Commissioners who have given us the Majority Report, what is the opposition we have to face? From some Christians on the ground that all divorce is contrary to the Christian faith. But this contention Parliament decided against as long ago as 1857. But certain members of certain churches—and the Roman Catholic Church as a whole—object to any extension. To this the Commissioners say that the State must deal with all its citizens whether Christian, nominally Christian, or non-Christian, and they recommend the legislature to act upon an unfettered consideration of what is best for the interest of the State, Society, morality and for that of parties to suits and their families. Divorce reformers wish to interfere with the laws of no church. No Christian who believes that the law of the State offers him a liberty which his faith disapproves will, if he be sincere, make use of it. But the religious beliefs of one man bear no relation to the moral standards or religious beliefs of any other. Further, divorce on

nearly all the proposed new grounds exists in one or other of all the Protestant countries of the world, including our Colonies. No divorce exists in Spain, but we do not generally draw either our religious or moral inspirations from Spain. Protestants as sincere and devout in their religious faiths as High Churchmen and Roman Catholics in England have insisted on a liberal divorce law everywhere. But on the narrowest religious grounds we join issue with opponents of divorce. We say that God has nothing to do with thousands of marriages which take place, that the words "whom God has joined together" do not refer to alliances that lead to physical, mental and moral ruin. Bible texts are used to support many theories. Few are as precise as "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." This precept is not practised by the majority of those who make their appeal to Scripture on matters of divorce.

The State owes it to every one of its citizens to grant tolerable conditions of life. It is not tolerable that a helpless woman should be yoked for life to a brute whose cruelty daily endangers her existence, or that a confirmed and confined lunatic should hold to marriage and celibacy the spouse he or she will never recognise again. Nor that a deserted wife of twenty shall have vows of poverty and

celibacy imposed on her for life by law, with the alternative of adulterous intercourse and bastard children if her natural human needs find an outlet. Nor is it to be borne that thousands of children should have their natures twisted and their lives clouded because the "sanctity of the homes" of criminals and lunatics must be preserved.

Will such legislation as we propose tend to break up homes? It will not touch a single home which is not already broken in every real sense of the word. One devoted parent is a thousand times better than the constant proximity to the children of another whose conduct nourishes only fear and pain, disgust and hatred.

As I write I learn that the House of Lords has just passed the second reading of a Bill by a majority of two to one which proposes to make the changes in the law recommended in this article. So the long tale of suffering seems nearing the end, and an outworn mediæval conception of marriage may soon disappear from the Statute Book. When it does, there will be lifted from the hearts of tens of thousands of women and thousands of men a vast load of misery, and a shameful reproach to our modern civilisation will have been wiped out.

The Case Against Easier Divorce.

By the Right Hon. LORD HUGH CECIL, M.P.

The first question to ask about divorce is: Do we believe that there is such a thing as a divine law of marriage? Two opinions are possible. We may think that marriage is an institution depending essentially on contract and on the recognition of the State. Upon this theory any contract which the State recognises as a marriage contract would constitute a good marriage. Or we may hold the opinion

that according to God's fundamental plan of the universe some relations between men and women are marriages and some are not, and that all that the State has to do is to ascertain to the best of its ability what according to God's law is a marriage, and to recognise it as such. Summer-time affords an illustration of the distinction. We may think of marriage as being like the clock, something conventional,

recognised by the law, which may be set forward or back at pleasure. Or we may think of marriage as being like the movements of the sun and heavenly bodies on which time depends and which we certainly cannot alter by any Act of Parliament.

It is essential for clear thinking on the subject that we should know which of these two opinions we hold; and I wish advocates of the extension of divorce would expressly state which theory of marriage they adopt. If marriage be part of the divine order it can no more be changed than the laws of nature can be changed; and those who wish to extend divorce must show that their proposed extension conforms to the divine order, and for that purpose must expound what they suppose the divine order to be. The advocates of the indissolubility of marriage have the advantage of being able to state their theory of the divine order simply and coherently. They believe that though marriage is constituted by mutual consent and therefore arises out of contract, it is essentially a change of personal state. A person on marriage passes out of one state into another and can no more be un-married again than a butterfly can be made a chrysalis or a chrysalis a caterpillar. Marriage is indissoluble because the twain have become one flesh and cannot possibly in this life be again divided. The obligations of the new state lie upon each party to the marriage with undiminished force, whatever may be the behaviour of the other party. Nothing can relax the obligations of the marriage vows. Nothing can dispense with the duty of love between man and wife, though love must be understood, of course, in its true sense as a virtue shown, like all virtues, in will and action, not as a mere emotion. No degree of misconduct however wicked on the part of one party to a marriage, though it may necessitate separation, can possibly justify the other party in relaxing that good-will and kindness which is the essential of love; nor is it

in any circumstance possible that a new bond of marriage can be contracted while the old bond exists unsevered by death.

If it be asked on what this theory rests, the answer is that it rests upon the authority of our Lord, of St. Paul, and of the Church. There is unquestionably some fair ground for difference of opinion as to whether the words "except for the cause of fornication" ought or ought not to be regarded as part of our Lord's teaching and, if so, as meaning that marriages may lawfully be dissolved on the ground mentioned. While I should never condemn any person who holds the opinion that that exception is authoritative, the balance of argument seems to show that it was added by a later hand and was not part of our Lord's original teaching. But it is unnecessary to determine that question in resisting any further extension of divorce. All that is necessary to resist extension is to insist that marriage, like, indeed, all relations of sex, is a transcendental mystery, and that the law regulating it is a matter of revelation which we must accept upon authority, because we know far too little of the real character of sex to decide for ourselves what is and what is not lawful in respect of sexual relations. We must walk obediently by authority, because the subject matter lies outside the limits of our knowledge. And clearly any divorce (except possibly for "fornication") is forbidden by the authority of Christ, of St. Paul, and of the Church.

But I am anxious to ask what is exactly the theory in respect to marriage held by those who favour an extension of divorce. They seem hardly to appreciate how difficult it is on any purely rationalist principles to lay down any sexual morality at all. Many illustrations of the difficulty might be given, and I should recommend those who desire to consider the question to read the chapter entitled "The Position of Women" in Lecky's "History of European Morals." There they will find from the pen of one who, when he wrote, was himself a rationalist, much food for serious reflection. But let me give one illustration now. Suppose the State, instead of reforming the divorce laws, passed a law withdrawing all

express recognition of marriage and providing instead that any man and woman might enter into a union (which might be called a family union) under such conditions as the parties thought fit to provide in the contract of union. Certain limitations might be laid down by the law, such as that a union should last for at least one year, and that proper safeguards should be required in the interests of the children and the like. But any man or woman would be allowed to make a lifelong contract which would be indissoluble; or a contract dissoluble upon certain conditions such as the misconduct or desertion or infirmity or serious crime of either party; or again a contract for a particular period, not being a period of less than one year; or a contract for a union dissoluble after notice given by either party. Now I should very much like to know whether the advocates of the extension of divorce would say that any of these unions was immoral supposing it was made in accordance with the provisions of such a law as I have suggested—whether they would say in particular that even with the sanction of the State it was immoral for a man and woman to contract to live together for a year and then to part. If they would, I should like to know at what point in the graduated scale of unions which I have tried to sketch, the boundary between what is moral and what is immoral is to be found. Which of these contracts and unions would be virtuous, and which of them would be vicious, if they were all equally sanctioned by the State? And upon what principles would the boundary be drawn dividing the virtuous from the vicious? What is the moral principle which enables you to say that it is virtuous to dissolve a marriage after three years' desertion by one party, and vicious to terminate a marriage at a fixed period of time like a year, or to dissolve a marriage by mutual consent after notice given. Where does the boundary run which divides the chaste from the unchaste union, and upon what principles does it depend? Or if by any chance the advocates of the extension of divorce take the other horn of the dilemma and say that they see nothing immoral in any union of a man and woman recognised

and regulated by the State, would they admit that sexual vice in that case must be reckoned to amount to no more than the disregard of a state regulation, such as is committed by the smuggling of contraband goods or trespassing on a railway line in defiance of the bye-laws of the company?

I venture to urge on everyone who is in doubt on the extension of divorce to give serious attention to the problem I have just propounded. It is really a matter of the gravest importance that we should realise that if we depart from the ancient and authoritative position of the Church in respect to the relations of the sexes, we must, if we are to escape a chaotic licentiousness, be able to show a rational and defensible standard which will distinguish between those sexual relations which under the new system we are to regard as moral and those which we are to regard as immoral. If this be not done the extension of divorce will clearly mean the breakdown of the whole system of Christian chastity.

I believe that no such boundary can be drawn. I do not think what we call chastity is defensible on rationalist principles. It rests, I think, on authority. Partly on the authority of intuitive conscience, partly on that of revelation. But if so, on what authority can any extension of divorce be justified? Conscience is uncertain, one man approving what another rebukes. Revelation plainly prohibits any extension.

The only argument for more divorce really is the hardship of indissoluble marriage. But this is no argument; for it assumes a right to happiness. There is no such right. The path of virtue may and often does lead to unspeakable misery. The path of perfection led to the Cross on Calvary. Many duties are well-nigh intolerably hard. It was hard in the war to stay in front-line trenches, it was hard to be wounded, mutilated, maimed for life. But from these things men did not shrink. It was hard to be scourged and crucified. Is any unhappy marriage worse? If not, a Christian must endure as his Lord endured.

The Inter-racial Situation.

THE CHALLENGE FROM THE EAST.

By BASIL MATHEWS.

Behind the curtain that has fallen at the end of the war—that most tragic act in the world's drama—the stage is now being set for a fresh scene.

On the nature of that scene all the future of our lives hangs. For on the hidden stage of the Theatre of History the men are even now taking their places for a play so stupendous that all humanity will be involved. There will be no audience, for we shall all be actors. And in the play the destinies—not only of our individual lives but of world-civilization—will be decided.

I.

What are the facts?

A great Japanese statesman declared quite early in the war that that stupendous conflict was the beginning of the end of European civilization. The next scene in the world's history would witness the decay of the West and the rise of a new and dominant civilization in the East.

What are the considerations that back up this momentous assertion?

It would clearly be true, at the outset, to say that the plan and desire of the nations to see a placid pastoral Scene of Peace follow the tragic turmoil of War

will certainly be frustrated. Already we are involved in the vastest and most violent upheaval of human spirit that has ever been staged in the Theatre of History. The earth shakes with the crash of historic dynasties. The dust is whirling still above prostrate civilization.



(Photo. Vandyk.)

MR. BASIL MATHEWS

When war broke out in 1914 five ~~A~~ ^{of} the despotic military type remained on the earth's surface. They were the German, ~~and~~ ^{the} Austrian, the Turkish, the Russian, and the Japanese. Today four out of

the five are smashed in irretrievable ruin. Japan alone remains. The old European order has gone—the one Asiatic power, rich now beyond the dream of avarice, with its man-power unimpaired and its ambitions vaster than those of Alexander, leaps upon the stage fully equipped. On the fact of it, then,

the first and dominant facts of the world situation are in favour of the Oriental statesman-prophet whom I have quoted.

You may trace back through recorded time, and you will not discover anywhere (even after the fall of the Roman Empire) a scene which in range and in awful significance can eclipse or even parallel this amazing reality that lies before our eyes. A third of the human race has lost its old rule. From the Rhine to the Pacific Ocean, from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf, the Teutonic, the Slavonic, the Turanian, and the Semitic peoples stumble bewildered and maddened amid the crashing *débris* of their broken civilizations. Hundreds of millions of people are without a settled state—sheep without a shepherd, men without a master-word to guide their confused and disordered lives through the chaos and darkness.

But the fifth empire, as we see, remains as protagonist in the great dramatic contest for the mastery of the Pacific. And the mastery of the Pacific will mean the hegemony of the world—the leadership of the human race. For the centre of gravity of the world's politics is shifting with staggering swiftness from the Atlantic to the Pacific. That is the clue to the play's next scene. It is the key to a multitude of issues that perplex and bewilder the British mind.

• For instance, much that annoys the normal British mind (which has what the Freudian psychologists would call an "Atlantic complex"), as that mind surveys the conditions of America, would more readily be understood, appreciated and approved, if we recognized that the mind of America is even more absorbed in the problem of her Pacific coast than of her Atlantic littoral. She sees rising up there in the Pacific a tremendous military and naval island power backed by the absolutely inexhaustible reservoirs of men and of mineral resources that Asia holds. Japan looms far larger in the American mind than Germany—but (be it understood) not in either case is the attitude necessarily, on a long perspective, hostile. America is forced to think protectively (and she does not need or wish to think aggressively) of her immense interests and responsibilities on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. When America talks of not wishing to be tied to European policies, or

asks for a big navy, we think of Europe and the Atlantic; she thinks of Asia and the Pacific. And we must think that problem through with America from that point of view before we begin to criticize her.

II.

If this is the broad reality of the new world-situation—this transfer of strategic interests from the Atlantic and European to the Pacific and Asiatic—what are the facts of the Pacific scene? The facts are these:

First the rise of the power of Japan which we have already visualized.

Secondly we see China, as the vastest reservoir of soldiering and of labour on the surface of the earth. We see there a race of some five hundred millions of people, hardy, industrious, careless of death; with high capacity for organization, and with the most tremendous resources of coal, iron and all other mineral products that remain in the world. China has enough good coal to supply the whole human race at its present consumption of a billion tons a year for a thousand years; and alongside the coal, great iron deposits. Already she can make pig-iron and transport it to America at rates that enable the American steel manufacturers who purchase it to compete with the Bethlehem and Pittsburg steel kings. China, for long an Empire protected by exclusive traditions in an age-long conservatism, is now a Republic open to the flow of world-tides.

If, in a war, an enemy started killing Chinese soldiers at a million men a year, and if China were using ten per cent. of her population in that war, it would take fifty years to destroy her first armies, and in that period two further Chinese forces of fifty million each would grow up to confront their enemy.

The third factor is Russia, which (one view of future developments, the idea of a crescendo of competing ambitions) we might think of as being organized and controlled by a new Prussia to realize in the Far East the ambitions now lost by Germany in Africa and the Near East. Russia abutting on the North Pacific is, and inevitably always will be, one of the dominating factors in the Pacific situation.

Opposite to these stand, fourthly and fifthly, America and Britain, which cannot conceivably hold back from immediate active interest in the developments of the nationalities around the Pacific.

The thing that presses on the brain of America and must increasingly press also on the brain of Britain is the fact that the bowl of Asia is full of humanity, and spilling over the brim in all directions. Not only is India spilling over into Mesopotamia, South Africa, Madagascar, Fiji, and all the Malay Peninsula, but the Chinese and Japanese are all the time pressing against the barriers that would keep them out of the United States, Canada and Australia.

The problem which presents itself to the American mind—and it will have to present itself to the British—is, how far can the flood of emigration of the Asiatic come into our territories without submerging the type of civilization for which we stand.

Here we are on horns of a most desperate dilemma. The Asiatic fought with us through the war, and died for us on all the fronts. A million Indians enlisted

freely without conscription during the period of the war, and fought and died in France and Flanders, in Salonica and on Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia, on the hills of Palestine, and in every quarter of Africa.

Scores of thousands of Chinese came across the world. They hewed wood, drew water, broke stones, drained marshes, laid roads, and built railways, for the Allied forces on the Western front. Japan with her Navy, and in some small degree with her land forces, took part from the beginning in the great contest.

"You can use us when you want us to lay down our lives to defend you," say the Asiatics. "We can enter your territories then. You even draw us in, as in South Africa, when you want cheap labour. But you try to exclude us from free life in your territory, in your cities and on your farms. We cannot be content to be your tool for ever. 'Self-determination' is our motto as it was yours. The valve cannot be allowed to work only one way. You penetrate our shores; why should we not penetrate yours? If you exclude us from yours, we will exclude you from ours. You say Australia for the Australian, and Canada for the Canadian. Then we say Asia for the Asiatic. You say yours is the higher civilization; has that been demonstrated?"

Here we have expressing itself in vast ambitions a great development of a racial consciousness, which is of more moment for the future world history than any other fact in the world to-day. The tremendous challenge which the dilemma presents, lies in the fact that while on the one hand we cannot permanently resist the will of 500 to 600 millions of people, yet, on the other hand, there is a real peril, if we surrendered to their desire for unrestricted immigration into our lands, that our civilization, which after all has some very precious things in it, would be submerged and lost under Asiatic civilization. To accept is impossible; to resist is world-suicide. Such is the dilemma. What is the solution, if there be a solution?

III.

One last fact is vitally important for us, if we are to hold in the mind, even in the barest outline, the great dominant factors



(Photo, London News Agency)

MR. CHEN-TING-WANG
(Chinese Delegate to the Peace Conference).

of this crescendo of competing ambitions. It is the strategic fact of Korea. To control Korea is essential for any nation determined to control the policies of the Pacific.

Korea—as a glance at the map will reveal—is the Belgium of the Far East. Korea lies there, right in the path of the storming ambitions of the Pacific. She lies—with Japan—a stupendous break-water where the racing tides of international and inter-racial rivalry converge. The Wars of Japan, first with China and then with Russia, were essentially wars for the control of Korea.

If Russia (with, say, Prussia in the saddle) desires dominance, she finds that the ports of Korea command her goings out and comings in. From Korean ports a navy can dominate the policies of Peking and so the destinies of China. The track of interchange and intercourse between America and China lies via the channel between Japan and Korea. It is a question whether the autonomy of Korea protected by the mandatory of a League of Nations is not even more essential to the world's peace than such an autonomy for Belgium.

Korea is not only the Belgium of the Far East; she is also the Ireland of Japan. Korea has her "Sinn Fein" movement; she has her ambitions for independence. Recently Korean delegates were on the Ural Mountains in conference with Bolshevik propagandists. And the story of Japanese rule in Korea (like our British rule in Ireland) is a record in which motives and policies of mingled protection and tyranny take a bewildering tortuous course.

The resultant interplay of all these forces is changing the course of international policy of all the countries concerned. Especially are we—at this particular moment—witnessing an obscure but extraordinarily significant change in the policy of Japan.

Throughout the Peace Settlement Japan stood ever against China in the dispute over the Shantung problem. But the failure on the part of the European Allies and America to recognize the equality of Asiatics with the white races threw up into stark relief against the sky the tremendous racial issue. The quarrel

as between China and Japan tended to be submerged in the more radical issue as between East and West; though the Shantung quarrel is still exercising a great influence in developing racial self-consciousness and unity in the Chinese people. Japan, it would appear, however, may play a greater part as the spearhead of Asia than in any more sectional and smaller role.

The issue is quickened, and at the same time complicated, by the fact that the fear of Bolshevism is far more immediate in Japan to-day than in Britain or America. She has drawn millions of men and women in from the normal life of Japan (which is pastoral) to the factories that have sprung up like mushrooms to supply the needs of the world. In 1914 Great Britain alone consumed £4,000,000 worth of Japanese manufactured products; in 1918 we imported six times as much—£24,000,000 worth from the factories of Japan.

This vast and increasing industrial proletariat in Japan is a momentous portent. Its leaders are reading two books voraciously—Karl Marx's "Das Kapital" and G. D. H. Cole's "The Self-Control of Labour." A new word has been invented in the Japanese language: it is translated "Democracy." It is a composite word, and the literal meaning of its component words is "everything for the people." Similar developments both in industry and in democratic thought are afoot in China—that most populous republic in the whole world.

In both countries we discover two sets of leaders—the militarist bureaucratic despotic type, who want to see a militarised Asia dominating the world; and the humaner progressive democratic type, who stand (as to foreign policy) for an international ideal of comity and co-operation—and who (in home policy) are out for a progressive, democratic, educational development of the proletariat of Asia.

IV.

I suggest that on the question "Which of those types of leadership in Asia will triumph?" swings the whole issue of human life in the world. To sharpen the issue down to a personal and poignant point: the triumph of the one or the other will certainly determine whether the

children playing at this hour in the homes of the readers of this article will die horrible deaths on the plains of China or the hills of Korea, from gaseous gas and more loathsome tortures than even this last war produced, or, on the other hand, shall grow up to the secure joy of a complete life.

Literally, if the militarists of Asia triumph we are on the eve of world-suicide. Certainly Europe and all that we have laboriously built up in the centuries since Rome fell will go down in ruin. Probably America will be swept too by the terrific floods of Asia, before which all landmarks will be swept away and submerged.

What are the bases for such a view?

They are based on the fact that militarist ambition in the Far East will inevitably breed war. But we have already seen that not only the six hundred millions of China and Japan, but all Russia (and maybe Germany), the British Empire and America (i.e., all the English speaking peoples of the world and India and Africa) will be involved in any war in the Pacific.

What a hideous travesty and mockery of human hopes it would be if we had only cast the devils of militarism out of Central Europe to find them rushing the maddened millions of Asia down the Gadarene steeps of inter-racial war into the sea of barbarism!

I do not think this view is too bad to be true. But equally I do not think that the alternative view is too splendid to be realized.

The alternative view is that, with the triumph of the democratic leaders of Asia, we should be on the eve of a world-order of international and inter-racial co-operation full of unmeasured and unmeasurable good.

Let us look at a single personality, to clarify the issue. At the Peace Conference there sat a young man—His Excellency Cheng-ting-Wang, Envoy of the Chinese Republic. I have had opportunities of conversation with Mr. Wang and know men who have followed his career right through from boyhood. In him you discover a swift brain, splendidly trained and equipped for the higher statesmanship; a power of organization

and of command; trained and tested in the handling of men; a blend of Oriental courtesy with absolute honesty and directness; a passion for education, a profound and reasoned belief in democracy, a thorough freedom from cynicism or the personal ambitions of the demagogue—in a word, a Lord Robert Cecil of China, but without the Quixotic strain.

Mr. Wang (and any view of him that ignored this would be radically and fatally inadequate) is a convinced and powerfully convincing Christian, who applies his faith to his view of world-politics with that fine practicality and sanity which is such a splendid trait in Chinese character. Brought up as a Christian by his sainted father (who was a pastor attached to the Church Missionary Society), Mr. Wang was educated in the Anglo-Chinese College of the London Missionary Society, and his power of organization and of handling men with mastery grew in him when he was a Secretary of the Student Christian Federation, working among the Chinese students in Japan.

Mr. Wang has definitely and forcefully put to me his faith in democracy in China. He sincerely believes that it alone can save the world from the last and most awful war. He believes that a League of Nations into which the new democracies of the East swing their force and initiative is the last great hope of humanity.

Alongside Mr. Wang in China, and across the water in Japan, are other young statesmen and leaders who can (if they are not frustrated) lead the new life of Asia into this world-commonwealth of nations which is our hope.

"To be or not to be"—which is the scene on which the curtain of the Theatre will rise: war, chaos, barbarism; peace, development, comity; it is a tremendous issue, and it is a real one. And if the argument here developed is true to the central facts of the world-situation the first duty of men of goodwill is, on the one hand, to create and practise in the affairs of the British Empire a policy on lines like that of men like C. T. Wang, and on the other hand to educate and equip a powerful young leadership that can direct the new Asia into the paths of a new world-peace.

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

JAPANESE AMBITIONS IN THE EAST. PRUSSIAN METHODS IN SHANTUNG.

A powerful, but carefully reasoned indictment of the violation of Chinese neutrality by Japan appears in the *New York New Republic* (March 3rd). It is written from Peking by Mr. John Dewey, an American journalist who has long been resident in China. He repudiates in most emphatic terms the suggestion made by the Japanese diplomatists that Japan should be allowed to retain her economic interests in Shantung while apparently recognizing the political sovereignty of China. For Japan has fastened her grip upon Shantung so firmly by means of her present economic influence that political sovereignty is a mere fiction, without any actual value whatever.

A visit to Shantung and a short residence in its capital city, Tsinan, made the conclusions, which so far as I know every foreigner in China has arrived at, a living thing. It gave a vivid picture of the many and intimate ways in which economic and political rights are inextricably entangled together. It made one realize afresh that only a President who kept himself innocent of any knowledge of secret treaties during the war, could be naive enough to believe that the promise to return complete sovereignty retaining only economic rights is a satisfactory solution. It threw fresh light upon the contention that at most and at worst Japan had only taken over German rights, and that since we had acquiesced in the latter's arrogations we had no call to make a fuss about Japan. It revealed the hollowness of the claim that pro-Chinese propaganda had wilfully misled Americans into confusing the few hundred square miles around the port of Tsing-tao with the Province of Shantung with its thirty millions of Chinese population.

Only a thoroughly cynical attitude towards world politics would advance the argument that because Germany had been allowed to violate the neutrality of China in occupying Shantung, Japan should now be permitted a similar immunity from the protests of foreign powers. But Mr.

Dewey points out that even in its most cynical and aggressive policy Germany never attempted the sort of drastic oppressions and persecutions which Japan has initiated in Shantung during the past four years.

The Germans exclusively employed Chinese in the railway shops and for all the minor positions on the railway itself. The railway guards (the difference between police and soldiers is nominal in China) were all Chinese, the Germans merely training them. As soon as Japan invaded Shantung and took over the railway, Chinese workmen and Chinese military guards were at once dismissed and Japanese imported to take their places. Tsinan-fu, the inland terminus of the ex-German railway, is over two hundred miles from Tsing-tao.

When the Japanese took over the German railway business office, they at once built barracks, and to-day there are several hundred soldiers still there—where Germany kept none.

Since the armistice even Japan has erected a powerful military wireless within the grounds of the garrison, against of course the unavailing protest of Chinese authorities. No foreigner can be found who will state that Germany used her ownership of port and railway to discriminate against other nations. No Chinese can be found who will claim that this ownership was used to force the Chinese out of business, or to extend German economic rights beyond those definitely assigned her by treaty. Common sense should also teach even the highest paid propagandist in America that there is, from the standpoint of China, an immense distinction between a national menace located half way around the globe, and one within two days' sail over an inland sea absolutely controlled by a foreign navy, especially as the remote nation has no other foothold and the nearby one already dominates additional territory of enormous strategic and economic value—namely, Manchuria.

If there still seemed to be a thin wall between Japanese possession of the port of Tsing-tao and usurpation of Shantung, it was enough to step off the train in Tsinan-fu to

see the wall crumble. For the Japanese wireless and the barracks of the army of occupation are the first things that greet your eyes. Within a few hundred feet of the railway that connects Shanghai, via the important center of Tientsin, with the capital, Peking, you see Japanese soldiers on the nominally Chinese street, guarding their barracks. Then you learn that if you travel upon the ex-German railway towards Tsing-tao, you are ordered to show your passport as if you were entering a foreign country. And as you travel along the road (remembering that you are over two hundred miles from Tsing-tao) you find Japanese soldiers at every station, and several garrisons and barracks at important towns on the line. Then you realize that at the shortest possible notice, Japan could cut all communications between Southern China (together with the rich Yangtze valley and the capital, and with the aid of the Southern Manchurian railway at the north of the capital, hold the entire coast and descend at its good pleasure upon Peking.

What is actually going on within Shantung? One of the Twenty-One Demands was that Japan should supply military and police advisers to China.

They are not so much postponed but that Japan enforced specific concessions from China during the war by diplomatic threats to reintroduce their discussion, or so postponed that Japanese advisers are not already installed in the police headquarters of the city of Tsinan, the capital city of Shantung of three hundred thousand population where the Provincial Assembly meets and all the Provincial officials reside. Within recent months the Japanese Consul has taken a company of armed soldiers with him when he visited the Provincial Governor to make certain demands upon him, the visit being punctuated by an ostentatious surrounding of the Governor's yamen by these troops. Within the past few weeks, two hundred cavalry came to Tsinan and remained there while Japanese officials demanded of the Governor drastic measures to suppress the boycott, while it was threatened to send Japanese troops to police the foreign settlement if the demand was not heeded.

To-day, at the beginning of a new year, declares Mr. Dewey, the boycott is much more complete, and efficient than in the most tense days of last summer. No nation has ever misjudged the national psychology of another people as Japan has that of China. The alienation of China is widespread, deep, bitter. Even the most pessimistic of the Chinese who think that China is to undergo a complete economic and political domination by Japan do not think it can possibly last, even without outside intervention, more than half a century at most.

Unfortunately, the Japanese policy seems to be under a truly Greek fate which drives it on. Concessions that would have produced a revulsion of feeling in favour of Japan a year ago will now merely save the surface of the wound. What would have been welcomed even eight months ago would now be received with contempt. There is but one way in which Japan can now restore herself. It is nothing less than complete withdrawal from Shantung, with possibly a strictly commercial concession at Tsing-tao and a real, not a Manchurian, Open Door.

Mr. Dewey deals at length with the method by which Japan has used her economic influence to enforce all manner of extortions upon China. As a typical instance he takes the story of the interior mining village of Po-shan.

The mines of Po-shan were not part of the German booty; they were Chinese owned. The Germans, whatever their ulterior aims, had made no attempt at dispossessing the Chinese. The mines, however, are at the end of a branch line of the new Japanese owned railway—owned by the Government, not by a private corporation, and guarded by Japanese soldiers. Of the forty mines, the Japanese have worked their way, in only four years, into all but four. Different methods are used. The simplest is, of course, discrimination in the use of the railway or shipping. Downright refusal to furnish cars while competitors who accepted Japanese partners got them, is one method. Another more elaborate method is to send but one car when a large number is asked for, and then when it is too late to use cars, send the whole number asked for or even more, and then charge a large sum for demurrage in spite of the fact the mine no longer wants them or has cancelled the order. Redress there is none.

Po-shan is not even a treaty port. Legally speaking no foreigner can lease land, or carry on any business there. Yet the Japanese have forced a settlement as large in area as the entire foreign settlement in the much larger town in Tsinan. A Chinese refused to lease land where the Japanese wished to relocate their railway station. Nothing happened to him directly. But merchants could not get shipping space, or receive goods by rail. Some of them were beaten up by thugs. After a time, they used their influence with their compatriot to lease his land. Immediately the persecutions ceased. Not all the land has been secured by threats or coercion; some has been leased directly by Chinese moved by high prices, in spite of the absence of any legal sanction. In addition, the Japanese have obtained control of the electric light works and some pottery factories, etc.

Given the frequent occurrence of such economic invasions, with the backing of soldiers of the Imperial Army, with the overt aid of the Imperial Railway, and with the refusal of Imperial officials to

intervene, there is clear evidence of the attitude and intention of the Japanese government in Shantung. Because the population of Shantung is directly confronted with an immense amount of just such evidence, it cannot take seriously the professions of vague diplomatic utterances.

What foreign nation is going to intervene to enforce Chinese rights in such a case as Po-shan? Which one is going effectively to call the attention of Japan to such evidences of its failure to carry out its promise? Yet the accumulation of precisely such seemingly petty incidents, and not any single dramatic great wrong, will secure Japan's economic and political domination of Shantung. Not a month will pass without something happening which will give a pretext for delay, and for making the surrender of Shantung conditional upon this, that and the other thing. Meantime the penetration of Shantung by means of railway discrimination, railway military guards, continual nibblings here and there, will be going on.

Financial manipulations have played a constant and considerable part in undermining the sovereignty of China in Shantung. Mr. Dewey quotes two instances in particular.

During the war, Japanese traders with the connivance of their government gathered up immense amounts of copper cash from Shantung and shipped it to Japan against the

protests of the Chinese Government. What does sovereignty amount to when a country cannot control even its own currency system? In Manchuria the Japanese have forced the introduction of several hundred million dollars of paper currency, nominally, of course, based on a gold reserve. These notes are redeemable, however, only in Japan proper. And there is a law in Japan forbidding the exportation of gold. And there you are.

Within the last two weeks, Mr. Obata, the Japanese minister in Peking, has waited upon the Government with a memorandum saying that the Fochow incident was the culminating result of the boycott; that if the boycott continues, a series of such incidents is to be apprehended, saying that the situation has become "intolerable" for Japan, and disavowing all responsibility for further consequences unless the Government makes a serious effort to stop the boycott. Japan then immediately makes certain specific demands. China must stop the circulation of handbills, the holding of meetings to urge the boycott, the destruction of Japanese goods that have become Chinese property—none have been destroyed that are Japanese owned.

Surely, says Mr. Dewey, the pale ghost of "Sovereignty" twisted ironically as he read this official note. Volumes could not say more as to the real conception of Japan of the connection between the economic and the political relations of the two countries.

THE UPHEAVAL IN GERMANY.

One of the clearest reviews of last month's political crisis in Germany appears in *The New Europe* (March 25th) under the title "Germany playing at Revolution." For some time past, the writer points out, an attempt at a *coup d'état* had been expected either from the Militarists or the Spartacists. "These two opposition groups have been watching one another, each of them, we may suspect, waiting for the other to strike first."

The Government were surrounded by difficulties. They found it a hard task to maintain their authority at home owing to "the very peculiar circumstances in which they were placed" by the necessity of carrying out the terms of the Peace Treaty which "in the eyes of a large portion of the people . . . was not only destructive to the very existence of the German nation, but also derogatory

to its honour." There were other reasons for their weakness.

The task before them was one which might well prove to be beyond the capacity of any Government, and both in the personality, character and the origin of the holders of power there were elements which made it very difficult for them to maintain their authority. By their previous personal history and their social condition—matters which count for more, perhaps, in Germany than in any other country in Europe—they came to their task without that social prestige which is so important. The ordinary German, to put it bluntly, did not want to be governed by men who had come from the working-class, or small tradesmen. They were without that nimbus of dignity that counts so much in political matters. Moreover, they were entirely without administrative experience. The Government of the country continued to be carried on through the Government offices, and these were still staffed with the old members; none of the changes that have taken place have shaken the practical control which the bureaucracy wielded. New ministers have been substituted for the old, but the wheels of

the great machine were still there, and the new ministers were quite incapable of imposing their will upon the offices of which they were nominal heads. They sat in the seats of government, but they did not govern.

Noske and Erzberger were both strong men. But the first was gravely suspected of sympathy with the Militarists, and the latter's financial proposals had made him very unpopular with a large and influential class of Germans grown wealthy through the war. Moreover, he had come very badly out of the Helfferich libel suit, and the Government of which he was a member suffered accordingly.

To what extent were dissensions amongst the Allies responsible for the outbreak? Apart from the legitimate reasons for the dissatisfaction of Germans with their Government,

there is no doubt that there were other and more dangerous elements at work, and we cannot doubt that these have been stimulated by the symptoms of dissolution in the alliance. First of all we have the practical secession of America; as a result of this for purposes of high policy, the alliance has come to be little more than a union between Britain and France. But unfortunately during the last weeks an impression has been allowed to gain ground that there are very serious differences between these two States, and Germans who were prepared to make trouble, might well begin to think that the time was coming

when they might find in troubled waters. Added to this we have the criticism of the Treaty and other action of the Powers under the Treaty in this country, which has been gaining in force. There are no doubt in Germany a large number of men, including many who held high positions both in the army and in the civil service, who would shrink from nothing in an attempt even by violence to restore Germany to something like the position which she formerly held. There is no doubt that their eyes were fixed upon Eastern Europe. It is in the east of Germany, in Pomerania, in the Mark, in East Prussia, that this party have their stronghold; to them the establishment of an independent Poland and the cession of Prussian territory to Poland is a blow to which they will never be reconciled. Watching, as they doubtless are, the increasing ministerial ineffectiveness in Poland, they might well think that the time was approaching for a gambler's throw. There are some of them who probably would not shrink even from using a Bolshevik Russian to destroy the newly-created Polish State, hoping that ultimately, when this was done, they might, in some way or another, use the confusion which would arise for the re-establishment of a militarist and monarchist Germany.

In spite of all these disturbing factors, this writer anticipates that "the ultimate result of this sudden crisis will not be unbeneficial." "The result may be to show that the apprehensions of which we have heard so much recently, that a large and influential party were doing their uttermost to bring about a repudiation of the Treaty and a fresh appeal to force, will be dissipated. It will have shown that though there were undoubtedly some who desired this, their number were in fact small, and their influence smaller; the dangerous element was limited to Berlin and the North-Eastern provinces; against them the whole of the rest of Germany was united. It will prove eventually all to the good that they have shown their hand, that they have made their attempt, and that they have failed."

The trouble with the Spartacists has hardly lessened since this article was written, and at the moment of going to press the threat at international complications over the question of the German Government moving troops into the Ruhr district still hangs over our heads. Assuming, however, that these matters can be satisfactorily disposed of, there is reasonable ground for optimism in regard to Germany.



Dayton Daily News

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Look around, heed the call!

SIDELIGHTS FROM AMERICA.

Mr. David Jayne Hill, the former American Ambassador to Berlin, continues his attacks on President Wilson and the Peace Treaty in an article entitled "The Eclipse of Peace," in the *North American Review*. He declares that President Wilson, when he returned to Paris from America, discovered on March 14th that immediate peace had been decided upon by the Allies in his absence, and took measures at once to prevent this result. The League of Nations alone had been left out of the proposals for peace. Within twenty-four hours of his arrival in Paris, he issued a statement to the Press that the decision to establish a League of Nations as an integral part of the Peace Treaty was of final force and no change was contemplated. His action came as a thunderbolt to the Allies, and not only were their immediate plans for peace thwarted, but the League of Nations Covenant was later introduced into the Treaty with the result that America has not even yet made peace with Germany.

Having triumphed over the Peace Conference in his determination that there should be no peace without a League of Nations, it is not surprising that the President should hold that there can be no League of Nations which does not conform to his will.

Almost a year has passed since the statesmen at Paris were ready to declare immediate peace, for which the whole world was longing; but since that time there has been projected across the luminary of peace the silhouette of a solitary implacable figure, sternly forbidding the proclamation that the Great War is ended, unless it conforms to the mandate imposed by a single will.

Mr. Shaw Desmond, who has recently returned from newspaper work in America, conveys the accurate perspective of American politics in an article in the *English Review* (March). There is no use blinking facts, he declares, though there is nothing in these facts to prevent an excellent understanding between England and America. He points out that economics are the driving force which ruthlessly determines America's attitude towards England.

America's captains of finance are entirely brain-clear about three things which in their mind are the determining factors of this orientation. First, that prior to the war Europe, including England, was largely living upon America's surplus food produc-

tion, and that since then Europe has become steadily more and more dependent upon America. Secondly, that England is heavily in her debt. Thirdly, that these two things give America the dominating position of the workhouse master to the pauper. This last may, however, have been modified by the recent American realization of trade fall through cancellation of cotton and other orders by England, demonstrating that capital has become so internationalized that possibly a creditor country cannot afford to "cut the painter" of a debtor country.

Nor are the American traders really alarmed at the prospect of losing a great part of their export trade in Europe if they do not lend generous financial assistance in reconstruction. In the eleven months ending with November last, America sold abroad $7\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars worth of goods as against $5\frac{1}{2}$ billions of what were largely war goods in 1918. They believe they can ignore England and even Europe, if necessary, in face of the fact that to South America alone in that eleven months they sold 411 millions as against 275 millions of dollars the year before, and that they sold in that time to Oceania twice as much as they sold to South America. Moreover, North America, outside of the U.S.A., in spite of Canada's stoppage of orders for war materials, bought 1,161 million dollars worth of goods during the same period, and the trade with Africa has doubled.

America to-day believes that America is self-contained—"watertight," as they have it—and this view was expressed repeatedly to me in various cities. A former Commissioner of Immigration and other men with their fingers on the pulse of their country said they believed America would soon shut its doors upon immigration for a term of years "to give hyphenated-Americanism time to become American."

Scarcely less important than these economic factors is the conviction that European economists and politicians are "drunk with words," and without a policy, while they clamour wildly for the destruction of Germany. The conviction grows steadily, says Mr. Desmond, that Europe and England are bankrupt, and America intends, so far as modern economics allow, to cut the painter even though it may also mean cutting the loss.

The whole question is still further complicated by the political crisis

between President Wilson and the Senate. Mr. Desmond puts the difficulty concisely in saying that behind all and dominating all in America's refusal to sign the original covenant is the Monroe Doctrine, which means simply "the Americas for the Americans." But if all else were agreed between England and America, Ireland is still the ghost at the feast of international understanding.

Ireland has been seventy-five years in American politics, in which the Irish genius for politics has led to a dominating place for Irishmen. Wherever I went in America, men of every type and position in life, both Republican and Democrat, said to me: "What about Ireland?" At an address by Lord Reading to some two thousand of America's leading business and professional men, I heard man after man as we went out say: "But he said nothing about Ireland? Why?"

I have seen an Irish parade in New York in which, literally, thousands of American soldiers in khaki marched past hour by hour—all bearing the Irish Republican colours down Fifth Avenue. Every Irish-American who died on the West Front is regarded as not only dying for America and democracy—but for Ireland. America to-day is not Nationalist—she is Sinn Féin.

Ireland to the American mind is the supreme blot upon the British championship of the small nations, and in the American eye lies like a shadow upon all that England has done in the war.

Irish propaganda against England goes on, literally, day and night, carried by tongues of flame and printed words. The cities and villages of the East, as of that hub of America, the Middle West, right across the continent to San Francisco, are being sown with millions of articles and pamphlets. De Valera has received a national tribute denied to kings, and the American Senate voted by sixty to one that the Sinn Féin leaders should be heard at the Peace Conference. I myself have met one of Chicago's first criminal lawyers, not an Irishman, who had been in Ireland collecting evidence against British rule, which he was preparing for his 13,000 syndicated newspapers and periodicals—and his was only one voice of thousands. Until Ireland is settled, nothing is settled.

Mr. Desmond sums up the problem by saying that any policy of genuine and lasting Anglo-American understanding must depend upon a frank acceptance of the fundamental differences of psychology between America and ourselves, upon a radical change in our economic programme, and a fair and honourable settle-

ment with Ireland. Is there an English government or statesman with the vision to see such a policy or the courage to initiate it? America is waiting.



Mucke]

[Warsaw

After the Conclusion of Peace.

King Dollar: The Frenchman thinks he is squeezing the German, the Englishman the Frenchman, and the American the Englishman. Silly fools! They don't know that / the international creation, shall crush them all in the end.

MARRIAGE LAWS IN BOLSHEVIST RUSSIA.

One of the most important authentic documents that has yet been published concerning the new social system which the Bolsheviks have established in Russia is reproduced in the *Contemporary Review* (March and April). It is a translation of the code of laws on registration, marriage, the family, and guardianship, published by the "People's Commissariat of Justice" with an elaborate preface and explanation by Alexander Hoichberg, the Chief Editor of the Law Bureau.

In his preface, the Chief Editor insists repeatedly that Russia is still in a process of transition from a "capitalist" to a completely "socialist" state of society, and "the Government cannot therefore desire that their codes should have the same character, should be marked by the same rock-like fixity which distinguished ancient collections of codes."

If the socialist order were already definitely established among us, we ought to substitute for the care of children by their relatives their care by society, without exception. But we live in a transition period. We have not got socialism in a perfected form. That is why we are led to make use of transitional measures, but of such a kind that they may serve as a foundation for universal care by the social community of those who have not yet attained the normal capacity for work, or for those who have lost it. So long as the individual family exists, children in the care of their relatives are not as a general rule placed under public guardianship (with the exception of compulsory education, and other provisions of the same kind).

But on the other hand, all children who are deprived of the care of their family, without regard to their possession or non-possession of property, to their wealth or poverty, are placed under guardianship, under the care of the Public State Institutions, the Bureaux of Social Welfare. These institutions exercise such guardianship, and take all the measures appertaining to guardianship, preferably without the intervention of agents, and may, only in special cases, entrust their duties to individual persons, appointing them guardians either of single wards or of whole groups of wards.

Consequently, guardianship is so organized and established that it can be preserved, even in a definitely established socialist society, on a broader basis, that is to say, functioning for the benefit not of some but of all the persons who need the care of the social community.

He urges that the institution of guardianship by the Soviets ought in the

present period of transition to be an educational process.

It should show the parents that the care of society lavished upon children gives far better results than the private individual, unscientific, and irrational care of particular parents, "loving" but ignorant, lacking the resources, the means, the methods which society has at its disposal; this institution should thus break the parents of the habit of that narrow and unintelligent love for their children which finds its outward expression in the tendency to keep the children near themselves, not to let them leave the narrow circle of the family, to make their outlook narrow, and to bring them up not as members of the great society called humanity, but as beings as selfish as themselves, individualists, who put their personal interests in the foremost place, to the serious injury of the interests of society. Guardianship so instituted is revolutionary, it breaks abruptly with the previous system, and it is socialistic, for it prepares and facilitates the measures which must be taken in the socialist society.

He notes that the Soviets have been criticised for insisting even upon the mere registration of marriages, which ought logically to be necessary since complete freedom of divorce has been introduced. But he argues that

the proletariat has to make a whole series of revolutionary changes which the bourgeoisie ought to have made; that the proletariat has to wage a fierce war, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also in place of it against what remains (with us a great deal) of the pre-bourgeois régime. In Russia, the proletariat have had to be the first to deprive the Church and religion of their importance in the State. And what socialist will dispute that to deliver the people from the domination of the clergy, of religion and of the Church, is not only a revolutionary aim, but also a socialist aim? For it helps them to grasp the ideas of socialism, ideas which cannot be reconciled with the supernatural and the beyond, but drive out the supernatural, the divine, and the beyond from all the recesses where they conceal themselves (from philosophy, from history, etc.).

The Soviet marriage law, he declares, "is not only a means of counteracting clerical-religious influences upon the people": it is revolutionary and socialist.

It not only breaks abruptly with the old régime of our pre-bourgeois matrimonial relations. It sweeps away all the patriarchal and feudal hindrances to marriage—differences of religion between the man and woman, religious prohibitions to the contraction of marriage, &c. It establishes complete

equality between man and woman, in so far as this depends upon the provision of the marriage law.

The family is to be henceforward based not upon marriage, as it was formerly, but upon actual parentage. Not only the law of guardianship, but also the law of the family is separated from the law of marriage. It establishes complete freedom of divorce.

By the Decree of the Central Executive Committee of April 27th, 1918, the Bolsheviks completely abolished the right of inheritance. This decree, declares Hoichberg, "deals a mortal blow at the institution of private property. It ceases to be something eternal in conception, passing from one generation to another, from one family to another, according to the principles of individual right."

Private property is transformed, at most, into a life interest: the property remains attached to a particular person, at most, for his lifetime and no longer. But after the death of each individual owner it becomes the property, not of the individual, but of a community—of the proletarian State. By means of this abolition of the right of private inheritance, we suspend a sword of Damocles above the institution of private property, giving it a short duration and an importance only relative.

That is why this abolition of the right of inheritance should have an exceedingly important, social and psychological, educative influence on socialist labours, it should contribute very largely to destroy the instincts of individual ownership.

"It must be remembered that since the promulgation of the law decreeing the abolition of inheritance, nothing has remained of the institution of private inheritance; the institution has not survived in any form, in any manner, in any of its parts; the property of deceased persons in totality and of all kinds becomes the property of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic of Soviets."

Nor is any exception to this rule established among us. It is not established either for patrimonies of small value (up to 1,000 roubles). In view, however, of the small advantage that it would be to the State to burden itself with the administration of the huge mass of these patrimonies of small value, the State frees itself of this burden, and the administration as well as the free disposition of these patrimonies pass to

certain relatives of the deceased. The State is obliged to ignore these little patrimonies: *minima non curat prator*.

But in abolishing the right of private inheritance we could not fail to consider the fact that at the present time the individualistic family still exists, that at present the free education of children by the community has no place in actual fact, and that at present we have not realized in fact the guarantee by society of the needs of all its disabled and necessitous members.

That is why, pending the realization of all the measures of social insurance indicated above, we have preserved a sort of substitute for insurance, casual, imperfect, individual, drawn from the patrimony of the deceased, for the nearest relatives and for the husband or wife, when disabled and necessitous. Further, insurance is granted to a much larger circle of persons, and with much greater certainty, than under the old laws of succession.

Under the new dispensation, no distinction is drawn between legitimate and illegitimate relationship. The fundamental principles of Bolshevism could not be more clearly defined than in this new code of law which is now to become operative all over Russia and Siberia.



Boasting News

[London]

The Riddle of the Sphinx.

John: "What are you here for?"

Sphinx: "I'm here to look after the pyramids."

John: "And what are the pyramids for?"

Sphinx: "Oh, they're here for me to look after."

SUPPORT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

In time we shall realize, perhaps, that the ultimate success of the League of Nations depends upon the driving power that the man in the street is prepared to provide. At the moment, this driving power is negligible. The tendency is to wait and see how the League works, before according it support; whereas the plain truth is unless that support is forthcoming, the League cannot, and will not, work. At its February session in London, the Council of the League got through a fair amount of business, in spite of heavy initial difficulties. But the significance of its proceedings was not fully appreciated, partly because, in certain important matters, its hands were tied by the Peace Treaty, partly because the Peace Conference, contemporaneously transferred to London, absorbed public attention, and partly because the arrangements made by the authorities for the actual meeting were decidedly unfortunate.

Mr. Reginald Berkeley, in an article entitled "Trust the Council," in *The League* (March-April), the journal of the League of Nations Union, criticises these arrangements. To begin with, neither the Prime Minister nor the Foreign Secretary were able to attend the Council owing to their pre-occupation with the Peace Conference. The writer lays it down as a vital principle that one or the other of these, in the case of every country represented, should sit as his country's representative.

This will in no way (pace an authority to the contrary) tend to perpetuate in the Council of the League the moribund Conference of Paris, firstly, because there is nothing, and there must be nothing, in the procedure of the Council akin to the arrogation by the Principal Powers of the right to enforce their decisions upon the remaining members—there must be no more "Big Four"; secondly, because the publicity of the proceedings will remove what was the most serious defect in the Peace Conference—its secret diplomacy; and further, because the Council of the League is not to be the Council of the late Allies, it is to be the Council of the World.

To the man in the street, therefore, it certainly seemed odd that the Council of the League, to which politicians of all shades of opinion are accustomed to render lip-service as the highest contrivance of human wisdom, should have been relegated to the picture gallery of a disused palace to inaugurate open diplomacy to row upon row of empty chairs, whilst the late Conference of Paris, cloaked

in its traditional garment of mystery and rumour, took a new lease of life at No. 10, Downing Street; and the fact that, in contrast to the glittering Foreign Office banquet to the Peace Conference delegates fresh from the secret indiscretions of the Adriatic, no kind of entertainment was provided by the State for the Councillors of the League added a touch of the invidious.

The Council's tasks fall into two categories—those delegated by the Peace Treaty, and those which had arisen since its ratification. Among the former was the question of the Saar Basin, in respect of which there has been some sharp criticism:

The clauses of the Treaty relating to the Saar Basin left nothing for the Council to do but to nominate the members of the Governing Commission (of which it was postulated that one member should be a Frenchman), and to appoint a chairman to act as the executive of the Commission. In his rôle as executive of the Commission, the chairman will be brought into constant contact with French officials and with French administrative procedure; the French customs régime is imposed by the Treaty, and the chairman will require to be familiar with that. The Council therefore took the essentially practical course of appointing the French member to be chairman of the Commission. For this action they have been accused by one journal of deciding that the interests of France should prevail against the intention of the Treaty of Versailles—a criticism so completely at variance with the terms of the Treaty as to be hardly worth answering. The League was in the very delicate position of having to give effect to a scheme for compensating the French for the destruction of their coal areas, and it is difficult to see how any body of reasonable men could have come to a solution other than that at which they arrived.

Then there was the extraordinarily difficult question of Switzerland's neutrality.

On the one hand the Peace Treaty had quite definitely maintained the Treaties of 1815 conferring perpetual neutrality upon Switzerland; on the other hand, complete neutrality was clearly inconsistent with the position of a member of the League. The hands of the Council were fettered by the Peace Treaty, and they had to reconcile the provisions of the Covenant, in which Switzerland was named as a State invited to accede as an original member with all the obligations expressed and implied, with Article 486, under which an exception in favour of Switzerland was clearly made. The solution reached was to accept the declarations of the Swiss Government that Switzerland recognises the duties of solidarity which membership of the League of Nations imposes upon

her, including the duty to co-operate in the economic blockade against a Covenant-breaker, and the defence under all circumstances of her own territory, but declines any obligation to take part in military action or allow the passage of foreign troops for the preparation of military operations within her territory. In accepting these declarations the Council recognised the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland, but they placed it on record that "the members of the League of Nations are entitled to expect that the Swiss people will not stand aside when the high principles of the League have to be defended." And, if this solution is regrettable on the score of granting to one nation a limitation of liability not accorded to others, and, if extended, most damaging to the well-being of the League, it is difficult to see at what other solution it would have been possible to arrive, having regard to the terms of the Treaty by which the Council was bound.

Towards the end of the meeting, the Council of the League, in response to a

suggestion from the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, decided to take measures to remedy the existing financial crisis. Since then, we learn, the Supreme Council is also to consider economic questions. This looks very much like an encroachment on the reference to the League. It would certainly be a great mistake if a Council of the Allies should co-exist with the League of Nations. There would be, inevitably, confusion and disagreement. "Let the Allied diplomatists make up their minds to trust in the instrument which they have helped to create."

These happenings, however, illustrate some of the difficulties with which the Council has had to deal. Truly there is need for backing this body with more vigour and more confidence than has hitherto been the case.

THE PROBLEM OF THE WAZIRIS.

Among the many "little wars" of the Peace period, none has been more vexatious and so disproportionately expensive to Great Britain as that with the Waziri tribe on the Afghan frontier. This has lasted for at least six months, and even now it is doubtful whether these formidable robbers intend to observe the terms of their submission. Mr. Demetrius C. Boulger, writing in the *Contemporary Review* (April), on "The Waziri Object Lesson" gives an interesting account of the history and characteristics of the Waziris, and challenges the whole policy hitherto pursued by the Indian Government in dealing with these turbulent elements.

The Waziris established themselves on the Indian frontier about the middle of the 18th century, and for at least sixty years have been a source of intermittent trouble. Their tribal system has been called "an absolute democracy"; but its true nature can be gathered from the single fact that on one occasion "they murdered one of their own chiefs because he committed the great crime, according to their code, of arresting criminals and collecting revenue." Their total fighting force has been placed at 45,000 men, and of these the Mahsuds, the strongest of the five Waziri clans, count 15,000 warriors. Mr. Boulger recounts the

various collisions between them and the Indian authorities. The recital is certainly not promising for the prospects of future peace.

In all these affairs, great or small, our political procedure has been the same without variation. Where our officers had been murdered, we demanded the surrender of the murderer. As chastisement to the tribe we blew up the towers of the offending section, and we carried off its live stock when we were lucky enough to catch it. In addition, we imposed fines in rupees and in weapons, first in matchlocks and latterly in rifles, and quite recently we have specified Government rifles, being those that had been seized from our sentries and depots. Just as the assumed remedies never varied, so has it been with the after consequences. The Waziris have given in when they felt they had had enough of it for the time. They have paid up some of the fines and surrendered some of the arms, and then the remainder is supposed to be made up in some form or other by the application of a blockade. After an interlude long or short, the Waziris, having replenished their armouries, and fired with a more bitter hatred of the Feringhi who has laid low so many of their warriors, begin again, and sometimes they feel the flush of triumph when they see how many of the infidel they are slaughtering by the aid of the magazine rifle. The same procedure on both sides has been going on for sixty years: it will continue for another sixty years unless the Punjab services produce a man like General John Jacob who will go to the root of the matter and apply the drastic remedy that the situation demands.

John Jacob was the right-hand man of Sir Charles Napier in Scinde eighty years ago, and he had to deal with the Jakranis, at that time the most warlike of the Baluch tribes on the Upper Scinde frontier.

They were inveterate cattle-lifters, defied our authority and murdered our subjects just like the Waziris. After one or two expeditions, Sir Charles Napier decided to try other measures. The clan was rounded up, and moved to a fresh settlement within our frontier. This settlement was too near the frontier line, and the people broke loose and returned to their old district. They at once resumed raiding. In 1844 John Jacob took up the matter. He again surrounded the clan and deported them—men, women and children—to a district further from their homes. Here they were given employment on a Government canal, and gradually settled down and became quite contented. The Jakrani colony has long been known as the best behaved and most prosperous division in Upper Scinde.

This, then, is the principle that Mr. Boulger would adopt in the case of the Waziris who, according to Sir Richard Temple, "are not averse to civilisation whenever they have felt its benefits: they are fond of trading and also of cultivating." The only material difference would be that the Waziris, instead of being left

on the right bank of the Indus, as were the Jakranis, would have to be transferred to the left.

But it may be objected that the Jakranis were only a small clan of 5,000 souls, and Mahsud Waziris alone number perhaps ten times as many. How are 50,000 people to be deported, and whither? It would not be the first time in Asiatic history that deportations on a vast scale had been effected, but it is not a practical point, for no one could conceive the removal of the whole of even the Mahsud clan at a single operation. The process must be gradual. What is proposed is that instead of exacting fines and blowing up towers, which, as preventives, have proved to be absolutely valueless, we should demand or take several hundred families and provide them with new homes east of the Indus, where they would feel the benefits of civilisation and learn in due course, like the Jakranis, that cattle-raising is more profitable and pleasant than cattle-lifting. Thus we might look forward to the time when there would be no more Waziri expeditions, and to the existence somewhere in India of a community of our old foes striving to emulate the good example of the Jakranis.

The word Deportations has an unsavoury significance in these times. Yet they need not necessarily involve cruelty or hardship—and the Waziris are a desperate case.

INTERNATIONALISM A RELIGION.

Principal L. P. Jacks is one of the most original minds of those that have applied themselves to the problems of the League of Nations. Writing on "The International Mind" in the *Atlantic Monthly* (March), he puts forward a challenging proposition: nothing more nor less than that we are thinking of the World State, which it is the ultimate design of the League to create, almost entirely as a political state. He assumes that "the end, of which the League is the beginning, is the ultimate unification of the whole human race into a single family, organic group, or community. Is, then, the political state the only means of achieving this unification? His answer is No. What is more, it is not even the best means, because there are practical reasons

why it can at most only lead to a *partial* internationalism, and the latter is only a synonym for the division of the world into groups, with the certainty of trouble arising between them.

The fact that the political state has shown itself highly efficient in welding together enormous masses of human beings in different parts of the globe does not prove that it will be equally efficient when the final problem arises of bringing all these masses into brotherly relations one with another. At all events, among the manifold forms of community life now in existence, there are others, besides the political state, which are worthy of examination. Some of them may turn out to be more promising as models for that final unification of mankind which is the moving idea of the international mind.

But before we consider these other models, I will mention briefly why the political state, admirable as it is for its own purpose, should

not be allowed to obsess our minds when the final synthesis of the human family is in question.

The first reason is that all political states are unstable and precarious structures; some of course much more so than others, but all in some degree. Within the last five years three great empires have gone to pieces, and though the British Empire is said to have emerged stronger than ever, this must not be taken to mean that the British Empire is by nature immortal or immune from decay. There is no example in history of a political state which has not required the greatest efforts and sacrifices to maintain it in existence; they have all proved difficult to keep alive; and, in spite of the efforts that have been made to preserve them intact, the number of those that have had a long history is small compared with the number whose history has been short. Political states are eminently perishable things; and it is important to note that great states have proved themselves more perishable than little ones.

Even if it were possible to create a real world state on political lines, the principal occupation of such a state would be, if I may say so, that of resisting its own tendency to burst, or at least to split. In short, the danger of foreign war would be replaced by the greater danger of civil war."

Another reason pointing to the same conclusion is one to which due weight is seldom given in these speculations. All the existing states of the world, even the most pacific, are to a much greater extent than is commonly realized, war-made creations. Not only have their large outlines been determined by conquest, but their social structure, their modes of government, their habits of life, their economic conditions betray, at almost any point we choose to examine, the moulding influence of war. All this is deeply reflected in the psychology of nations. With a few possible exceptions, the nations of the world conceive of themselves in the last resort as fighting units. Whatever other meaning they may attach to nationality—and of course there are many others—there comes sooner or later a point where each nation thinks of itself in war-like terms. The reason why it does so lies in its history, perhaps a history of many centuries. And again, it is important to note that on the whole the war-like character is more apparent in the big states than in the little ones. One might have expected the contrary. One might have thought that, as the process of unification went on, as the political unity became larger and larger until nations were formed comprising one or two hundred million human beings, we should see a progressive diminution in their war-making characteristics. The contrary seems to be the case. It is the

big states which are the great fighters, which maintain the most formidable armaments, and stand in the most dangerous relations one with another.

The Internationalist is recommended to study seven other models of community life. These are:

(1) The Trade-Union—or the Community of Labour. (2) The Friendly Society—or the Community of Insurance. (3) The University—or the Community of Learning. (4) The Guild of Fine Arts—or the Community of Excellence. (5) The Social Club—or the Community of Friendship. (6) The Church—or the Community of Faith. (7) The Family—or the Community of Love.

He discusses the main principle underlying each of these, and suggests how this could be transferred from the national state to the international. But the most important of all the models is the Church, or the community of Faith. "Of all ties that bind man together, this is by far the strongest."

This is the ultimate formula of internationalism—to develop the secret affinities which enable the faithful in all nations to find one another out, and to realize their community in the very act of so doing, without negotiations, without compact, and without oath. In this sense, but in no sense more restricted than this, the Church is the final model of community life. It includes and explains all the others of which I have spoken. The Community of Labour, the Community of Insurance, the Community of Excellence, the Community of Learning, the Community of Friendship, are all means of bringing mankind together on lower planes in order that, at the last, they may find one another out in the invisible community of faithful souls. And when this has been done we reach that highest form of human organization, which is at the same time the simplest, the last on my list as it was also the first, of which I shall only say that it consists of the Family, or the Community of Love.

Our last step has brought us to the essence of the international mind. The international mind is a religion, which has room within its ample bosom for all the religions, but is itself identical with no one of them.

We can but emphasize Principal Jack's admission that this road to Internationalism is a very long way round, and would add that there are many obstructions in the route. But that it is a road and that it does lead to the goal appears to us indisputable.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO WITH OUR ANARCHISTS?

In the *North American Review* Mr. Chase S. Osborn, a former Governor of Michigan, discusses from an unfavourable point of view the recent deportations of aliens from America, "We are deporting undesirable citizens," he says, "but are we making any headway in our attempts to solve our human weed problem? They are human weeds. We can get rid of them about as successfully and satisfactorily by deporting them as we could eradicate Canadian thistles by the same process."

If it were possible to confine thought or luck of it to any particular part or corner of the earth, then we might hope to accomplish something by deportation. But in this modern time when communication is nearly the easiest thing to accomplish, thought is the most difficult thing in all the world to repress, compress or successfully oppress. Even in the old days of dominant autocracy the practice of deportation was notoriously a failure. Perhaps the most notable example in modern times of an attempt to regulate by deportation was the practice of Russia during the old régime. Everybody knows just how signally Russia failed. There was something in Russia's favour, too, in the matter of law and morals. She sent her undesirables to Siberia, a portion of her own territory. This she had a legal right to do.

Yet Russia in sending her undesirables to Siberia was at least sending them to part of her own territory. The recent deportations are in accordance with a policy which has always failed in the past, and is now being followed in a cowardly manner with limited legal and moral rights.

What right have we to dump on anybody anywhere a contagion, intellectual, or social, or physical, or moral, or of any kind whatsoever? Suppose that the Asiatic cholera had broken out here, as it has in the past, would we cure it by shipping it back to Asia where it could most illy be dealt with and where it would continue to germinate and form a world menace until the cause were eradicated. We would proceed at once to clean up our land and improve the conditions in every possible breeding-place until immunity was insured. That is exactly one of the things that we shall have to do socially and politically.

But as the immediate problem is urgent, and it is useless to rely upon education as a means of counteracting revolutionary propaganda, ex-Governor Osborn makes the interesting proposal

that America should send her unruly agitators to a deportation colony which should be specially founded for their reception. There are not as many known "Reds" as there were Bedekins. He suggests that they should be interned together somewhere in America with plenty of room to maintain themselves. There they could set up their own kind of Government and fight it out to their hearts' content. Perhaps, he argues, if they had to live in accordance with their own ideas, it would operate to cure them more quickly than anything else.

This would be a safe and humane solution of the immediate confrontation. In their own "model" state of anarchy or socialism they could have with them their families. By the deportation that is being carried on now husbands are separated from wives and children from parents in a manner more cruel than in the days of African slavery.

Returning to the metaphor of the Canadian thistles, he argues that the same remedy should be used to cope with the "Red" peril, namely, to remove them from the ground they occupy and then cultivate it intensely. But this cultivation will have to mean cleaner and more just government, the correction of industrial injustice, the abolition of child labour, and the clear demonstration that this is not a government for the few.



[Ladderedatech]

[Bosha]

Daybreak.

"Hang it! The light is at last getting through my ministerial hat!"

THE CASE FOR THE SHIP-OWNERS.

The part that the congestion of shipping at the docks is playing in the ever-increasing rise in the cost of living has drawn public attention to the question of sea transport in a way that nothing else could have done. Before the war, we took shipping for granted. We were aware that British ships carried half the trade of the world. How and why they did so, few people took the trouble to inquire. The goods arrived and departed, and we had plenty—that was enough. The submarine war woke us up; but it cannot be said that we realised the vital importance of our shipping trade, not only to ourselves but to our neighbours, until the Peace.

What is the position to-day? We have nearly made good the losses sustained through the German submarines; but on the other hand, the ships are only carrying 60 to 70 per cent. of the volume of goods they were carrying in 1914. Why is this? There are fewer goods to carry, for one thing. For another, the holding up of vessels at the docks for weeks at a time necessarily reduces the number of voyages they can make in a year. And this congestion is due partly to labour difficulties, but even more to the methods of the control still exercised by Government departments.

This is the burden of a strongly worded article on "The Paralysis of Shipping," contributed by Mr. Archibald Hurd to the *Fortnightly Review* (April). Mr. Hurd recalls the creation of the Ministry of Shipping during the war, with Sir Joseph Maclay as Controller. With the ready co-operation of his associates in the ship-owning world, many of whom became heads of departments, Sir Joseph built up "the most successful ministry which the war called into existence." But when the peace came, these men demanded their freedom, partly to resume their own occupations and partly because, as Mr. W. J. Noble, President of the Chamber of Shipping, observed:

"Some of us have been behind the scenes and have been the victims of the soul-destroying and paralysing system that seems to be inseparable from Government control. What are its characteristics? Government control is always extravagant and wasteful. It destroys all initiative. It stereotypes

mediocrity. It is self-satisfied. It scorned advice. The idea of co-ordination is foreign to its nature. As an instance of Government methods, it was recently stated that a ship in St. Katherine's Docks was loaded and unloaded nine times in pursuance of the conflicting orders of five different Government departments."

The capable controllers departed; but control remained, and in Mr. Hurd's opinions its only achievement has been seriously to aggravate the troubles with which the ship-owner has to deal. Dock congestion is the worst of these troubles.

Every day's delay means waste—waste of interest represented in the capital invested in the ship, waste of insurance premium, waste of wages of officers and men, and waste of all running charges, for which, of course, the consumer pays. These accumulated losses have been steadily increasing during the present year. On a recent day as many as 700 ships were held up in the Bristol Channel. As the Chamber of Shipping has pointed out, "these delays are, perhaps, the most serious contributing factor in the maintenance of high freights, for they are tantamount to a withdrawal from service of a considerable proportion of the available tonnage of the world. The actual tonnage afloat to-day is estimated to exceed by approximately 2½ million gross tons, or 5 per cent., the pre-war tonnage of the world, which was a little over 100 million gross tons, but if, as has been stated, 30 to 40 per cent. of the efficiency of this tonnage is wasted, then it is equivalent to only about 31 to 36 million gross tons of pre-war shipping." These delays are occurring, moreover, at a time when the world's demands for re-stocking and newplant are abnormal, and tonnage is being employed in carrying the same commodities over longer distances than formerly, such as coal to Italy from the United States of America, instead of from the United Kingdom, owing to the decreased British output.

Again;

in facing these troubles shipowners are not their own masters, for British shipping still remains under Government control, and Government control, though it is as intelligent and as little irritating as the Shipping Controller can make it, complicates the whole problem. Voyage charters still have to be approved by the Shipping Controller, and although it is not necessary before effecting a time voyage charter to obtain the approval of the Ministry, yet the vessel remains subject to direction of voyage or control of freight space. Ships are forbidden to undertake certain voyages, and liner companies have to surrender a certain proportion of their space to Government and directed cargoes. Direction coupled with limitation rates—representing abnormally cheap carri-

age—is applied in regard to the carriage of (1) wheat from Canada, Australia, the United States of America, and the Philippines; (2) maize from the Plate; (3) sugar from Cuba, British West Indies, and Mauritius; (4) coal coastwise; (5) timber from Canada. Direction is also applied in favour of the ore and phosphate imports, and, though there is no scale of limitation rates, the freights are effectively controlled by the quantity of tonnage forced into markets so narrow. At present practically all large "tramp" ships not on time charter are running in directed voyages.

The exorbitant prices charged for bunker coal, as a result of the Government control over domestic coal, are directly responsible for high freights. These prices have now been reduced, and some improvement in this respect may be looked for. Mr. Hurd, however, contends that high freights do not make as much difference to the cost of living as some people suppose, and gives figures which support his argument. The real root of this disease is to be found in one word—bureaucracy.

That carries with it no condemnation of our Civil Service, which is probably the most efficient possessed by any country. But the civil servant is by education and training, and particularly by the conditions in which

he works, unfitted for the conduct of any trade or industry. He is not a free man, but is subject to rules and regulations, which, however necessary to check abuse under a Parliamentary system, are the very negation of the principles of commercial life. At any moment, he is liable to be called to account, as business men are not liable, and consequently initiative is killed and enterprise is checked. Whatever the responsibility the civil servant bears, he is set about by barbed-wire entanglements which experience warns him to avoid. He is less the servant of the State than the agent of one department of a number of more or less unco-ordinated departments. On entering the portals of the office in which he works, he has quenched the spirit of adventure, which is the very life and blood of commercial success, and becomes a departmentalist. In his own sphere, the civil servant, answerable in matters of expenditure to the finance department of his particular office, to the Treasury as well as the Accountant-General, and to the Public Accounts Committee, and thus to the House of Commons, works with a measure of success which is a tribute alike to his ability and his training.

The article is frankly written from the shipowners' standpoint, and with a view to quashing the proposals for nationalisation of this industry. Mr. Hurd's facts, however, are weighty and his arguments worthy of serious consideration.

MR. HOOVER'S EARLY CAREER.

Mr. Hoover's candidature for the presidency of the United States is being strongly urged by various sections of the American Press, and the *American Review of Reviews* (March) publishes a long account of his career before and during the Great War. Mr. Hoover is now only in his forty-sixth year, and has worked his way to the widest fame throughout the world from the day when, at the age of fourteen, he ran away from his guardians, and earned his living for three years as an errand boy in a real estate office. Even as a boy, friendless and without any assistance or encouragement, he set himself to study and qualify himself for an ambitious career. He was one of the first students at the Leland Stanford University, and there he had to earn his own living while working long hours to make up for the deficiencies in

his earlier education. He paid his way during his college career by organising a system of laundry collection and distribution, and by acting as an agent for entertainments.

From the beginning he directed all his studies towards becoming a mining engineer. He graduated after four years at the University, and then, on the advice of one of the Mining Professors, he went to work his way as a mine labourer, and after a time spent in shoving cars from a dump, and then working with a pick and shovel, he satisfied himself that he was a fully qualified mining engineer. He went straight to the heart of the mining industries of California, developed several highly profitable mines, and won a reputation for ability as an organiser and for rapidity and perseverance in work which before long gave him his first opportunity

The Chinese Imperial Government was having one of its occasional spasms of ardor for modernism and development. It had decided that in self-defence it must learn its mineral resources and direct their development; otherwise the foreigners would have everything their own way. Also, Chang Yen Mow, Minister of Mines, had conceived the idea of a real, modern code of mining laws. He was a mining man himself, and wanted to beat the foreign devils to it by giving the country a real mining system before it was too late.

It was in 1899 that Hoover started his work in China. He had not been there long before fighting broke out, and he was soon experiencing all the astonishing difficulties and demands upon his natural resourcefulness that followed upon the siege of Tientsin. When the siege came to an end it had taught him a great many of the lessons which he was to put into practice in a much greater emergency in 1914, when he was called upon to organise the relief work of the stranded Americans

in England, and later of the Belgian refugees. He joined the Chinese Minister of Mines in a mining partnership, and hurried back to London to raise the capital for the development of Chinese mines. While in London, he saw for the first time, and was fascinated by, the enormous possibilities for finance that lay in the joint organisation of mining and petrol interests, and he determined to take a leading part in it himself. He came back again to London from China and joined the engineering firm of Bewick Moreing and Co., and before long his services were in demand to organise and direct properties all over the world, zinc and gold in Australia, lead in Burma, gold in Mexico. He declared that before he was thirty he had made his first ten million dollars, and that this was merely the beginning.

His later career belongs to the history of the world.

ANIMAL ATTRACTIONS AND REPULSIONS.

"We can generally mention something," writes Mr. Gilbert Coleridge in an article on "Animal Attractions and Repulsions" in the *Contemporary Review* (April), "which makes us hate or love a man, but it is not so easy to assign a reason for our various sympathies or our antipathies towards certain animals." There are snakes, for example. Very few people like snakes, but for some they have an extraordinary fascination. Insects again are generally detested. What is the reason for these antipathies? Mr. Coleridge suggests several reasons. One is "an hereditary dread . . . attributable to ancestral experience." Another is Fashion. Once it was the fashion for ladies to scream at the appearance of a mouse. But generally, he thinks, the antipathy rests on the deeper ground of inherited memories. And it would appear to be extended especially to animals with more than four legs.

Sound is a factor in the awakening of instinctive fears.

Although I do not remember having heard the hiss of a snake, I am sure my heart would beat the faster and I would shrink if one hissed at me, even if I knew it to be innocu-

ous. Possibly the rooted fear of cows which some people have is due to their having been frightened when children at first hearing a cow low, and after all it is a fearsome sound to come from so mild a creature. On the other hand, the true basis of the widespread dread of horned cattle may be experience and the knowledge that they occasionally turn and rend you. Why they do so is not so easy to explain. The mere possession of such formidable weapons as a pair of horns probably inspires an occasional desire to use them. Nature has not provided them with these excrescences for nothing.

But the chief agent in provoking attractions and repulsions is smell.

The one domestic animal which is more the companion of man than any other, the dog, plainly recognises his master by smell. Hence, it is tolerably certain that many other animals have the same faculty; thus, when we find some people peculiarly accessible to animals, it is probably due to their possessing what may be called a friendly smell. This is doubtless of great advantage in establishing first relations of friendship with the animal kingdom.

Mr. Coleridge introduces a charming story of a hare which investigated him very thoroughly in a Berkshire wood, and finally went away, apparently quite satisfied that he was harmless.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

During March public opinion in Germany was occupied with only two questions—the first the outcome of the Erzberger trial, in the earlier part of the month, and the second the Kapp-Lüttwitz coup d'état which, with the reaction to the Left that followed it, was the centre of attraction for the remainder of the month, not only for Germany but also for the whole world.

The Erzberger trial, so-called, was in reality the trial of Herr Helfferich for abetting Erzberger. The more popular phrase was, however, justified, for it was perfectly obvious that it was the Centre Party politician, author of the Reichstag Peace Resolution of July, 1917, and negotiator of the November, 1918, Armistice—it was he, with his public career, that was on trial; he had been abetted in such a way as to make his appearance in the courts an absolute necessity. From the beginning the action was treated as a piece of propaganda on the part of the Right Parties, those whom Erzberger had most consistently opposed and ridiculed, and Helfferich's speeches, with those of his witnesses, were all framed with a view to discrediting not only Erzberger personally, but also the Government to which he belonged and by which he was apparently supported. In the course of the trial it was made clear that Erzberger had filled public office while still remaining on the directorate of the great armament firm of Thyssen, and that he had made inaccurate returns of income. The second fact, obtained, it would seem by the bribery of German inland revenue officials—a sidelight on the state of public morality in Germany at the present day—was particularly damning against a Finance Minister who had championed a far-reaching capital levy, and the use made of it by Herr Helfferich with his counsel assured, in spite of his opponent's technical conviction for libel, the complete impossibility of Herr Erzberger's remaining in the Government. His resignation was therefore offered and accepted. Whatever the weaknesses of Herr Erzberger's personal

character, it was clear that the Right was able to register a triumph and also that the Government had lost one of its most able members. A further point, which several German writers seized upon, is that Erzberger did more than anyone else to cause the Centre to turn to the Left and enter into co-operation with the Majority Socialists and Democrats. Should the Centre now swerve to the Right the consequences might be very serious. An article by the democratic deputy Ludwig Haas in *Die Hilfe* for March 4th summed up the situation from the standpoint of the Left:—

It should be recognised that Erzberger in many respects deserved well of his country. He opposed the submarine war courageously and championed a peace of reconciliation. We should perhaps have been saved had everyone realised as clearly as he the political necessities of a swift end to the war. Regardless of protest he pushed through his taxation-policy. The Centre was by him carried decisively to the Left, not only because he was personally more democratic than conservative, but because he perceived that the nation after the catastrophe could only be saved by democracy. We are anxious now to see whether the policy of the Centre does not become uncertain and irresolute. The possibility of peaceful development would be much endangered if the Centre severed itself from the Majority parties.

The Kapp-Lüttwitz revolution was described in great detail in the daily papers; scenes of it were even filmed, and there is a pretty general comprehension of the course of events. What is not so clear is the intrigue from which the revolution grew; the immediate consequences—it is yet too early to speak of the ultimate consequences; these are at present incalculable—the immediate consequences all over the Empire have been difficult to grasp and co-ordinate, partly as a result of the very fullness of information to which reference has been made. In general, the matter may be summarised as follows, the principal source of information, apart from the English special correspondents' despatches, being the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which continued to appear when all the Berlin papers were either suppressed or

made to serve the propaganda of the Kapp régime :—

A militarist *coup d'état* had been in preparation in Germany for some time. It was intended to bring it off with the help of the Baltic troops, also to use the Spartacists in a preliminary attempt to overturn the Government, preparatory to setting up a Cabinet in which the militarists hoped to gain the complete predominance. In the week preceding the *coup* there had been a dispute between Lüttwitz and Noske, and the latter appears to have known that a trial of strength was coming. His attitude was, however, one of confidence, and his reassuring reports on the situation misled public opinion both in Germany and abroad. Von Lüttwitz, it may be mentioned, was a German General who accompanied the British Staff on the Boer War campaign, of which he wrote a conspicuously fair account; he had also been English Military Attaché in London before the war, but had not since played any very prominent part. Kapp was a fanatical Pan-German publicist who distinguished himself by violent attacks on Bethmann Hollweg's war-policy. He came from East Prussia where he had large estates, being, in the literal sense, a typical Junker. Neither of the leaders, then, was a distinguished man, and the fact is worth noticing, for it signified that the more able men of the extreme Right were holding their hands, waiting, no doubt, to see whether the plot would succeed. It did succeed at first. A very small number of well-armed Baltic troops and men of the disaffected Naval Brigade were sufficient to gain control of the Government offices and send the members of the Government in headlong flight to the South. There they succeeded in calling together a National Assembly, which condemned the *coup* with approximate unanimity. They also summoned the workers of Germany to a general strike, with a view to breaking the power of the Kapp régime. In this they were successful. After a few days Kapp signalled his rapidly growing weakness by the most outrageous bluff, attempting to make the German people believe that on the one hand he was promised the support of the Allies and, on the other, that an emissary of the Ebert Government

at Stuttgart had arrived with proposals for a compromise to which he, Kapp, was willing to agree. The bluff did not succeed and, disaffection rapidly growing up all round, Kapp abdicated in a week.

But the Ebert Government, on returning to Berlin, found the situation far more complicated than they had reckoned for. In the first place the Kapp *coup* had stimulated the separatist movement to a considerable extent, especially in the Rhineland. The general strike was strongest and most persistent there, and in a few days armed workmen had taken control of affairs in most of the large centres in the great mining district of the Ruhr Valley. The proposal that the Reichswehr, which on the whole had remained faithful to the Ebert Government, should be sent to crush the rebels and suppress the Workers' Councils was given up, and in the negotiations that ensued the Government found itself under the necessity of making very large concessions to the extreme Left. A reconstruction of the Cabinet was then entered upon. Erzberger's place was empty; Noske had, after much hesitation, to be sacrificed to the Independents, and various experts, foremost among them Herr Cuno, the director of the Harbours Amerika Line, were invited to fill the vacant places. Hardly had this reformation of the Government been determined, however, than further crises supervened, and the Ministry finally resigned, postponing the re-summing of the National Assembly.

From all points of view the Kapp *coup d'état* was regarded in Germany as a most disastrous failure? The Right had no good words for it because it had not succeeded; the moderates and democratic elements generally saw in it not only a vain attempt to re-introduce eventually reaction into Germany, but a serious interruption of the economic life of the country, until then slowly re-establishing itself.

It will be readily understood that the March reviews contained little of interest in comparison with the Kapp episode and all that succeeded it. The following reviews and articles are, however, worth at least a reference, for the guidance of students of German politics, literature and public opinion :—

The *Preussische Jahrbücher* for an important article by the German novelist Hermann Stehr on the last play, *Indipohdi*, in which the principal character is compared with Shakespeare's Prospero; the *Stimmen der Zeit*, for a remarkable first-hand account of Russian conditions, entitled "From Smolensk to the Polish Front," by a German priest, Father Muckermann; *Die Hilfe* for March 11th, for an exposition of the new Austrian Constitution and a comparison, by Werner Stephan, between the Parliamentary system in England and in Germany; the *Neue Rundschau*, for an expert study, by the well-known German authority, Otto Hoetzsch, of "Czecho-Slovakia and Poland"; and *Deutsche Politik* for March 5th, for an article on "Europe's Future," by Dr. Paul Rohrbach.

FRANCE.

M. Poincaré's outspoken article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (March 15th) was one of the topics of the hour in Paris. Not that the information it gave as to the doings of the Supreme Council was not already common property, but because it was M. Poincaré, the ex-chief of the French Republic. M. Poincaré, moreover, having cast the shackles of office, cast his reserve and let himself go on the subject of Treaty Revision—to which, like most Frenchmen, he is bitterly opposed—on the French claims to exact the uttermost from Germany, the English statesmen like Mr. Asquith and Lord Robert Cecil, the English authors like Mr. Keynes, who have pained him with their economic arguments, on the Turkish tergiversations, in regard to which Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau are equally arraigned as wobblers, on the shifting of the Council from Paris to London, and London to Paris, and finally on the very existence of this body.

Negotiations which followed regular channels and which would be entrusted, under the surveillance and direction of the governments, to responsible men would be a hundred times more efficacious and certain than these eternal goings and comings across the Channel. The peoples could be as fully informed upon the conferences of diplomatists as on the meetings of prime ministers. The government chiefs would remain at their posts and would give orders to their representatives. Every one would be in his proper

place, and the business would lose nothing by it. Would that the Supreme Council could sleep its last sleep! That is a death which I believe would sadden neither M. Millerand nor the Chamber nor the country.

Much more violent in tone is M. Georges Batault's article on "The New European *Disequilibrium*," in the *Mercure de France*. He literally runs amok among France's partners in the framing of the Treaty. The *fons et origo* of the whole bad business is President Wilson; though with regard to the attitude of the American nation, M. Batault displays a native caution in stating that the hour has not yet come for discussing this. The Peace is condemned as "a protestant peace," bearing the impress of the Quaker, and watered down by commercialism from America and Manchester. Bluntly he charges Great Britain with "disinteresting" herself from Europe. The troubles in her own dominions, which he enumerates, push her to this policy.

Not only this, but she plots against the French in Syria. As for the League of Nations, it appears that Great Britain merely put this proposal forward in order to side-track the question of Freedom of the Seas. Britain's Russian policy, again, has obliged poor Finland, Esthonia, Poland, and Roumania to come to terms with the Bolsheviks, though she knows, or ought to know, that Germany is in league with the latter. Briefly, the whole indictment is a somewhat ill-tempered attempt to foist the whole responsibility for the Allies' diplomatic muddles on Britain.

La Revue Mondiale (March 1st) opened its columns to M. A. Lély Courbière for an article on "The Future of Islam," in which the writer shows himself strongly averse to the idea of self-government for the coloured subject races. One should add that an editorial preface warns readers that this standpoint is not in accordance with the policy of the *Revue*. M. Courbière bases his objection to self-government on the thesis that France's colonial subjects are mostly Mahomedans, and not to be trusted with so formidable a weapon. He argues that a Mahomedan country will never take arms against another of the same faith. Why, then did the African troops oppose the side on which the Turk enlisted? M. Courbière admits that this happened, and

ART OF THE MONTH.

In point of general interest, the exhibition of War, Peace Conference and Other Portraits by Mr. Augustus E. John, which was held at the Alpine Club Gallery last month, was easily foremost. Here were gathered together several of the figure-heads of the War and the Treaty of Versailles: the Prime Ministers of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, such outstanding personalities as Lord Fisher of Kilverstone, Lord Robert Cecil, the Emir Feisal, Colonel T. E. Lawrence, Lord Colwyn and Sir William Goode, and a number of named and unnamed subjects of distinction. Mr. John is no respecter of persons, masculine or feminine. He paints what he sees in the way that he sees it, and this applies to his women sitters even more than to his men. It is difficult to believe that "Lady Ottoline Morrell" can have felt flattered by his rendering of her expression; but then one never knows. For a considerable period Mr. John painted gipsies very assiduously, and certain feminine

portraits suggest that the bizarre and slightly uncouth *aura* of the wild people haunts him still. However this may be, it is quite obvious that he has no use for the conventional types of feminine beauty. Even the notable "Marchesa Casati," with her weirdly large black eyes, red lips and blazing red hair is astounding rather than lovely.

The men, on the whole, fare better, or at any rate more pleasantly. The portraits of Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Hughes, which we reproduce, show the artist's power of seizing and painting character to the best advantage. But here again there is no compromise with the conventions. Note the dress—it is no more than the merest indication. It might be any old coat. Parts of the canvas are untouched by paint of any description. To those with no previous acquaintance with Mr. John's work, this summary treatment of accessories, particularly when celebrities are concerned, might come as something of a shock. But to the cognoscenti the only shock in the exhibition—if shock it can be styled—is the investiture of Lord Fisher with the semblance of a real naval uniform. It is not Mr. John's way to trouble himself with uniforms or frock coats. Once he has got behind the personality of his sitter, as expressed in the face and carriage, nothing else remains to be done. The picture is finished.

Most good portrait painters are direct in their methods, and possess the power of concentrating on essentials. But few are more direct than Mr. John, and fewer still concentrate as unflinchingly as he does. He is, in fact, so uncompromising that there exists a tendency not to credit his directness, but to suspect in his art a superhuman *finesse* which it does not possess. The occasional occurrence of harsh and even unpleasant passages in his painting, his decided bias towards the unusual in his choice of subjects, tend to heighten this suspicion—forgetting the dictum that Art is Nature seen through a temperament. Such estimates will revise themselves with the lapse of time. For the moment it is only necessary to recognise that Mr. John is, first and fore-



[Photo C. Chenu & Co.

The Right Hon. W. HUGHES, P.C.

From the painting by Augustus E. John.

most, a painter born; and, if you will, that he has a very decided temperament.

In Mr. Ian Strang, whose etchings of "Battlefield and other Scenes" were shown at the Chenil Gallery, we have a new etcher of undoubted gifts and promise. Probably he would have been heard of five years ago, had not the war swept him into the Army of France and Flanders, and only released him—with the rank of Captain—in April of last year. The son of William Strang, he doubtless had etching in his veins; but his development in that art has so far been singularly unlike that of his distinguished father. Only in certain essays of his studentship wherein he aims at dramatic contrast of massed light and shade, Rembrandtesque effects of architecture and so forth, does he betray any sort of affinity with his father's predilections; and the war seems to have eliminated even that shadowy resemblance. Gone too, apparently, is his overmastering preference for the dry point method. Unlike most artists, who begin with ordinary etching on the coated copper and proceed thence to pure dry point, Mr. Ian Strang started with dry point; the indefinite line of this process seeming to him the most direct road to the purely pictorial end at which he then aimed. But he would seem to have realised since then that pictorialism is best served by



[Photo C. Chenil & Co.]

SIR ROBERT EORDEN, G.C.M.G., P.C.

From the painting by Augustus E. John.

painting, and that the etcher's art is most effective when it contents itself with a more abstract record of his vision. The change is signalled in the clean, spirited line of such battle landscapes as "Kemmel" (No. 49) and "In the

Salient" (No. 58), and again in "The Belfry, Bethune," and "Bethune Church," where his enduring passion for architecture loses nothing through the clearness of his definition. The pre-war Spanish and Italian subjects added to the general interest of a remarkable exhibition.



From an etching by Ian Strang.

KEMMEL

[By courtesy of C. Chenil & Co.]

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

MR. GALSWORTHY'S SKETCHES.

TATTERDEMALION. By John Galsworthy.
(Heinemann, 7/6 net.)

Mr. Galsworthy's treatment of the poor world into which he, like others, has been born without being asked is becoming gentler and gentler. There was a time when he was angry with it, when his sore heart demanded vengeance in wounding words, when irony came readily to his pen, but the time is apparently past. This change in him, of course, has had a gradual development, but it has become marked since the outbreak of the war. "The Five Tales" which contain, by the way, not only some of his very best work, but also some of the finest prose writing of this century, may be said, perhaps, to have begun it. "Saint's Progress" was merely a continuation, and a rather weak continuation at that. And now "Tatterdemalion," the new collection of sketches and very short stories, forces us to the conclusion that Mr. Galsworthy's latest manner is likely to be a permanent one.

The change is not, of course, all to the good of Mr. Galsworthy's art. "The Five Tales" were exquisite things, but "Saint's Progress" was emotionally monotonous and rather unreal (unreal in effect, that is to say, for we are utterly convinced of the perfect genuineness of the emotion which produced them). And now with "Tatterdemalion" before one it is hard not to feel a certain disappointment. The general colour of the best things in the book is a delicate silver grey, but the silver becomes sometimes blurred. A more tender little sketch than that of the old Englishwoman living in France, which we are given in "The Grey Angel," the first in the book, the greediest of Mr. Galsworthy's admirers could not demand. That is beautifully and austere written. There is a refinement in extreme and dignified old age that Mr. Galsworthy loves to dwell on, and this picture of an old gentlewoman denying herself everything so as to buy queer

little presents for the *poilus* in hospital has all the tenderness and sweet humour of Whistler's hackneyed and lovely portrait of his mother.

After this there comes another fine thing, "Defeat," in which a young German prostitute, living in fear of discovery in London, suddenly, on hearing of an English victory, throws caution to the winds, tears up the notes that a kind-hearted young subaltern has given her, and in a blaze of patriotic fury starts singing *Die Wacht am Rhein*. There is a strength in this sketch that is lacking in many of the others, and the whole thing is effective since one can think of it rather as happening, than just as the expression of a mood of Mr. Galsworthy's.

There are, of course, many other fine and noble things in the book, but nothing comes up quite to the standard of those first two sketches. Many of the stories have just a little the effect of being reproductions of what Mr. Galsworthy has done before. One notices this particularly in such a small particular as the form of the sentences. Take this for instance:—

Isn't it a cruel thing, when you come to think of it, that there should be born into the world poor creatures—children, dogs, cats, horses—who want badly to be loved and be loved, and yet whom no one can quite put up with, much less feel affection for!

Or this:—

"Yes," I thought, "but in a week or two the little green grass-shoots will be pushing up underneath into the sun. So the world goes! Out of destruction! It's a strange thing!"

Or, more than ever, this:—

Then, slowly, he rubbed his hands over his knees, with the secret craving of the old for warmth.

It is not that the sentences are poor sentences; they are good and expressive. But they have in them something of the sound of familiar echoes. Mr. Galsworthy has not only said the same thing before, but he has said it in so very much the same way.

The worst of saying this, of course, is

that directly one has said this, one wants almost passionately, if not to sneer at it, at least to mark the fact that it should not be uttered above a whisper. In everything that Mr. Galsworthy writes there is a quality which is extraordinarily difficult to define, but the effect of which on any sensitive reader is to make him want, rather foolishly perhaps, to stand up and fight anyone who dares attack him. Mr. Galsworthy is not a perfect artist. There are sides of life that he does not seem to us to see; there is a quality in life which he has never quite seized, a quality of adventurousness and full-bodied hope. Nevertheless one is chary of saying so.

The truth of it all is, perhaps, that the full-bodied is so often coarse and blunt, and that Mr. Galsworthy's sensitiveness is so fine a thing in comparison that one hesitates before appearing to depreciate it. Actually too in this book there is a sort of chastened hope that is a beautiful thing in itself. Mr. Galsworthy sees more friendliness in the world than he used to see—it is true that it is the friendliness of fellow sufferers—and it is this quality that has tended, we suspect, to swallow up his irony:—

The good bishop was making them feel that he was happy in their presence, and that made them happy in his, for the great thing about life is the going out of friendliness from being to being.

That, one feels, is all he knows and perhaps all that he needs to know.

"Tatterdemalion" then is not up to the level of "Five Tales" or "Fraternity" or "The Country House" as a work of art, sometimes it is not nearly on that level. Nevertheless these are things in it that only Mr. Galsworthy could have written; and, though there are others that Mr. Beerbohm might almost sign in jest, it is wiser to point out that the standard of comparison is an exacting one.

FREE-THINKERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Janet E. Courtney, O.B.E. (Chapman & Hall, 12/8 net.)

Of all question-begging terms that of Free-thinker is perhaps the most mislead-

ing, and certainly the group of men which Mrs. Courtney has gathered together in this book have little more in common than the age in which they live. It is difficult to see, too, how she herself is using the word. Obviously it is not as a mere synonym for "agnostic," since, besides Kingsley (for whom she makes a half apology), she includes Frederick Denison Maurice. Perhaps it would not be unfair to suggest that a Free-thinker in the sense in which it is used in this book means a man who stands up for the right of every man to think for himself so long as he come to a rather unorthodox conclusion. Certainly when Newman, for example, dared to think for himself Mrs. Courtney's heroes were hardly to be found amongst his supporters.

Mrs. Courtney, however, is of the opinion that her six men, Frederick Denison Maurice, Matthew Arnold, Charles Bradlaugh, Thomas Henry Huxley, Leslie Stephens, Charles Kingsley, and her one woman, Harriet Martineau, are representative liberators of her youth, and so in a sense of course they are. Bradlaugh, at any rate, though the most dogmatic of men, was a noble champion of liberty as he understood it, and the same can be said of Harriet Martineau. But it is difficult to believe that the rest of her thinkers in any real sense can provide an answer to the question that she sets herself as follows— "Whence came that passion for liberty which had sustained us and our kinsmen through the long war that was henceforth to make the world safe for democracy?" That they are representative men of their age everyone will admit, and also that there were fine qualities in them all. One cannot help remembering, however, that they belonged to the generation which is chiefly to be blamed for the war which the next generation had to fight.

Taken individually, Mrs. Courtney's short essays are excellent reading; it is only when she claims for her Victorians virtues which somehow it seems to us were hardly theirs that we wish mildly to protest.

Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

Social and Political.

Industrial Anarchy—and the Way Out. By W. Walter Crotch (Hutchinson, 2/6 net).

Mr. Crotch goes to the root of Labour discontent—the craving of the working man for a change in his social and industrial status. The remedy, this writer thinks, is co-partnership of Capital, Labour, and, last but not least, ability. In this connection, he recalls several very interesting experiments that have already been made, particularly the system at Godin's Iron Foundry at Guise, where superior ability is recognised by a definite percentage of profits. He regards the high minimum wage principle as demoralising to the workman, and would substitute piece-work, or payment by results; not, however, the jealousy-provoking piece-work in which one workman competes with his fellow, but a collective effort, in the profits from which all share. As a banker and a business man, Mr. Crotch writes with first-hand knowledge of industrial conditions; and he shows a genuinely sympathetic understanding of the workman's view-point.

Prussianism and Pacifism. By Poultney Bigelow (Putnam, 7/6 net).

This book is a short account of the seventy years of Prussian domination, from the time when the first Wilhelm fled Berlin, in 1848, to 1918 when his grandson fled to Amerongen. Mr. Bigelow, whose father was United States Minister at Paris, passed some of his boyhood in Prussia, and was a playmate of the late Kaiser. His reminiscences, written in a string of rather portentous clichés, are fairly interesting, though his observation was apparently rather wide than deep. It is difficult to say whether his dislike for Prussianism or Pacifism is the stronger, but it is not very important after all. Mr. Bigelow has, at any rate, some fresh gossip to give the world.

The Women's Victory—And After. By Millicent Garrett Fawcett (Sidgwick and Jackson, 3/6 net).

Mrs. Fawcett, in this small book of hers on the struggle for the suffrage between the years 1911-1918, enjoys herself thoroughly. Naturally she cannot help chuckling with enjoyment, when she remembers her various encounters with Mr. Asquith, and when at last she comes to his final, if belated and tactical, conversion in 1918 we can only wonder at her magnanimity in not rubbing salt into what must yet be tender wounds.

For the rest, the book is an excellent account of the various suffrage activities during the years of final struggle, and is full of suggestions for the future.

The Social Worker. By C. R. Attlee, M.A. (Bell, 6/- net).

This is the first volume of the Social Service Library, to be issued under the aegis of the Ratan Tata Department of Social Science and Administration, London University. Mr. Attlee writes eloquently and comprehensively on the general aspect of social service, sketching the historical development of its basic idea, its modern manifestations, the opportunities of service, and the qualifications and training desirable for the social worker. Incidentally, he warns us against putting too narrow an interpretation upon the latter term. He points out that a keen sense of citizenship than that obtaining in our inchoate and segregated society is an indispensable preliminary to more effective social service; and he suggests the intimate relationship between social service and ever development of our modern industrial activity. The spirit of the real social work is summed up in Blake's lines:

"I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall the sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."

The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice. By Stephen Leacock (The Bodley Head, 5/- net).

This time Mr. Leacock writes as the Professor of Political Economy at McGill University, that is to say, seriously on a serious subject. He has no ready-made solution of the "Riddle" to offer; but his survey of the present economic position, informing and thoroughly readable, and his view that social justice can only be secured slowly and step by step, is sound if not original. Socialism is dismissed as a beautiful dream, which would never "work." But it was hardly fair of him to take Bellamy's "Looking Backward" as the up-to-date programme of the Socialists for the sake of exposing the fallacy of the doctrine.

The World After the War. By Charles Roden and Dorothy Frances Burke (Allen and Unwin, 7/- net).

The author's view of the World after the War is as gloomy as the most pessimistic we could desire. He trounces the Allied statesmen as the parties responsible for the present troubles, and attacks the whole system of modern statecraft. There is

vivid picture of the distress in Central Europe, and a really thoughtful chapter on Bolshevism in its relation to the general revolutionary tendency. Mr. Buxton, in spite of his pessimism, has hopes for the future. The younger thinkers and writers will, he thinks, draw together in the different countries and further the social revolution which is to make the world happier.

The Black Sheep of the Balkans. By Leland Buxton. With an Introduction by Aubrey Herbert (Nisbet, 4/6 net).

The Black Sheep is Bulgaria, and it is Mr. Leland Buxton's aim to show that prejudice against that country is largely the result of misrepresentation. For the latter he blames, principally, Greek propaganda. "The campaign . . . was not concerned with atrocities only, but was designed to discredit in every possible way the three peoples—Bulgarians, Albanians, and Turks—from whom the Greeks intended to annex territory." Mr. Buxton considers that the Bulgarians are no worse than any other of the Balkan races, and criticises the Peace Conference for a too vigorous application of the principle of *Vae Victis* to their case.

War Records.

Our Italian Front. Painted by Martin Hardie. Described by H. Warner Allen (Black, 25/- net).

Mr. Allen describes vividly and discreetly the campaign from the British standpoint, and his experiences of the exceptional warfare waged by the Alpine troops on "the highest fighting ground of Europe" make the best first-hand narrative we have encountered of this phase of the struggle. His knowledge of Italy and her language enabled him to understand the Italian fighter better than many of us have succeeded in doing, and he shows him not merely as appreciative of British bravery, but as imitating and sometimes desperately, like Captain Hardie's drawings include views of most of the battlefields and many other scenes that were hardly touched by the storm of war. He deals but little with the grim side of things, and not at all with the sensational; but his simply-handled and straightforward painting carries truth and no small measure of beauty.

Our Salonika Front. Painted by William T. Wood. R.W.S. Described by A. J. Mann, M.A. (Black, 25/- net).

An excellent account of the Salonika base and of military operations in Serbia and elsewhere in the Balkans. Captain Mann reveals the appalling difficulties of campaigning in these parts, and thereby explains the apparent deadlock on this front which for many months mystified and discouraged British war-watchers at home. Of great interest too is his account of the fine medical organisation of the French and British commands. The estimate of the parts played in the struggle by British and French, Serb and

Greek is strictly impartial. Mr. Wood's drawings were shown in London some little time ago, and so far as can be judged, the colour reproductions do justice to his individual and poetic art.

Russia and the East.

Bolshevist Russia. By Etienne Antonelli (Stanley Paul, 12/6 net).

Professor Etienne Antonelli gives in considerable detail an account of the age-long revolutionary movement of which Bolshevism is the climax, and illustrates his analysis of Bolshevistic theory and practice with official documents. His explanation of its success in Russia is probably the right one: it is simply that its doctrine has hitherto been the most acceptable to the Slav mind, because it is most in agreement with Slav psychology. The social aspects and political working of the system are examined in the light of this theory, and much light is thrown thereby on the amazing contradictions which have baffled the student in the West. M. Antonelli's conclusions are cheerful. He does not believe that Bolshevism as a system of government will endure. He does believe that it may prove the foundation of a new type of democracy which "will build itself up out of the very stuff of the people" and present to humanity the spectacle of a social structure "such as the world will not have known till then."

In Brigands' Hands and Turkish Prisons, 1914-1918. By A. Forder (Marshall Bros., 12/6 net.)

This is partly an account of persecution suffered by the author at the hands of the Turkish authorities in Palestine, and partly a review of his missionary labours among the Bedouins prior to that period. He was arrested by the Turks in November, 1914, on account of their discovery of some correspondence of his which they held to be incriminating; was incarcerated in an ordinary criminals' prison at Jerusalem, and again at Damascus; ultimately received a "pardon" from Constantinople, but was prevented from leaving Damascus by the seemingly purposeless cruelty of a minor official; and recovered full freedom only when the Allied troops entered that city. The second and major part of the book deals with his missionary experiences both in the East and at home. The text is often thrilling, and occasionally diverting, and there are capital photographs of Arab life and scenery taken by the author.

The Memoirs of Naim Bey. Compiled by Aram Andonian. With an Introduction by Viscount Gladstone (Hodder and Stoughton, 2/- net).

It is something to know that there are some humane Turks, even among the official class. Naim Bey is one, and it was due to his disgust with his masters' policy that Mr. Andonian was able to extract from him, and translate, these illuminating official documents relating to the Deportations and

Massacres of Armenians. Mr. Andonian himself is an Armenian exile who escaped death by a hair's breadth. If anything further were wanted to implicate the inhuman Enver and Talaat, it is supplied by these disclosures. A piquant feature of the book is an open letter to President Wilson by a German eye-witness of the massacres, pleading for the world's help for the unfortunate Armenians.

Fiction.

Ward Tales. By E. Chivers Davies (John Lane, 5/- net).

This series of sketches in the life of a V.A.D. are really amusing. Miss Davies has a sense of humour, and what is better still, a sense of proportion in humour. All her characters are credible characters, and her events might really have happened perhaps indeed they did. The trial of making bricks without straw, and the necessity for "scrounging" are not exaggerated in the least, and anyone who has been in a military hospital will be relieved to find a V.A.D. who, apart altogether from her own worries, can see the men's side of a "grouse" or a joke.

The Argus Pheasant. By John Charles Beecham (Methuen 7/- net).

On the cover of this book there is a beautiful brown girl, a set-off against light blues, greens and rears that reminds one of the Russian ballet. The girl is the argus pheasant, a leader of her Borneo people, and every bit as thrilling as her picture. She hates, as these heroines of fiction will, the white man until she meets the white man whom she can love. But meanwhile there are fights and magic and all sorts of wicked scoundrels to be played against each other. *The Argus Pheasant* is as attractive a story of the wilds as most, with a distinctly more fascinating heroine.

The House of Salazar. By W. J. Locke (John Lane, 7/- net).

This is a typical Locke. The happenings are highly improbable, and the characters highly whimsical or freakish—it depends on your point of view. In it you may learn how a man who has disappeared for twenty years, who has a mathematical genius of a Chinese servant, and who lives in England for more than two years without knowing that there was a war on, is awakened by a Zeppelin bomb into political activity. You may also learn how he discovers his early love and a son of whose existence he is quite unaware.

Well-To-Do Arthur. By W. Pett Ridge (Methuen 7s. net).

Mr. Pett Ridge is a real expert in the contemporary cockney. He does not go very deep into him, it is true. But the verisimilitude of his superficialities is delightful. Arthur, his present hero, earns more money in munitions than he knows what to do with. We find him treating his father "on leave" and himself on a holiday in a half-fashionable hotel, and his girl friends on all possible occasions. And the amount of fun he seems to

be able to squeeze out of the smallest adventure is infectious. When Mr. Pett Ridge passes for the moment from fun to solemnity his touch is so light that we know that it is only an April shower.

Running Wild. By Bertram Smith (Simpkin Marshall, 6/- net).

It is so rare to find a man writing about childhood with the zest that belongs to it, that this book of Mr. Bertram Smith's is worth all the stories of children, probably, that have been published during the year. It is a capital book. Mr. Smith's children are real children for the reason that he was once himself one of them. It is the vividness of memory that gives his stories life. And, what life they have! It is as if one were watching a real family of children running wild, enjoying every moment of their days, sharing the adventure in each new happening and the thrill of each newly discovered accomplishment.

Prestige. By J. A. T. Lloyd (Stanley Paul, 7/- net).

Fleet Street has been the subject of several modern novels. It can hardly have been treated more severely than Mr. Lloyd treats it. Not that things are not there sometimes as black as they seem to him. *Prestige* is a sombre book, with a rather fanciful happy ending. Of course it is a nice revenge to give the ownership of "The Building" to a man who has suffered under it for years. It is hardly, alas, a likely one. The book is really well written. And if a young man should have romantic ideas about Fleet Street, it would do him no harm to put this book into his hands.

Sasha. By A. I. Kupim. Translated by Douglas Ashby (Stanley Paul, 7/- net).

Kupim is a writer who up to the present is not very well known in this country. Mr. J. A. T. Lloyd, who writes an introduction, calls him "a complete contrast not only with the great Russian writers from Gogol to Tolstoi, but with his contemporaries of the twentieth century from Gorky to Kurolenko." He is a realist, as all Russians are, but on a small scale. Sasha is a wonderful story about a Jewish fiddler in a night restaurant in a South Russian port. Its whole effect depends on the winning figure of this artist against the turgid cosmopolitan background of his wild setting. But all the stories are worth reading.

Rachel FitzPatrick. By Lady Poore (John Lane 7/- net).

Lady Poore's characters are hardly original. There is the little Irish girl, the friend of grooms and horses, who suddenly finds herself plumped down in Grosvenor Square in an atmosphere that is at once heavily respectable and rather coarsely moneyed. Then there are scenes in Berlin just before the outbreak of war, and, of course, a charming young sailor whose heart is divided between the charming heroine and the no less charming "service." Still Lady Poore has a light touch, and the story is flicked along most pleasantly.

THE OLD HOUSE

With Green Shutters—Under St. Paul's.

"PUBLIC OPINION" PITCHES ITS EDITORIAL TENT UNDER THE SHADOW OF ST. PAUL'S IN AN ANCIENT HOUSE WHICH WAS BUILT AT THE SAME TIME AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666:

THE OLD HOUSE WITH GREEN SHUTTERS under ST. PAUL'S, at 20, LUDGATE HILL will from this date be the new Editorial and Business offices and only address of PUBLIC OPINION.

This Historic House is the only house on the Hill now remaining of those rebuilt after "the Great and Dreadful Fire of London," in 1666. It is a striking memory that its simple house is contemporary with Wren's great masterpiece, and that while he was building the great cathedral of St. Paul's, in the reign of Charles II., Sir Christopher must often have passed this spot and seen the men busy rebuilding the house of No. 20. It was the fury of the burning of St. Paul's that created the flames which consumed our house in the Great Fire.

It is well that this relic of Old London should be preserved, as it now will be by PUBLIC OPINION, so that assers-by will be reminded of the thousand years of London History which this house and its predecessors have itnessed.

All great occasions brought London to St. Paul's. All the great figures of English History came thither at some time, passing up and down Ludgate Hill. For hundreds of years some eager faces have looked down from No. 20 upon the passing pageant which made our history.

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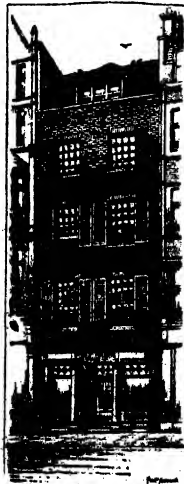
All the great figures in Literature, Religion, Art, Politics and Arms once passed this way—a mighty host of great Englishmen and women of all times. All our Kings and Queens since Alfred, all the great writers since Bede and Chaucer and the mighty moderns, Shakespeare, Milton and Johnson, and the men who have made the fame of England for all time came this way.

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down by becoming a great maker of Public Opinion, and his memory for all time would be enshrined in a Mighty Tent of stone upon a little hill within the pagan island of Britain—such a Tent as he and his mother never made or saw in that Thrums of Asia Minor where Paul the Tent Maker of Tarsus was born. And yet the great domed building on Ludgate Hill is the great sequel to his journey to Damascus and to that great oration on Mars Hill. Under its shadow PUBLIC OPINION has now pitched its more modest but contemporary Tent—eager still to print the messages and inspirations of the Pauls of to-day and to-morrow, whether in book or paper or by word of mouth, and quite ready, at the beginning of its 60th year, for the next apostles who will turn the world upside down again for its good and for all who would fashion PUBLIC OPINION to mighty issues.

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THE MOSAIC TABERNACLE, II.

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Love will Find out the Way. By Clara Turnbull (Methuen, 7/- net).

The setting of this story is in the Peak Country and the time the eighteenth century. There are highwaymen and a roystering squirearchy, a powerful love interest, and, to end with, some scenes in the French Revolution. It is all thoroughly romantic, and Lorna Dooneish. The writing is a little irritating at times perhaps: "Heed them not, sir, 'tis but idle speech," said I pitiful for a man driven to shelter in a strange land for no fault," and so on. It is all written in that way. Many of the scenes, however, are well constructed, and the whole story is full of movement.

Romance and Law in the Divorce Court. By F. J. Newman (Melrose, 6/- net).

Mr. Newman has apparently written the stories in this book from old law reports. Each story is claimed to illustrate some point of divorce law, "ignorance of which," as he says, "has frequently caused much avoidable sorrow." Still it is difficult to believe that that was the reason for writing the book. For the rest, it is obviously a way of writing—like another. And some of the stories are tragic enough in themselves.

"Firebrand" Trevison. By Charles Alden Lettzer (Methuen, 7/- net).

This book must have been intended originally as a Wild West film. It is full of spectacular incidents, from the moment when the Cowboy hero rides his horse down a precipice to that of the last fight with the villainous Easterner. The hero cries out for pictures. He is a wonderful fighting man both with his "gun" and his fists—emphatically *un-male* and emphatically a white man. His chivalry to "the fair sex" is up to the highest standards of the "Maorie" world. The villain is just such another strong man though a rogue. This mixture of muscles and sentiment, though a little naïf, will probably be quite popular.

General Literature.

Tales Related of Celebrities and Others. By Sir Hastings D'Oyley (Lane, 7/6 net).

The author spent many years in the Indian Civil Service, and the bulk of his anecdotes are of men and things encountered in his official career; but he has also reminiscences of Hailybury and Cambridge. With a somewhat circumscribed outlook, he contrives to be mildly amusing. Sport of various kinds occupies a good deal of space; there are one or two good yarns about C. S. Calverley, many about his well-bred, well-off service associates, many about native servants and Indian celebrities of his day. Anglo-Indians who were in the country during the second half of the last century will relish this book for its wholly pleasant memories and ingenious fun.

The King's National Roll. (H.M. Stationery Office, 1/6 net).

Full particulars of the National scheme for the employment of disabled men are given

in this volume of some 300 pages, which also contains nearly 10,000 names of employers who have agreed to include a percentage of such-men in their staffs. We understand that the number of signatories has increased to over 12,000 since the book went to press; their names will appear in future editions. Progress will doubtless be accelerated by the fact that more than one local authority has passed resolutions restricting the giving of contracts to supporters of the scheme, but one may hope that purely patriotic and benevolent motives will of themselves achieve the desired end.

Mirthful Memories of a Magician. By Ernest E. Noakes (Bell, 3/- net).

Mr. Noakes would seem to be almost as good at writing a book as at performing a trick. Very bright and entertaining are those pages of a conjuror's memories. He gives nothing away unless it be a few unhappy persons who have tried to unmask him, or others who have shown ill-breeding in their treatment of him; and probably all of these—of course anonymous—persons have realized their errors before now. Anecdote succeeds anecdote in a light-hearted sequence, and there are no tiresome explanations to interrupt the genial flow of "patter."

Through the Sunlit Year. A Book of Helpful Thoughts for each day through the year from the writings of Ralph Waldo Trine (Bell, 5/- net).

There is a strong religious note in Mr. Trine's philosophy. At the same time he is one of the several prophets of practical Christianity, that is, of Christianity as a way of human life. His moral maxims tend towards the trite, but he preserves the unity of his ideas, and his expression of them is always clear and graceful. The book is artistically produced, with attractive cover, end-papers, and good type—which in themselves are something of a rarity in these days.

Biography.

The Life and Work of Sir Hiram S. Maxim.

By P. F. Motteley (John Lane, 7/6 net).

This book, written by the late Sir Hiram Maxim's Secretary, is rather an account of his inventions than his life, and very largely Sir Hiram Maxim's own description of those inventions. There are chapters on the chief of these—electric lighting, the Maxim gun, powder, explosives, erosion of guns, fuses and so on. In addition to this, Lord Moulton provides a short introduction, and there is an appendix setting forth the numerous patents in England and America. The book is not a critical work, still it is not without unconscious humour. We like the following, for example: "When it is announced that an American electrical engineer had produced a fire-arm which would load and fire itself by simply touching a button the public were incredulous, believing the report much too good to be true."

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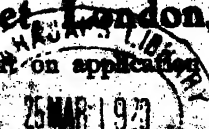
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No. 365. Vol. LXI.]

Founder: W. T. STAD.

[MAY, 1920]

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, May 5th, 1920.

The Home Rule Bill.

The Home Rule Bill will have entered upon its Committee stage at the time when these lines are printed. Since we wrote last month, the opposition of all parties in Ireland outside of Unionist Ulster has hardened against the Bill more definitely even than we had anticipated. Sir Horace Plunkett, as the Chairman of the Irish Dominion League, has cabled to the Prime Ministers of all the Self-Governing Dominions protesting against the Bill on the ground that it is miserably inadequate to the needs of a national government, and declaring that nothing short of full Dominion Home Rule is worth proposing to the Irish people. The few Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament, after tabling a number of important amendments to be considered during the debates in Committee, have changed their minds, and announced that they regard the Bill as so insulting to the cause which they have represented in Parliament for more than a generation, that they will abstain altogether from the Home Rule debates, and take no further interest in the progress of the Bill. Sinn Féin, which of course represents practically the entire country outside of East Ulster, refuses to think about the Bill at all, declaring that an Irish Republic is the only possible solution of the question, and that the British Government will before long find itself compelled to concede the unanimous demand of the Irish people. Only a small group of Southern

Unionists, and a few moderate Nationalists, who have combined under the chairmanship of Lord Dunraven, are still willing to consider the Bill in detail, and to work to secure amendments that would make it a practicable scheme.

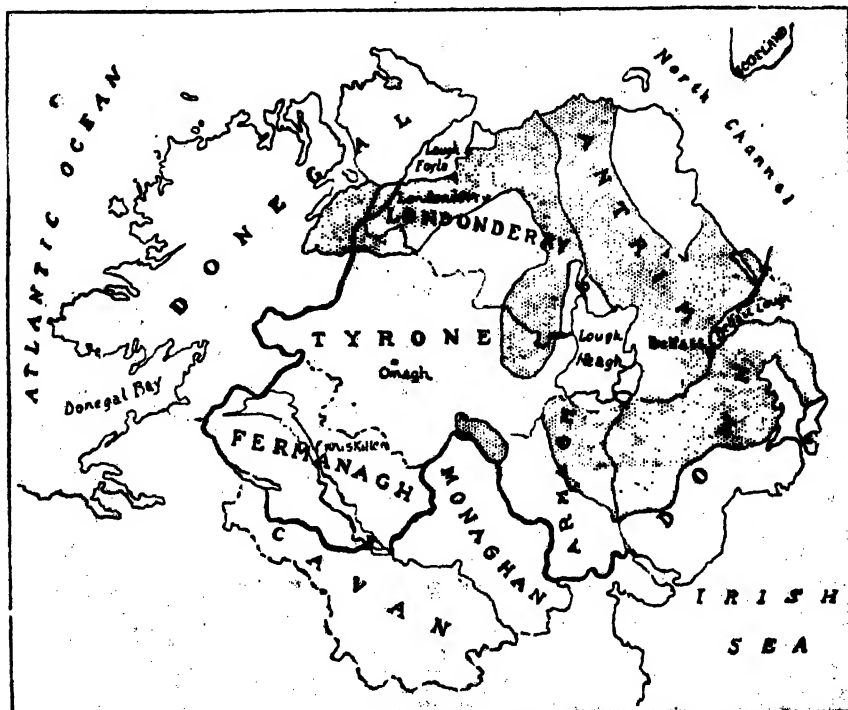
The Essential Condition of Success.

But a new factor in the situation has arisen which offers far-reaching possibilities of revising the Government scheme and reconstructing it on a sounder basis. The delimitation of Ulster is the crucial question which will decide whether the Government's scheme can be made workable or not. For several months this Review has insisted upon the necessity of treating the whole province of Ulster as the basis of the Northern Parliament which is to be set up under the Bill. Nationalists of all parties, and the Southern Unionists as well, refuse to consider the Bill as it stands, primarily because it tends to divide Ireland into two hostile provinces. In Ireland, the Bill has been labelled the "Partition Bill," and has been treated by the Irish Press in that spirit. So long as the Bill retains that essentially obnoxious character, there is not the smallest chance of its being accepted, or even allowed to become operative once it has passed through Parliament. If it is to be built on the basis of separating Ulster from the rest of Ireland, no amendments whatever, no matter how important they may appear to be, can be of the smallest use in the attempt to satisfy Irish public opinion. But if that false

basis of the Bill can be altered, the position changes at once. A provincial Parliament in Ulster, deliberately confined to only six counties in order to secure a perpetual Unionist majority in the province by relying upon the religious antagonism in Ulster, would undoubtedly create an artificial barrier between the excluded area and the rest of Ireland that has never existed in the past. It would intensify and make permanent the racial and religious differences in Ireland that even under present conditions cause only spasmodic trouble from time to time.

But if the whole of Ulster were included in the area of the Northern Parliament, this objection would be sufficiently overcome. The total population of the province at the last census taken in 1911 amounted

to nearly 1,800,000 people, of whom 900,000 were Protestants, and 700,000 were Roman Catholics. With such a clear preponderance of numbers, the Unionists have no valid ground for apprehension from interpreting "Ulster" as the whole province of nine counties. When the Irish controversy was at its height before the war, and Sir Edward Carson organised the Ulster Volunteers to carry out the solemn Covenant that was signed by his supporters all over Ulster, the agitation was conducted on the assumption that "Ulster" must be taken to include the entire province. He made a celebrated speech in those days in which he declared that nothing less than a "clean cut" of the entire province would satisfy his friends. But the whole situation has been changed by the growth of the Labour organisation in Ulster during the war, and by the astonishing results of the



The dotted area shows those districts of Ulster in which the Protestant population exceeds 55 per cent. of the total.

The black line shows the proposed boundary of "Ulster" if the six county scheme is adopted.

newly tried system of proportional representation at the last municipal elections. For the first time in the history of the controversy that has raged around Ulster, the Unionist forces are split into two or even three clearly divided camps. The municipal elections resulted in the return of such a large proportion of Labour candidates that the Unionists are now thoroughly afraid that the growth of the Labour movement in Ulster, even though it is composed of Catholics as well as Protestants, may so far reduce their own majority in the province as to give the Nationalists, if not a majority, at any rate the balance of power. Consequently, when Sir Edward Carson went to consult his followers in Belfast after the Home Rule Bill had been published, speeches were made in the Ulster Unionist Council which led to a majority vote in favour of restricting the Northern area under the Home Rule Bill to the six counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Londonderry, in which the Unionist majority is compact and nearly omnipotent, and Tyrone and Fermanagh, where the Unionist minority is considerable.

The Split in the Ulster Council.

An outcry was raised at once by the Unionist representatives of the three counties of Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan, which it was thus decided to exclude. We noted their protest last month, and suggested that if they could make it effective, the whole framework of the Home Rule Bill could be altered in a way that would make it acceptable to the rest of Ireland. Since we wrote, there have been extremely important developments in Ulster, and a memorial has now been signed by more than a hundred of the most influential supporters of the Ulster Covenant, demanding a special meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council forthwith to reconsider the decision to exclude the three counties. They point out that the previous decision has led to the impending resignation of many members from the Ulster Unionist Council, besides those from the three counties, and state their own belief that the decision was "a violation of their solemn Covenant, and one that will ultimately lead to an irrevocable schism in the Ulster Unionist Party." The total membership of the Council is 540, and

the Memorial has already been signed by nearly a quarter of that number. The signatures include some of the most important Unionists in Ulster, among whom are Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Dufferin, Lord Bangor, Lord Leistrim, Lord Massereene, and several other peers, as well as General Sir William Adair, General Ricardo, and Colonel Crawford, all of whom were prominently identified with the Ulster agitation before the war. As the question of Ulster is not only the key to the whole Home Rule Bill, but is also one of the first questions to be raised under the Time Table which has been agreed upon for the Committee stage, the difference of opinion has produced a crisis. Opinion in Ulster is deeply split upon the question, and the conflict is chiefly between the Unionist interests in Belfast which are determined to secure a permanent majority at any price, and those who take a wider and more generous view, and feel themselves obliged to support the Unionist minority in Western Ulster, even at the risk of reducing their own majority to a dangerously narrow margin in the Ulster Parliament. In view of this deep split in his party, it is impossible to find any valid argument why Sir E. Carson should be allowed still to dictate the whole Irish policy of the Coalition Government.

The Prime Minister's Opportunity.

Incidentally, the decision of the Ulster Unionist Council will determine the fate of the Home Rule Bill. If the advocates of a nine county Ulster prevail, the Prime Minister's task will be enormously simplified. Even if they do not prevail, the existence of so considerable a section of Unionists in Ulster that would favour the proposal to have the whole province included, added to the 700,000 Catholics in Ulster, should provide him with complete justification for enlarging the area of the Northern Parliament and approaching the Irish Nationalists with a new offer to reconstruct the Bill upon that basis if they will give it a sympathetic consideration. The case for treating Ulster as the entire province is overwhelming, both in the interests of Ulster itself and from the point of view of producing a settlement satisfactory to the whole country. It is perfectly clear that if the smaller

tragedy of his personal downfall would appear to have no end. He sacrificed everything, both his personal prospects and those of his party, for the attainment of an ideal which has never been fulfilled. By going to Europe to take part personally at the Peace Conference at Versailles, he braved the consequences of neglecting all the urgent domestic problems in America that would inevitably be postponed in his absence. Consequently on his return, he was confronted with chaos and hopeless arrears of legislation at home. When his physical health gave way, it became more impossible than ever to overtake the arrears of work that had accumulated during his absence, and the Democrats have had to bear the brunt of the intense unpopularity of his administration that followed upon the inevitable failure to cope with the tasks of reconstruction. Up to the present, no outstanding figure in the Democratic Party has come forward to uphold the principles of President Wilson's administration in the Presidential Election. He is personally discredited as scarcely any previous President has ever been before, and the catastrophe which has overtaken him is largely due to his devoted friendship towards the British Government. Our friends in America are President Wilson's supporters, and we have to share in his personal downfall. There can be no question of his being able to stand himself for a third Presidential term, and he has not yet decided upon what candidate he will personally support in the forthcoming election. His differences of opinion with Mr. W. J. Bryan over the necessity to compromise on the League of Nations Covenant in order to placate American opinion, have led to a deep split in the Democratic Party. That split is not likely to be healed if President Wilson persists in the intention which is attributed to him of nominating a candidate for the Presidential Election who shall be as uncompromising as himself upon the issue of the Peace Treaty. That is the last issue that is likely to attract votes in the United States, and if such a candidate is put forward, our hopes of seeing another President who will be sympathetic towards British policy will have totally vanished.

General Wood and Governor Lowden.

There are several conspicuous candidates for the Presidency on the Republican side. General Leonard Wood, who was a close personal friend of Theodore Roosevelt, has been before the public for a considerable time as a favourite candidate. His friends have built up an immense organisation to support him, and have collected enormous funds for his campaign. But it would appear that a re-action against him has set in because he is too closely identified with the political machine which has created the boom in his favour. A strong revulsion of feeling against compulsory military service has arisen and threatens to outweigh the popularity that he gained during the war by his scarcely disguised contempt for the dilatory methods of President Wilson's diplomacy and his failure to enter the war sooner than he did. It is significant that his supporters are now dropping his military title, and presenting him to the public as plain Leonard Wood. His chief opponent up to the present in the Republican organisation has been Governor Lowden of Illinois, a young administrator of very great promise. The primary elections during the past few months have shown a steady growth of opinion in his favour, and it is more than likely that the final choice at the Republic Convention of June 8th will lie between him and General Wood. The past month, however, has produced a sudden wave of feeling in favour of two of the veterans of the Republican Party, Senator Hiram Johnson and Senator Knox. It is too early yet to know whether they will stand a chance of being nominated for the Presidency, but their candidature at the Republic Convention will certainly affect the relative strength of General Wood and Governor Lowden. While the Republicans have no fear of suffering defeat at the hands of the Democrats, it is still quite possible that Mr. Hoover will have to be seriously considered if any large measure of support from independent sources is given to him. In America, as here, the women voters who have only recently been enfranchised, are still an entirely uncertain factor. It is well-known that a large section of the women voters would favour Mr. Hoover's candidature, while they have little use for the

ordinary political organisation. . . At the same time, Mr. Hoover has many influential friends in the ranks of Big Business, and the enthusiastic agitation to have him made President, which has somewhat subsided of late, might easily revive.

Our Exchange with America.

The recovery in our exchange with America which we noted last month, has not been altogether maintained, but the value of the pound sterling in New York is considerably higher than it was two months ago. It has fallen below four dollars to the pound, instead of the par value of four and three-quarter dollars, and it apparently is unable to climb up to the full four dollars at present. It remains fairly stationary, however, between 3.80 and 3.90, a level which compares very favourably with the alarming decline in the exchange in February. Industry is reviving magnificently, and the volume of our exports shows a steady increase upon last month's figures. The average rate of profit upon all industrial undertakings is extremely high, chiefly because of the enormous profits that are reaped from exporting to the Continent while the exchange is so much in our favour. Trade is expanding so fast that unemployment scarcely exists, and the monthly returns of the Board of Trade show a continual decline even in the astonishingly low figures of unemployment from month to month. In such favourable circumstances there is little doubt that our trade with America will before long right itself, and the exchange will recover gradually from its present weakness. As always happens, the cost of trading with America when the pound sterling is reckoned at so great a discount is preventing any increase in the volume of our imports from the United States and steadily operating to reduce their amount. The revival of industry in this country has enabled us to supply our own needs in the case of many commodities which we had to import during the war, and we are becoming steadily less dependent upon the United States for essential imports. At the same time we are still indebted to America to the extent of roughly 1,000 millions, and until a great part of this external debt has been paid off there can

be no hope of a return to the old par of exchange between dollars and pounds.

Mr. Chamberlain's Budget.

Mr. Chamberlain's Budget shows, as we anticipated, a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure during the present year, and he estimates that over 200 millions will be available for paying off the floating debt. But if this year's Budget looks apparently satisfactory, the prospect for the next few years is by no means equally bright. The expenditure for the current year can no longer be explained away on the plea that it is due to the war, yet it is so immense that, even with the proceeds of the Excess Profits Tax, which was imposed as a war tax only, the year's estimated revenue is still inadequate to cover the expenditure, and Mr. Chamberlain has succumbed to the temptation of using part of the proceeds of the surplus Government stores to bridge over the deficit for the year. As the same deficit will presumably arise again next year, there is no indication of how it is to be met. Nor is there any apparent substitute for the Excess Profits Duty, which this year yields nearly one quarter of the total revenue. In broad outline the Budget may be summarised by saying that the total expenditure, amounting to nearly £1,200,000,000, is composed of 500 millions for the Civil Service Estimates, 350 millions for the interest charges on the National Debt, 280 millions for the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and 30 millions more for miscellaneous expenditure. The additional 50 millions required to pay for the Post Office need not be included as the receipts from the postal service cover the expenditure upon it. Owing to the increases in salaries and wages, and also to the rise in prices, the Post Office was last year run at a loss, and Mr. Chamberlain has been obliged to increase the ordinary letter charges to twopence, and for telegrams to one shilling in order to put the Post Office upon a paying basis. Against this immense expenditure, the more or less permanent tax revenue brings in roughly 800 millions, or approximately two-thirds only of the year's expenditure. Income Tax and Super-tax between them are expected to yield 385 millions, and Customs and Excise 350 millions, while

the Estate and Stamp Duties bring in a further 70 millions. In addition to these main sources of revenue, Mr. Chamberlain has this year been able to count upon 220 millions more from the Excess Profits Tax, which he promised in the last Budget that he would withdraw if he could. Even with this additional source of revenue, he is still obliged to earmark about 80 millions of the receipts of the Disposals Board to cover the deficit between revenue and expenditure.

Income Tax Reforms.

It will be seen that the prospect for the next Budget is far from favourable. Mr. Chamberlain's failure to withdraw the Excess Profits Tax produced an immediate attempt at revolt in the City, but the opposition to his proposals collapsed when he pointed out the obvious impossibility of finding such a vast revenue from any other source more conveniently this year, and promised that he would withdraw the tax if the Committee that is inquiring into the feasibility of a levy on war fortifies could produce a workable scheme. But all hope has vanished in that quarter, and it is fairly certain that the Budget will be put into operation in its present form. It is by no means a heroic performance, but Mr. Chamberlain is not famous for audacity, and it would have required a Chancellor of real genius to raise a much larger revenue this year without causing very serious disturbance to the revival of trade at the most critical time. But there are noteworthy features in Mr. Chamberlain's Budget for which he deserves sincere praise. He has given effect to important recommendation of the Committee that has been considering the incidence of the Income Tax, and by increasing the abatements for the wives and children of people with small and moderate incomes, he has lifted a great weight from the shoulders of millions of over-burdened workers. But while allowing these concessions, he has not imposed any heavier taxation upon those who possess enormous incomes, nor has he increased the Death Duties upon great estates. There is still ample scope for a drastic revision of the rates of Income Tax and Death Duties in so far as they affect people who own more money than they can possibly spend. Mr.

Chamberlain, however, was not likely to be persuaded to such a point of view. He would have pointed out that all incomes of more than £25,000 a year are already paying more than ten shillings in the pound in Income Tax alone, and that Death Duties on the largest estates already amount to 40 per cent. Even so, it is clear that if the country is to pay its way in future, there must be a considerable increase in direct taxation, for the resources of indirect taxation are already practically exhausted. The war has shown, and the period of reconstruction is still showing, that in spite of the present severe rates of taxation, those who have very large incomes are still at a loss to know what to do with them, and are spending money recklessly upon all sorts of useless luxuries.

Mr. Chamberlain's Innovations.

Mr. Chamberlain's innovations in the present Budget, apart from his admirable reform of the Income Tax in regard to small incomes, consist in a further increase in the duties upon beer, wine, spirits, cigars and motor cars, and the introduction of an extremely promising tax upon the profits of limited liability companies. It is clear that the taxation upon alcoholic drinks has already been made so heavy that it may even this year defeat its own object as a source of revenue by compelling people to do without drinks which they can no longer afford. The same, however, cannot be said about tobacco for the excise authorities report an enormous increase in the consumption of cigarettes. It is more than probable that an increase in revenue could be obtained from additional taxation upon tobacco without any danger of diminishing the yield of the tax by discouraging consumers. Experience seems to show that no matter how fast the price of cigarettes is raised, the public will pay whatever price is demanded. But apart from this potential source of revenue it is difficult to see how the next Budget is to be framed to cover the inevitable rate of expenditure without additional direct taxation on large incomes and an increase in Death Duties. From the Death Duties alone nothing like an adequate revenue can be obtained to bridge over the deficit of perhaps 800 millions that may have to be met in the

next Budget. Additional taxes on large incomes and on tobacco would both be necessary as well, and even so, the deficit would still be only partially covered. It will be extremely interesting to see what results can be obtained by Mr. Chamberlain's new Profit Tax. The idea was borrowed from America, where a tax on the profits of companies has been in force for a number of years, and even at the negligible rate of one per cent. brings in an enormous revenue. Mr. Chamberlain has introduced a tax of 5 per cent. on all profits, and his estimate of a yield of only three millions from this source appears to be extremely conservative. The volume of business done by limited Liability companies in this country aggregates thousands of millions, and a yield of even 5 per cent upon the total profits distributed in dividends should bring in a great deal of money for the Treasury. It may be that this modest innovation of Mr. Chamberlain's will in a few years have become one of the principal sources of national revenue. It is very easy and inexpensive to collect, and the tax in itself is amply justified by the considerable legal privileges that the limited liability companies enjoy in comparison with ordinary private traders. For those privileges they may well be asked to pay so small a levy upon the proceeds of their trade.

Higher Taxation Next Year.

While it is true that no risks ought to be taken at present that might interfere with a full recovery of our trade and industry, yet it is unfortunate that Mr. Chamberlain made no bold effort to increase taxation this year so as at any rate to cover the deficit on the Budget. The immediate and pressing necessity for the Treasury is to pay off the floating debt, which is more than anything else the direct cause of the inflation of prices. It amounts still to 1,000 millions, and Mr. Chamberlain's estimated contribution towards its redemption this year is only some 200 millions. Next year the deficit on the Budget will have to contain such heavy increases in existing taxation that the public will not be in any mood to bear further additions to its burdens than are barely necessary to make revenue meet expenditure. There will be no margin available for redeeming the floating debt.

And behind this crushing mass of floating debt looms the tremendous bulk of the main funded War Debt of practically 8,000 millions, requiring taxation to the extent of between 350 and 400 millions a year to pay for its interest charges alone. Taking the present year's expenditure as a fairly reliable basis for any future calculations, it appears that the whole proceeds of Customs and Excise are required to pay the interest charges on the War Debt alone, the Excise Profits Tax does not quite pay for the Army and Navy and Air Force, while the Income Tax and Super-Tax combined fall short, by nearly 80 millions, of paying for the Civil Service Estimates. So that once the Excess Profits Tax has disappeared, some new source of revenue will have to be found to pay for our defensive forces. There must be a drastic retrenchment in our national expenditure or else taxation must be greatly increased. Now that the bureaucracies have been for the most part demobilised, the economies that may still be made by reducing the salaries and the personnel of the Government departments cannot amount to much. The various subsidies will have to be withdrawn sooner or later, but that can only result in a further increase in the cost of living to the working classes. By hook or crook the Government must find some means of paying off the floating debt and so reducing inflation in order to bring prices down. When that process has begun, it will be possible to withdraw the subsidies and so reduce expenditure to some extent.

A Miniature General Election.

April has been a month of by-elections amounting in effect to a general election on a small scale. This was interesting as giving an opportunity of judging the present position of the Coalition in the estimation of the country. The results on the whole have been as favourable as any supporter of the Coalition could have desired. The first result to be declared was the most sensational of all and did not promise such good general results as were afterwards presented. Dartford, a Kentish constituency of the sort which before the war might have been considered altogether outside the scope of the Labour Party, not only returned a Labour candidate but

returned him by an absolute majority over his two competitors. This is the first time such a victory has been gained since the general election, for the present system of voting with no provision for the alternative vote or for any system of proportional representation means that the elected member is practically bound to be the representative of a minority. Mr. Mills, who won Dartford, may be regarded as a left wing representative. He is a shop steward who worked in Woolwich Arsenal almost up to the moment of taking his seat in the House of Commons. This was a clear win for the Labour Party, the seat having been previously held by a Coalition Liberal, though Mr. Rowlands, the previous member, was of the Liberal-Labour type, and his acceptance of the coupon was something of a surprise. But any expectation that this result meant a general revival in the Labour Party's prospects, was disappointed by the returns on the same day from Stockport, where the Coalition succeeded in holding both seats, though by a reduced majority. Stockport promised in its early stages to be one of the most embarrassing contests for the Government, for there was some disharmony between the two wings of the Coalition when the death of Mr. Spencer Leigh Hughes created a vacancy there. Mr. Wardle's resignation from the Government very opportunely turned the vacancy into a double one and eased the situation in a way which does not often occur in difficulties of the same kind. Besides the Coalition and Labour candidates for the two seats, there were two Independent candidates and one representative of Irish Republicanism. It was clear from the result that there was a good deal of cross-voting.

Reaction Against Labour.

One moral of the elections appears to be that there is a reaction against the Labour Party among middle class electors who a little while ago showed signs of supporting it. This, in the opinion of those who have been in the constituencies, is largely due to the manifest divisions in the ranks of that party, and to a belief that ultimately the most extreme and ill-balanced element will be found to have the dominating voice in its councils. Mr. Mills

proved the only Labour man to be elected, the Coalition everywhere else carrying the day. Independent Liberalism was in no better case, and on the eve of an enthusiastic dinner to Mr. Asquith at the National Liberal Club, his party had the depressing news that its nominee in the Camberwell election was at the bottom of the poll. A greater disappointment to Independent Liberal hopes was, however, the result of the double-barrelled contest in Edinburgh, where it was believed that Mr. Runciman had some chance of a victory. His return would have greatly strengthened the forces of Asquithian Liberalism in the House of Commons, and quite an unusual amount of personal feeling was introduced into this contest. It is said that the Prime Minister sent a message that no effort should be spared to keep Mr. Runciman out of Parliament. Certainly the ex-Liberal Minister's comments on Mr. Lloyd George had lacked nothing in frankness. He failed to capture the North Edinburgh seat by nearly 1,500 votes, but reduced the Coalition majority by over 3,000 from that at the General Election, when there were only two candidates. Labour this time was a poor third. In the South Edinburgh seat a straight fight between Coalition Unionist and Liberal saw the Government majority reduced by over 7,000. Mr. McCurdy's victory at Northampton was another of the Coalition successes. This victory was not altogether expected in the early stages of the contest, and the election seems to have been fought more on the question of food control, to which office Mr. McCurdy had been promoted, than on the wider questions of national and imperial policy. Another ex-Liberal Minister who failed to get returned was Sir Harry Verney, who fought Basingstoke, but here too Labour had to be content with the third place.

Women Candidates.

Although Lady Astor's return to the House of Commons was widely expected to make the beginning of a feminine invasion of the House, the moral of recent returns appears to be that the electors have obstinate prejudices in this matter. Both the women candidates in this group of by-elections failed, and the Labour Party is of opinion that it would have done better

with male candidates. This is a serious question for the Party which has a larger number of women on its list of candidates than either of the other parties, and which is deeply committed to the principle of sex equality. In Camberwell where Miss Susan Lawrence unsuccessfully challenged the return of Dr. Macnamara, it is probable that she suffered somewhat from her past political record, for before Miss Lawrence adopted Socialist views she was a Conservative of the deepest dye and the votes she gave as a moderate on the London County Council, were brought up in evidence against her at this election. There were no such reasons as this to explain the failure of the Labour candidate at Northampton. Miss Margaret Bondfield is one of the best known and ablest of the Labour leaders. The subject of food prices and food control on which the election so largely turned might have been considered to be very much in her favour, and it is said that some of the electors had an idea that the contest was to determine whether Mr. McCurdy or Miss Bondfield was to be Food Controller. But masculine prejudice proved too strong, and the Coalition candidate got in with a comfortable majority. This probably will not affect the position of those women who have already been adopted as candidates, but it will make constituencies rather slow to adopt women in the present state of public feeling, and it is generally believed that we are quite likely to have to wait until the next General Election before the Viscountess Astor has another woman member to keep her company. The significance of all this has not been lost upon the Labour men, who held a special meeting at the House of Commons to consider the meaning of the slump in their candidatures. This aspect of the matter was among those considered, although the leaders of the party were inclined on the whole, after the manner of politicians, to lay most stress upon questions of organisation and propaganda. Another factor which is admitted tacitly rather than publicly by the moderate leaders of the Labour Party, is the public fear of the direct action propaganda, of which much has been heard lately. The immediate result of these bye-elections has been to give greater confidence to the Government and to some extent to strengthen the hands of the

Coalition Liberals in their controversies with the followers of Mr. Asquith.

The Liberal Machine Supports Asquith.

In spite of this successful record at the bye-elections, the Coalition has failed conspicuously to carry the Liberal organisations in the country. The annual meeting of the Scottish Liberal Federation which was held in Glasgow at the end of the month, was attended by Mr. Churchill and half a dozen other Ministers who had been sent specially to convince the meeting of the sincerity of the Prime Minister's Liberalism, and vehement speeches were made on both sides. The report laid before the meeting for its adoption contained no reference whatever to the Prime Minister's diplomatic successes during the past year, and expressed a general discontent with the Coalition government while applauding Mr. Asquith's fight with the Government in Paisley and congratulating him on his return to Westminster and his defiance of the Government there. Although the Independent Liberals were represented at the Federation meeting only by Mr. J. M. Hogge, the Party's Whip in Parliament, and the Coalition Liberals had the support and the prestige of a group of Cabinet Ministers on the platform, the Federation recorded a substantial majority against the Coalition Ministers' amendments to the Executive's report. It seems no less certain that the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Leamington on May 7th will show a similar majority for the Independent Liberals. The political machine of the Liberal Party is definitely on Mr. Asquith's side, and Mr. Lloyd George is regarded by all the old Liberal organisations as a renegade. However, the results of the recent bye-elections show that the Liberal organisations count for comparatively little in the constituencies. They are not only unable to secure the return of Independent Liberal candidates, but have apparently lost their influence over a considerable body of public opinion which is Liberal in sentiment, but has lost all interest in Party politics on the lines that Mr. Asquith is now pursuing. Mr. Runciman's failure to obtain a seat is a serious blow to Mr. Asquith's party, for he had as good a chance of success on the strength of his personal qualifications as

an ex-Cabinet Minister as Sir John Simon had in the Spen Valley election. That election suggested that where a candidate of real ability and personal prestige stood as an Independent Liberal he had an excellent chance of success. But of the three of Mr. Asquith's former Cabinet Ministers who have contested bye-elections, not one has succeeded.

The Crisis over Frankfort.

The month has produced a crisis in the relations between France and her Allies that has fortunately been surmounted without disaster, but that came perilously near to wrecking the Alliance of France and Italy and ourselves. The trouble arose over the attempt by the German Government to send German troops to the neutral area along the Rhine on the pretext of suppressing Bolshevism in the Ruhr district. So many attempts have been made by the German militarists to exploit every possible opportunity of regaining a footing in the territories that have been taken from Germany under the Peace Treaty, that the French Government lost all patience with the protracted negotiation to induce Germany by diplomatic pressure to withdraw her troops. M. Millerand announced on several occasions that, whether the other Allies supported his action or not, he was going to put a stop to this sort of trifling with the Peace Treaty by sending troops into German territory. Without waiting for a reply from the British or the Italian Governments, he mobilised his army in the neighbourhood of Frankfort and ordered his troops to advance and occupy not only Frankfort, but several other towns around it, and even east of it. The result was to precipitate an acute crisis in the Supreme Council. The British and Italian Governments protested at once against this breach of the promise that none of the Allies would act without consent of all the others, and the situation was aggravated unnecessarily by Mr. Lloyd George's extraordinary tactless attitude towards France. He took the unusual and singularly ungracious course of issuing denunciations of M. Millerand's action to the English Press. French public opinion naturally resented the

criticisms of their policy that ought to have been confined to the meetings of the Supreme Council, and for several days there was a distinct probability that a definite breach would arise between the two Governments. Fortunately, the friends of France in this country lost no opportunity of expressing their deep appreciation of the motives which had led M. Millerand to act as he had done, and public opinion sided so definitely with France in her impatience with the interminable delays of the Supreme Council that Mr. Lloyd George found himself obliged to adopt a more conciliatory attitude. It became clear that neither Parliament nor public opinion would tolerate any attitude towards France that was likely to endanger the good relations between the three principal partners in the League of Nations. A conference of the three Prime Ministers was hurriedly summoned to meet at San Remo, and there, after a little plain speaking on all sides, the misunderstandings which had arisen were quickly set to rest and the Conference broke up in an atmosphere of general harmony and mutual satisfaction. Mr. Lloyd George apparently confronted the French Prime Minister with the astonishing statement that he was genuinely afraid that France intended to annex part of German territory when she moved her troops across the Rhine. M. Millerand was not unnaturally amazed and somewhat affronted by this suggestion, and repudiated it with an emphatic denial that should scarcely have been required.

The San Remo Conference.

The Conference resulted in an agreement whereby France was to withdraw her troops from the German towns while the Allies issued a joint manifesto to Germany stating that they would tolerate no further prevarications about the fulfilment of the Treaty of Versailles. Once the misunderstandings between France and England had become acute, they quickly took the form of statements to the effect that Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Nitti had both made up their minds to allow a revision of the Peace Treaty before Germany had made any real attempt to carry it out. That such a difference of

opinion existed between the French and the Italian and British Governments is entirely true. The French are alone in Europe in still cherishing the desire to inflict a crushing humiliation upon Germany in revenge for what the Germans did during the war. Almost all the other countries have by now come to the conclusion that it is useless to punish Germany further since she is already so prostrate that her economic revival is still hopelessly distant. And until Germany has been set on her feet again, industrial chaos as well as famine and disease, the results of poverty, will continue inevitably throughout Central Europe. But the French, with their whole energies still concentrated upon the colossal task of rebuilding the devastated districts of France, have naturally been slower than any other country to forget the horrors of the war. It is undeniable that M. Millerand's decision to send an army of occupation into Frankfort, not only caused intense satisfaction to the section of opinion in France which is still clamouring for revenge, but was to some extent inspired by their wishes. The occupation of Frankfort which in itself was no more than a measure intended to bring the German Government to its senses, was made a disgrace to the French Government by the employment of black troops. The plea that it was necessary to send black troops because no others were available is obviously untenable. Black troops were used in the war when every possible source of recruitment had to be exhausted, but it is ludicrous to pretend that France could not have furnished the few divisions that were necessary to overawe Frankfort.

New Hopes from the Spa Conference.

But the San Remo Conference has finally put an end to all thoughts of the perpetuation of hostilities against Germany. Mr. Lloyd George dominated the Conference, and with the invaluable assistance of Signor Nitti, carried his case for reconsidering the application of the Treaty of Versailles, if not actually revising its terms. Two great concessions were made, with the full consent of M. Millerand and his advisers before the discussions had ended, which enable Germany to feel that henceforward her efforts to rebuild her industries, to pro-

vide employment for her people, and to resume trade with her neighbours, need no longer be a labour of Sisyphus. The amount of the indemnity that Germany is to pay is now to be definitely assessed, and while France need have no apprehensions that she may be deserted by her Allies in her claim to secure complete reparation for the devastation of the French battle-fields and the ruins of her towns and villages, the total amount of the indemnity required will be fixed once and for all. Hitherto, the Germans have inevitably felt that the Allies were jealously watching their efforts at reconstruction with the intention of exacting the greatest possible amount of reparation money. If the German industries revived quickly, and her people found employment in the factories, it was certain that Germany would be asked to pay a great deal more than if her industries remained stagnant and the country appeared to be destitute. Consequently, for the past year, all economic progress in Germany has been checked by this appalling uncertainty as to the future, and the result has been not only to keep the country demoralised and poverty-stricken, but to prevent all the surrounding countries in Central Europe, including Poland and to some extent also our Allies in the Balkans, from obtaining the mutual assistance and normal commerce that were necessary for their own economic revival. By this decision, the San Remo Conference will have done more to hasten the recovery of Europe than all the sittings of the Conference at Versailles. And the discussions at San Remo have produced the still more important result of leading up to the first real Peace Conference which has now been arranged to take place at Spa with the German delegates participating in it upon equal terms. There is no question of condoning the crimes of Germany in the war, nor of remitting the demand for complete reparation to the countries which have suffered upon their own soil. But the decision at last to resume the normal diplomatic and economic relations between the Allies and the Central Powers—for that is what the issue of the San Remo Conference really signifies—has brought a new hope into the tragic darkness and chaos of war-stricken Europe.

Diary of Current Events

FOR APRIL.

April 1.—The King and Queen, accompanied by Princess Mary and Princes Albert and Henry, left Buckingham Palace for Windsor Castle.

The Miners' Executives in Scotland, South Wales and Cheshire, advised their members to vote against the Government offer of increased wages, but in Durham, North Staffordshire and Yorkshire acceptance was urged.

The British Electric Lamp Manufacturers denied the charge of profiteering made by the Sub-Committee on Trusts, in a letter to the Premier.

April 2.—An agreement, including the surrender of arms by the Red Guards, was arrived at on Thursday, but disarmament was suspended on the report that Government troops had entered the Ruhr.

The Miners in the Asturias and Cordova in Spain went on strike and martial law was declared in Santiago, Galicia, to counteract a general strike.

April 3.—The Ministry of Transport stated the deficit on railways for the ten months ended January last to be £34,909,693.

April 4.—In Dublin, Belfast and other towns in Ireland the Income-tax and Government Offices were raided, the documents burnt, and in some cases the buildings destroyed.

The Japanese Government issued a statement denying that it had political ambitions in Siberia, but stating that troops could not be withdrawn until the safety of Japanese subjects was assured.

The Turkish Cabinet resigned, and Damad Ferid Pasha was requested to form a Government.

The crisis in Denmark was settled, the Liebe Cabinet resigning, and an electoral reform law promised.

April 5.—The number of police barracks destroyed by recent raids in Ireland was found to be at least 144.

Atlantic freight rates were increased.

At the opening of the Annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers at Margate, questions of equal pay and education reform were discussed.

M. Tchitcherin declared that Soviet Russia could not accept the Polish terms for conducting peace negotiations.

April 6.—The Independent Labour Party Conference severed relations with the Geneva International, and the proposal to affiliate to the Moscow International

was defeated in favour of one all-inclusive International.

French troops occupied Frankfurt, Hanau, and Darmstadt. The German Government protested against the advance. More massacres were reported in Cilicia.

April 7.—The Bishops of the Welsh Province elected the Bishop of St. Asaph as the first Archbishop of Wales.

The French occupied Homburg, and a French Note stated that the advance was only intended to enforce the Treaty of Versailles, and that troops would be withdrawn as soon as German troops left the Ruhr.

In racial conflicts at Jerusalem between Arabs and Jews ten persons were killed.

Both Mr. Hoover and Senator Hiram Johnson were defeated in the New York State primary elections in connection with the Presidential elections.

April 8.—The Cabinet Committee approved of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget.

Polling in two Edinburgh constituencies.

An official return of Sinn Fein outrages from January 1st, 1919, to March 29th, showed a total of 1,439. Murders of military and police numbered 24, and civilians 5.

The British Government took up an attitude of opposition to the French occupation of German towns.

The two German Dreadnoughts, Nassau and Ost Friesland, arrived in the Firth of Forth after their surrender.

April 9.—It was reported that the Motor Transport Repair Depot at Slough was sold for £3,350,000.

The Railwaymen demanded an all-round advance of £1 per week.

French opinion resented the attitude of the British Government towards their occupation of German towns. The incident was hailed in Germany as a sign of disunity.

April 10.—Mr. Mills, the Labour candidate, won Dartford bye-election, polling more than the other four candidates together. The Coalition held both Stockport seats with over 6,000 majorities.

Sir Auckland Geddes sailed for New York as Ambassador to the United States.

Mr. Lloyd George left London to attend a meeting of the Peace Conference at San Remo.

Dr. Addison announced that as schemes for 100,000 houses had been approved, the Ministry would not for the present approve any more.

April 11.—The United States House of Representatives passed a resolution terminating the state of war with Germany.

A Peace Treaty was concluded between Persia and the Tartar Republic of Agerbajan.

April 12.—The Labour Party in Ireland called for a general strike as a protest against the treatment of the Mountjoy prisoners. The India Office announced the resumption of Conversations between British and Afghan delegates with a view to good relations. More serious atrocities were reported in Cilicia.

April 13.—The strike in Dublin was complete, and crowds of people assembled outside Mountjoy prison singing and praying. Wage increases were granted to railway enginemmen.

The London County Council sanctioned the issue at 54 per cent. bonds to the amount of 7 millions, most of which will be devoted to housing.

M. Millerand reviewed the Anglo-French crisis in the French Chamber and declared that the need for intimate union was never more recognised.

A conference in Paris, attended by Mr. Churchill and Marshal Foch, unanimously decided on measures to enforce the disarmament of Germany.

April 14.—Mr. Macnamara, the new Minister of Labour, was elected at Camberwell by-election. A Coalition victory was also recorded at Basingstoke.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha was reported to have set up a separate Anatolian state. The Prince of Wales arrived at Hawaii.

April 15.—Many arrests were made by the police and military in Dublin.

The miners accepted the Government offer by a majority of 65135.

Mr. McCurdy, Food Controller, held his seat at Northampton by a majority of over three thousand.

The Red offensive against the Poles ended in failure.

The Prince of Wales left Honolulu for Fiji.

April 16.—Land terrorism spread in Ireland, and the last 13 of the Mountjoy prisoners were released.

Lord Jellicoe was appointed to succeed Lord Liverpool as Governor-General of New Zealand.

The French Government approved of a proposal by the British Government to send a warning note to Berlin.

Armenians were reported to have attacked and defeated the Tartars of Agerbajan.

April 17.—Cotton operatives threatened to strike.

General Denikin arrived in London.

A Demonstration of discharged soldiers was held in Hyde Park.

Lloyds Register returns showed that of the 2,205 ships of tonnage of 7,941,000, building throughout the world at the end of March, there were 865 ships of 3,394,000 tonnage in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Lloyd George arrived at San Remo to attend the Supreme Council.

Dr. Kapp went to Sweden from Germany, where he was arrested.

April 18.—The American Ambassador at Rome decided not to attend the San Remo Conference. The Versailles Treaty was discussed.

April 19.—Mr. Chamberlain introduced the Budget, increasing the Excess Profits Tax.

Over 150,000 South Wales Miners handed in notices to cease work a fortnight hence in support of the strike at Nine-Mile Point Colliery.

Sir Auckland Geddes, Ambassador to the United States arrived at New York.

The San Remo Conference began its sittings, and it was decided to invite the Turkish delegates to Paris on May 10th to receive the Treaty.

April 20.—The Irish Government issued a statement regarding the treatment of political offenders.

Trade Unionists on the Standing Committee on the Unemployment Insurance Bill left *en bloc* as a protest against the administration of the scheme by friendly societies.

At the Shakespeare Festival at Stratford *Much Ado About Nothing* was produced.

Germany received a Note from the Allies proposing to cut off food supplies if a Government hostile to the Peace Treaty was established.

The Prince of Wales arrived at Fiji.

April 21.—The negotiations between gas workers and employers reached a deadlock, and a strike ballot of 100,000 workers was proposed.

Germany presented the Peace Conference with three Notes dealing with the army, permission being sought to retain 200,000 men.

The Swedish authorities reported against the extradition of Dr. Kapp.

The Prince of Wales landed at Fiji.

April 22.—The Government proposed to continue the Profiteering Act a year longer. The King approved the design of a Victory Medal, which will be in bronze.

M. Caillaux was found guilty by the Senate on the charge of correspondence with the enemy.

April 23.—Special Shakespeare celebrations took place in London and at Stratford-on-Avon.

- The Government of Ireland Amendment Group was formed in Dublin under the chairmanship of Mr. Stephen Gwynn to amend the Home Rule Bill.
- Mr. Lloyd George denied in a statement at San Remo that he ever proposed the revision of the Versailles Treaty.
- An agreement was signed in London by France and Great Britain providing for the distribution of German tonnage and the sale of a portion of the tonnage to France.
- Arrangements have been made, according to a German telegram, to supply Germany with American foodstuffs, credits to a total amount of 45 million dollars having been arranged.
- M. Caillaux was released, having practically served the whole term of his imprisonment of three years.
- A letter from President Wilson to the National Democratic Convention was taken by Democrats to foreshadow his candidature for a third term, on the platform of the League and the Treaty without reservations.
- April 24.—The Food Controller revoked the control over the retail price of imported mutton, but the maximum wholesale prices remain in force.
- Polling took place in Sunderland.
- The Amalgamated Society of Engineers issued a statement explaining their grounds for opposing Government training schemes for ex-service men.
- Allied agreement was reached at San Remo, and a manifesto insisting on disarmament of Germany and the application of the Treaty was decided upon.
- April 25.—President Wilson's letter to Mr. Shouse, delegate at the Democratic National Convention, Kansas, confirmed the view that if unable to stand for the Presidency he will do all he can to make the Treaty without reservation the chief point in the Democratic programme.
- The Polish Diet Committee on Foreign Affairs supported the Government attitude towards the Bolsheviks in view of the protest resignation of M. Grabski.
- April 26.—Sir T. Mackenzie, High Commissioner for New Zealand, criticized the Food Controller's attitude to the Dominion in regard to butter, and suggested the reduction of the price of imported mutton to 6d. a lb.
- A scheme for a uniform Persian Army was outlined in the report of the Anglo-Persian Military Commission.
- April 27.—The report on the accounts of the Ministry of Shipping for the year 1918-19 showed a deficit of £100,003,708.
- The Food Ministry offered prices equal to those paid to Danish and Dutch producers for the next supply of New Zealand butter.
- The French Press expressed satisfaction with the San Remo Conference, but the Italian Press criticized the concessions to Greece.
- The reply was published of the League of Nations to the Supreme Council stating why it could not accept the Mandate for Armenia.
- A Parliamentary crisis arose in South Africa over the Profit-sharing Bill.
- The Prince of Wales visited Rotorau, where he was welcomed by the Maoris.
- April 28.—Disturbing scenes occurred outside Wormwood Scrubs where Sinn Féin prisoners continued their hunger strike.
- The House of Lords agreed to Lord Southborough's motion in favour of an inquiry by a Departmental Committee into the treatment of "shell shock" cases.
- Mr. Chamberlain announced the decision to issue New Treasury Bonds at a minimum of 5 per cent. for 15 years.
- The Polish Army began a new offensive against the Reds.
- The Prince of Wales was held up at Rotorau owing to a railway strike.
- April 29.—Mr. Lloyd George made a statement in the House of Commons on San Remo, and said that the Alliance was on a firmer basis than ever.
- Lord Grey of Fallodon issued a statement appealing for co-operation with the League of Nations.
- The Treaty of London was made public.
- The Railwaymen threatened, in opposition to their unions, to "work to rule."
- The Poles continued their advance and reached half way to Kieff.
- Baku fell to the Bolsheviks, whose influence in Azerbaijan produced a revolution.
- April 30.—Big preparations were made in Labour circles for May Day.
- The Scottish Liberal Federation passed in effect a vote of no confidence in Mr. Lloyd George and the Liberal members of the present Government.
- Private view day at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition was well attended.
- An attempt to find a settlement of the crisis with cotton workers failed.
- The French railway strike began.
- The Polish advance continued.
- The Prince of Wales reached Auckland in spite of the strike.

OBITUARY.

- April 3.—MAJOR-GEN. HUGH SUTLEY GOUGH and LADY JENNER, widow of the eminent physician.
- April 7.—LADY ELGAR, wife of Sir Edward Elgar, the famous music composer.
- April 12.—DR. CROZIER, Primate of All Ireland.
- April 20.—MR. BRITTON RIVERS, R.A., aged 79.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giffie gie us
To see ourselves as others see us."—Burns.



De Notiekraker

[Amsterdam]

France's fierce gesticulations.

The Allied Council: "Ahem!"



Wahre Jacob

[Stuttgart]

Kapp's High Flight.

An unedifying end.



Kladderjacht

[Berlin]

Governmental Worries.

Ebert: "One beast or the other is always running between my legs."



Wahre Jacob

[Stuttgart]

The Dragon Slayer.

By united effort was the deed done.



Walre Jacoli

[Stuttgart

Frankfort: Morning of April 6th, 1920. The
"Victor."



Le Rire

[Paris

"Come! We are waiting for you, constable
Lloyd George. What is this foolery?
Where is your sword?"
"My sword? I have just swallowed it!"



Walre Jacob

[Stuttgart

The Jackboot.

The young Republic had hardly unfolded its petals when the foot of the old Militarism was placed upon it, and trampled it down.



Simplicitissimus

[Munich

The Strong men of March 13th.

"Sad times! Once there was a lieutenant to every ten men."



[Wahre Jacob]

[Stuttgart]

Germany's Hyenas.

We recommend ourselves for the inauguration of a new public law. Good work guaranteed!



[Klauderatsch]

[Berlin]

The Advance Guard of French Culture in Frankfort.



[Le Rive]

[Paris]

"Are the dollar gentlemen going to continue treating me, me, as militarist and imperialist, and taking those people for democrats?"



[L'Astoria]

In Germany.

[Rome]

German Militarism; showing itself :—"Bad weather! It is better to become dead again."



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

Highwaymen in Rhineland.

In the occupied territory of the Rhinelands the French are using threats for securing the potato harvest.



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

"Maybe I'd get more milk by feeding hay."



[Detroit News]

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

Uncle Sam :—"Separate checks, please."



Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.

Changing its name won't make it any sweeter.



Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.

Feathers grow out again: Use the axe.



Hindi Punch]

[Bombay

J'y suis, J'y reste.

Notwithstanding the insensate cry raised in England to expel the Turk from Europe, the Supreme Council has wisely decided to keep him at Constantinople.



Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin

To the New Ascent!

It was a dreadful fall, but the bruises are now healed. And now I will soon climb up again!



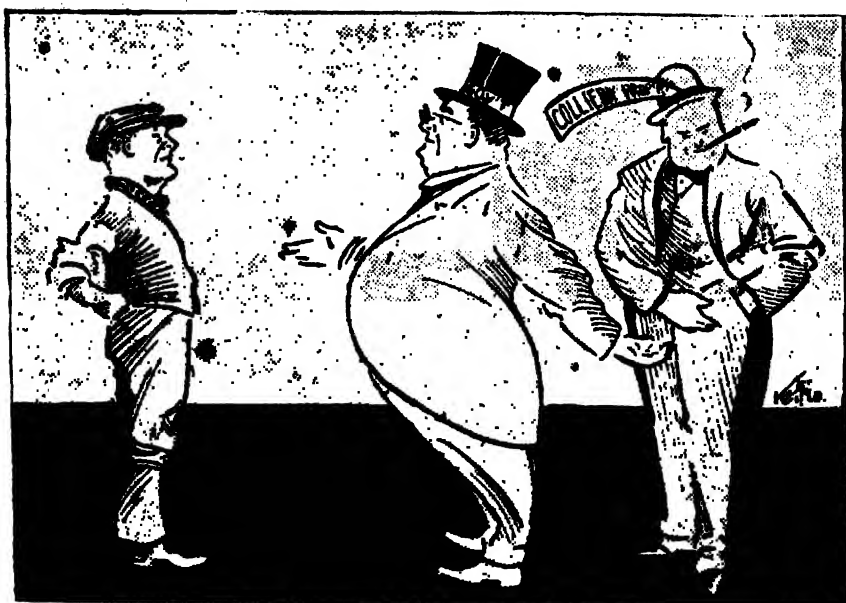
[Detroit News]

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

Afraid to Change Tunes.

[Detroit News]

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

He is going to learn a lot.

[Bradford Daily Telegraph]

Oliver Twisters.

[Bradford]

Coal Miner: "Hey! I want more money."

Government: "Well, I'll give you, er— (aside to colliery proprietor): "Lead me a few bob; you can get it back out of the public!"



The Star

[London]

David in the Lion's Den.

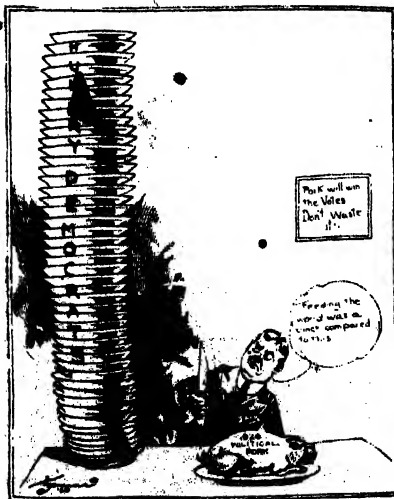
"What are you sniffing at me for? Can't you see I'm not a human being, but a lion like yourself?"



Daily Express

[London]

Lloyd George's Day.



Detroit News

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

If Hoover becomes President.



Le Rive

[Paris]

The New Anglo-Saxon Bible.

Joseph sold by his brethren.

First Steps To Peace At Last.

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON

(Our Special Correspondent in Paris).

Any consideration of the world situation at this moment falls naturally into two parts. In reality of course they cannot be separated, and one will have the most frightful repercussions upon the other. Nevertheless, on my return from San Remo, when I look back upon the dramatic mental changes of that historic week, and when I look forward to the vitally significant meeting of Allied and German Ministers at Spa, I cannot but feel that at long last the affairs of Europe, in spite of fluctuations, are marching towards a fairly satisfactory settlement. And then I remember my conversations with Turkish emissaries, with M. Venizelos, the great Greek statesman, with Armenians, with Syrians, with Arabs, with Jews, who rejoice in the prospect of a national home in Palestine, but who are appalled at the menace which comes from Europeans as well as Arabs, from Christians as well as Mahomedans. When I put together my impressions and my information concerning the Eastern world, and consider the impossible Treaty elaborated at San Remo, I find my optimism in respect of the Eastern world oozing away.

One may properly be exceedingly cheerful that it is to say much more cheerful than it has been possible to be for many months, about European affairs; but at the same time doleful about Eastern affairs.

The courteous chief of the telegraphic service at San Remo informed me when I bade him farewell that from this little Italian town nearly half a million words had been sent forth in little more than a week on the telegraphic wires of the world. Half a million words, every one of which served as a text for the leader-writers of every continent, and provoked thousands of discussions in clubs, in trains, in drawing-rooms, in street, and in Parliament. But the last word has not been said on San Remo. San Remo, in spite of the multitude of misinterpretations, accomplished two things: it set up the principle of direct contact with Germany; and it established another bad treaty. For the first we may be grateful.

It is the most hopeful sign we have yet seen. For the second we must not be too depressed because treaties are not really as important as their authors are inclined to think. Three men sitting in the Villa Devachan no more decide the destinies of mankind by putting down this or that provision on paper, than would an assembly of flies on a cart-wheel control its motion. Events will roll on, and if the Treaty is in accordance with the inevitable logic of events it will remain. If it is not, it will simply be swept away by the current of reality. My own view is that the long-delayed Turkish Treaty is not watertight, and that like every other Treaty that has been made since the war it will never be applied. San Remo is on this side only another and perhaps a worse Versailles. But San Remo will, like Versailles, be followed by its Spa.

Spa is really the central fact about San Remo. While one Treaty was being prepared an earlier Treaty was being demolished. You can cover up this fact in any way you please. You can issue harsh-sounding manifestoes to please French opinion and to placate the *Daily Mail*. But nowadays, wherever I find harsh phrases, I look for ~~the~~ Whenever I hear the ~~the~~ surprise the sword-rattler in the act of winking the other eye. A little farce has to be played for the public. The truth is that Mr. Lloyd George has had his way, and that the sensible policy of renewed relations in the fullest sense has been adopted. Germany is no longer our enemy, but our collaborator.

Has anybody sufficiently noticed the essential consistency of Mr. Lloyd George? We hear very much of his inconsistency; and superficially he is certainly inconsistent. But he is inconsistent in order to be consistent. Now and again he gets on the wrong tack. He makes stupid promises for political purposes which he must surely regret. Absurdities such as the hanging of the Kaiser need not be seriously considered. He has, however, always in view the ultimate goal to be reached, and if he often

goes by devious routes, skirting obstacles, even turning in his track. He does not forget his object: be assured that he will return to it before long.

His triumph at San Remo was to induce the French to meet the Germans. He has had this project in mind for a long time. He, of all men, knows the value of personal relations. It is by personal relations that he overcomes most of his own difficulties. The Franco-British quarrel which was raging a month ago, which came to a head at the Italian Conference when M. Millerand was on the point of going home in dudgeon, was cured by a dinner. That dinner at which M. Millerand and Mr. Lloyd George talked face to face, and heart to heart, frankly, cordially, prevented the rupture of the alliance. The two statesmen had up to that point been firing at each other with long-range guns. What was their artillery? The Press. The Press is the biggest Big Bertha yet invented. When statesmen wish to fight a duel they choose as their weapons not swords or pistols, but long-range guns. The fact that they are in adjoining rooms does not prevent them from shooting each other from a distance. The deplorable method adopted by modern diplomacy is for each side to avoid direct contact. That is to say that, although they may actually meet, they will not say the things they want to say, but will remain formal, frigid, and official. At the same time they will give the signal for the shooting to begin. The Press of one country will start some rumour, inspired by a high authority. This rumour is intended to be taken as a threat. It is a diplomatic ultimatum. The two men continue to smile at each other while their Press announces that if certain agreements are not reached negotiations will be broken off. The shot may reach its destination and the reply will be fired. The reply may be that if negotiations are broken off there will be no coal, no Eastern territory, bigger armies for the former enemy, a general revision of the Treaty, and so forth. The Press blazes away its false news, its tendentious statements. It is a dangerous development of modern diplomacy. Mr. Lloyd George was the first to see that this kind of fighting, this form of applying pressure, could have no

good results. He gave the signal to cease. He fought his opponent across the dinner-table with other arms. At close quarters, in half an hour, an understanding was arrived at; both parties expressed themselves satisfied. Honour was saved.

Two rival remedies for the malady of Europe were in presence. It was the remedy of Mr. Lloyd George which was adopted. What matter what the label on the bottle may say? The only thing that is important is the contents of the bottle, the composition of the medicine. Now I have been well enough acquainted with the private mind of Mr. Lloyd George to know that he has, in spite of appearances, always been of the same opinion. It is of no consequence that he permitted clauses to be put in the Treaty last year with which he did not agree, since he felt that he could take them out again at a more propitious moment. There has been since the Armistice a deep consistency in his attitude towards Germany. Over and over again, when he has spoken sincerely, he has expressed the view that the war should cease when peace was made. There have been both in France and England many people who refused to admit that real peace was an economic necessity for the world, and who pursued a suicidal policy of hate.

The French official point of view, largely inspired by M. Poincaré and Marshal Foch—a fine soldier but a poor politician—did lean towards coercion. Personally I think coercion to be in some circumstances not merely useless but disastrous. It is the soldier's business to believe in force. He would be a poor soldier if he did not. But it is the politician's business to believe in persuasion, co-operation, community of interests. He is a poor politician if he does not.

The joy-ride to San Remo, singularly enough, pleased everybody. Germany was pleased because at last she was to be treated as an equal and to sit at the table in an international conference. Mr. Lloyd George was pleased because his thesis had prevailed. Signor Nitti, although troubled by the Adriatic problem, was delighted because he had made himself the prophet of peace. Even M. Millerand was pleased because the Allied

declaration was severe in form. If, incidentally, he had given way all along, he traced that this little fact would not be too much noticed; and besides, in spite of the military pressure, he was reasonable enough to see that the salvation of Germany is the salvation of France; the complete ruin of Germany is the complete ruin of France.

There is a good deal of commonsense in the world after all. Spa proves it. The re-admission of Germany to the councils of the nations is a great event. It is the greatest event since the Armistice. It is possible that the whole tone of Europe may change and that we may return to that condition of mind which is peace, and turn away from that condition of mind which is war.

This phrase is the phrase of Signor Nitti, whom I was privileged to meet in Italy and who expounded his point of view at length to me. He frankly cultivated the peace spirit. He puts behind him the war spirit. Meetings with German delegates? Why not? We are, and have been for some time, at peace with Germany, and what then prevents us from continuing our negotiations in the normal way. The fact that there should be any question about it, that the proposal should have given rise to any surprise, that there are still folk who raise their hands in dismay, shows that the war spirit is not dead.

Clearly does he realise that Europe is in for several bad years and that every source of wealth should be tapped, every hand put to the pumps. I have had an opportunity of ascertaining the condition of Italy. It is bad. Italy needs many things. Wheat and coal are, of course, what she principally lacks. But Italy is not ruined. Italy, I believe, will soon recover. She will recover all the quicker because she was the first to pursue boldly the courageous policy of making friends with her enemies. The Austrian Chancellor Renner I found in close touch with the Italian authorities. Austria, of course, is in desperate plight. Austria needs Italy. But Austria, badly off as she is, does not need the co-operation of Italy more than Italy needs the co-operation of Austria. When the countries of Europe are struggling with adversity they double their chances of coming out

successfully by uniting. The much-talked-of reconstitution of the Germano-Austro-Italian Triple Alliance is not, I think, in the old sense possible; but do not let us close our eyes to the fact that Italy is really disposed to enter into the closest relations with all her neighbours for economic purposes. The danger is lest such an alliance should become exclusive, lest other countries should be left out of the arrangement. I find the opinion expressed everywhere on the Continent that sooner or later England too will be economically associated with Germany. It is obvious that if this happens and to some extent it is inevitable, and if France refused to come into the arrangement, France would be isolated and would suffer more than any other nation. That is the new trend of politics. That is the fact which has most impressed M. Millerand these last few weeks. That is the fact which will help to bring about a complete revolution in political thought.

It is as well to insist upon the necessity of the utmost rectitude on the part of Germany. She must be prepared for heavy sacrifices. She is the great criminal of the war. No evasion of her responsibilities can be for one moment permitted. Reparation must be given to France. No double dealing, no trickery, can be tolerated. Germany must show that she is not seeking to take advantage of the generosity of the Allies. If she will put aside all ideas of intrigue, then, and on that condition alone, should she be assisted in order that she in turn can assist.

But the contention of Signor Nitti, which I believe to be perfectly bona-fide and sound, is that if Germany collapses all Europe collapses. Before she can make reparations she must be treated fairly, and the Treaty, if not revised, must be interpreted in a broad spirit.

I see many signs which are encouraging. Now that statesmen are coming round to the policy of realism expressed so often in this Review, there is every prospect that after a hard period we shall come again into comparatively smooth waters. An amusing little controversy had sprung up about the word revision. Well, let us leave the unworkable Treaty as it is, but modify its application by fresh agreements, mutual concessions, and

adjustments, if these words please better a certain type of mind which attaches great importance to euphemistic terminology. If it is not revision to change the military clauses, to change the economic clauses, to change any other clauses as they fall due for execution, so be it. Let us call it modifications, adjustment, concession, what you will.

If domestic politics could be kept out of the discussion I am sure that solutions of most of our difficulties would be found readily enough. The pity of it is that every statesman has to ask himself what his political opponents will do if he carries out whatever he thinks to be correct. Domestic politics have been the curse of Mr. Lloyd George in his peace-making. They are the curse of M. Millerand. Take the matter of Germany's military strength. It is, I think, generally agreed that Germany should be disarmed. The difficulty is to define disarmament. Camouflaged troops, the inculcation of the military spirit, must go at all costs. So far, so good. But there remains the necessity of permitting Germany to keep a certain number of armed men who may be used in case of need for the preservation of internal order. There can be no dispute about that. The dispute arises when we consider the number that should be granted. Personally I think it a problem for the expert and of extremely little importance. Whether it should be 100,000 or 200,000 is a mere matter of arithmetic. We can arrive at some sort of judgment by inquiring how many troops are necessary for what one may call police work in England, in America, in France. France, above all, could not admit the principle that there should be no army for internal use. The First of May has just arrived to remind us that all human institutions in the ultimate resort are based upon the possibility of their defence against the forces in every country which make for disorder. The smallest possible army consistent with good government should be the principle upon which the statesmen should act. What is that number in the present troubled state of Germany? That is the whole question. Now it is a fact that both M. Millerand and Marshal Foch are desirous of altering the Treaty terms and permitting Germany to retain a larger army than is therein provided. At San

Remo they did not dare to say so because of the effect that such a statement would have had upon their political position. Surely here is a question not of politics but of fact. If it is believed that Germany can manage with 100,000 men the Allies must insist upon that number. If it is believed that she needs 200,000 men, or otherwise the country will become a prey to the wild men, then no considerations of purely domestic politics should prevent them from granting the request.

It is not a case for discussion. What can properly be discussed is the proposal that the debt of Germany shall be fixed once and for all. There are two sides to this question. For my part I take the side of the lump sum. It will be better for France, better for Germany and better for the rest of the world, if France does not hesitate to accept 60 milliard marks or whatever other sum may be considered practicable, when the statesmen met at Spa. That is, I think, the great question which is doing more to prevent the restoration of Europe than any other. The effect of a general agreement may be magical. I have reason to believe that a consortium of American financiers would in these circumstances lend the money to Germany to pay France. France would thus benefit, Germany would benefit, the Americans would benefit because their holdings would at once bound up in value, and everybody else would profit by the new prosperity that would come to Europe.

In contrast with the renewed good sense, which seems to have come into Western settlements—a mere glimmer of good sense but still unmistakably an improvement—in contrast with the desire to drop the bad Russian business which has deprived us of harvests which next year we may get—there is the incredible Turkish Treaty. It can be attacked not from one side but from every side. If you are a pro-Turk you will find that to put indisputably Turkish populations under Greek rule cannot on any grounds of nationality be justified. If you are an anti-Turk you will be shocked at the decision to leave the Sultan in Constantinople. If you think of that terrible record of misrule, of bloody murder, of corruption, of international intrigue, that was directed from Constantinople, you will be amazed how anybody could have decided, in face of the

indignation of a shocked world, to permit the same foul government to remain in Europe. If you are only concerned with the practical point of view, only wish to avoid the possibility of an Islamic uprising, you will at once realise that leaving the Sultan in his old capital in itself will satisfy nobody: that the fanatical Mussulman will resent just as much that the Khalife should be under infidel control, should not be perfectly free, as his total ejection from Constantinople. From whatever aspect I look at these strange solutions, I can only see trouble. That the Turk should go bag and baggage was a policy. It would have been well for Europe had this been done, though possibly one might have had fears that the Moslem world would have been stirred. But how will this contemptuous treatment of the Sultan improve matters? The Mohamedan will understand perfectly the humiliation of his spiritual chief, and if that was the reason for his remaining, then he might just as well have been thrown out. I could have understood, too, an international control of the whole of Thrace on the ground of the incapacity of the Turk; but with all my admiration for the genius of M. Venizelos—our one true friend in the East—I cannot think that after his disappearance (and he must like all of us one day retire from the scene) the Greeks will manage to retain their hold upon territories that are not racially theirs. Greece has now more coastline to defend than France—and there are about seven million Greeks in the world!

In Asia the imbroglio is at present incomprehensible. Think of a Turkish settlement with no provision made for the future of Armenia! As I write, nothing has been done. From San Remo has merely gone the suggestion that perhaps America will reconsider her decision. If she does, if she accepts a mandate, then she may easily ask in turn for the whole Turkish settlement to be brought into conformity with her own notions. It will be certainly a disgrace to humanity if the few million pounds that are needed for the development of Armenia are not found.

Depend upon it that Turkey will only sign the Treaty because she is obliged. Personally I have come into contact with the Turk and know his mind. He is full

of hate for the Greek, for the Allies, for the Armenians, who is helpless. It is on the Armenian that his vengeance will fall. Will we look on indifferently? Are we, after pretending to have saved Armenia, only going to make it a lot worse? I cannot, I will not, believe that such monstrous apathy will be shown. We must find somehow the money and the men that Armenia needs. Any fresh slaughter, and it is we who stand convicted before the conscience of mankind.

I am not inclined to attach too much importance to vague threats of unfolding the green flag of Islam. 3,000,000 Mohamedans could set the world ablaze: but I do not think they will. But it is certain that in Asia there will be desperate trouble. The tug-of-war between French and Arabs for Syria and Cilicia, of which I spoke last month, will grow in intensity. It is possible that the Hedjaze may yet join hands with the Turks. There is everywhere a danger of lively fighting, and neither France nor England can afford new campaigns of any kind. Even in Palestine, to which Dr. Weizmann, that remarkable leader of the Jewish people, has, I understand, returned, there is grave unrest. He came to San Remo to complain that some of our own officials were too complacent towards the Arabs who organised the pogroms, and too severe on the Jews who endeavoured to protect themselves. (One Jew was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for trying to form a defence league!) He was told that a Jewish home would be set up and officials favourable to the Zionist cause appointed. My point is that there is a criss-cross of interests—Arab, French, British, Zionist, Greek, Turkish, to say nothing of the interests of Armenians, of Kurds, of Georgians and so on, in this part of the world; and before Turkey will consent to give up all her possessions she will play upon these interests, try to set everybody by the ears, and will almost certainly to some extent succeed.

It looks as though we shall have our hands full in the East. We cannot afford to have troubles there, for in the West, though as I say our relations are improving politically, there are still many long arduous years before we shall, even with the most enlightened policy, attain anything like economic stability.

For and Against an Irish Republic.

While the Government is proceeding with its Home Rule Bill, it has hitherto failed to obtain the sympathy of any section of public opinion in Ireland, outside of Unionist Ulster. Sinn Fein, which has captured practically all the Nationalist constituencies, refuses to consider any proposal for Irish self-government that would fall short of the concession of complete national independence, and the establishment of an Irish Republic. To what extent does the Sinn Fein demand for an Independent Republic really represent the desires of the whole Irish people? The question is discussed in the following articles from the Irish point of view by two of the best known politicians in Ireland.



[Photo, Keogh Bros.]

PROFESSOR EOIN MACNEILL.

Eoin MacNeill has been prominent in all the Irish-Ireland movements during the past thirty years, and was best known before the war as the founder and Vice-President of the Irish Language Revival Movement. He occupies the chair of Ancient Irish History in the National University of Ireland, and has a distinguished reputation as a Celtic scholar. He entered Irish politics for the first time after the Ulster Volunteers had been organised by Sir Edward Carson to resist Mr. Asquith's Home Rule Bill, and himself created the Irish Volunteer Movement which arose to defend the Bill against the threat of armed resistance. During the war he opposed Mr. Redmond's policy of assisting the Government until the Home Rule Act had been made operative. His followers rapidly moved towards an extreme policy, and when the Dublin rebellion broke out in 1916, his personal efforts to prevent it were unsuccessful. He was sentenced to penal servitude for life by a Court Martial, and was only released under the general amnesty granted to the Irish prisoners a year later. At the general election he was adopted as Sinn Fein candidate for Derry City, and also for the National University, and won both constituencies. Like the other Sinn Fein M.P.'s he has never taken his seat at Westminster.



[Photo, Lafayette.]

CAPTAIN STEPHEN GWYNN.

Captain Stephen Gwynn, the biographer of the late John Redmond, was intimately connected with the Irish Parliamentary Party as Nationalist M.P. for Galway City from 1896 until the last general election, when his constituency was extinguished under the Reform Act. He was well-known as a literary man before he took an active part in Irish politics, but his duties at Westminster soon occupied his attentions and he became one of the most influential members of the Parliamentary Party. When war broke out, he enlisted as a private in the Irish Division, and subsequently went to France with the division as a Captain in the Connaught Rangers. He served with them for nearly three years in France, and was awarded the Legion of Honour by the French Government. At the general election he stood for Trinity College, Dublin, as a Nationalist, but was badly defeated in that stronghold of Irish Unionism. Since Mr. Redmond's death he has been the leading representative of the Moderate Nationalists in Ireland and his efforts to create a Centre Party out of the new spirit that arose in the Irish Convention, have succeeded in drawing together on a common platform many of the Southern Unionists and the influential group of Nationalists who believe strongly in the future of Ireland within the Empire.

The Case For an Irish Republic.

By PROFESSOR EOIN MACNEILL.

The right now claimed by the Irish people is to be "as free as any other nation," and this in concrete terms is the Irish Republic. All counter-programmes, the Union of 1901 and every variety of Home Rule, mean to be less free than other nations, and the Irish people will not accept a "settlement" on any such terms.

We have got away from the nineteenth century, with its concessions and confusions—all but a very small few. The common people feel instinctively that they have emerged, and they are glad of it. The young people—who are the great majority—are wondering that a nation should have ever allowed itself to be confounded. There are a few to whom the nineteenth-century habits of political thought cling like barnacles, and these do not yet realise that, however respectably they may formulate, they speak only for themselves.

I have been asked—in London—if the Irish people will take advantage of the Home Rule last conceded or promised, to establish an Irish Republic. I have answered "No, you do not seem to understand. The Irish Republic has already been established." If any one imagines that the establishment of the Irish Republic already effected is merely for show, he had better come and ask the common people about it. He may find them willing to listen to arguments as to why they ought to disestablish, surrender and abandon the Irish Republic. The arguments, however, will have to be quite different from those on which the adversaries appear to rely.

We cannot have the Republic, we are told, because Britain's army and navy is so powerful. That in itself is a conclusive argument against our surrendering the Republic.

Mr. Lloyd George says that no British House of Commons will ever consent to consider the matter of Irish independence. This is another final argument in support of the Republic. No other tyrant could put his case more clearly.

"The British Empire is a commonwealth of free nations." That is true, partly, but Ireland is not one of them. Ireland's share in the Empire has been to be plundered and depopulated. In any case, there is no such thing as a compulsory free partnership. Why not invite Belgium or Holland or Denmark or Norway or Portugal to take our place in the partnership?

"We cannot have an Irish Republic because Great Britain and Ireland form a strategic unit." That is why an Irish Republic is necessary. "We cannot be independent because we are so close to Britain." On the contrary, if we were at the Antipodes we might possibly be safe with less than complete independence.

I might argue, I have argued, because I believe it, that the independence of Ireland would be good for England. Unfortunately, when an Irishman argues in that way, he is supposed to be backing down. We must convince you without that. By-and-by you will realise that the government of the Irish Republic began to function early in the year 1919.

The Case Against an Irish Republic

By STEPHEN GWYNN

I understand that the case for an Irish Republic is to be stated by Professor MacNeill. We are both senior academic persons, but we have not always confined ourselves to academic action, and this is not an academic question, but one of urgent reality. Both of us have incurred some personal risk in support of our views, and neither of us is entitled to say that he is prepared to do more for Ireland than the other. If I were convinced that the establishment of an Irish Republic were the only alternative to the system under which Ireland has been governed through my lifetime, I should be ready to-morrow to go to any length with Professor MacNeill in support of Professor MacNeill's view. I am against the demand for an Irish Republic because the delay of self-government has had various consequences, and those consequences are accumulating with awful rapidity. The demand which he makes is a demand for self-government in its least attainable form, and therefore most likely that involving delay.

Many Sinn Feiners—I am not sure that they are not most Sinn Feiners—put forward this claim as a bargaining proposition without perceiving that it puts an end to bargaining. If you hope to get a hundred pounds from a man, it is, I think, bad tactics to ask five hundred, but you do not necessarily stop discussion. If you ask for the nose off his face you demand closer negotiation. Unless you have him at your mercy you cannot get him to listen.

It is not always easy for men in the historic position of Irish Nationalists to realise that others besides themselves have not only interests but ideals. The principle of self-government for separate communities within the British Empire—or in the phrase of General Smuts, the British Commonwealth of Nations—is in no way repugnant to British ideals, though the application of it to Ireland may be, or seem to be, unfavourable to British interests. Home Rule was always

resisted on the plea that it was a demand in disguise for complete separation, or, in the American phrase, for secession. The advocates of Home Rule always argued that this view was mistaken; they realised that if this view could be established Home Rule would never be attained except by force. The demand for an Irish Republic, in my opinion, is a demand for what you cannot hope to get unless England is defeated in war. Many Irishmen to-day believe that an Irish Republic will be attained through a war between England and America. If this be the only way of getting it, then the object is, not merely difficult and uncertain of attainment but attainable only through world-wide ruin.

That consideration weighs with me, but not with all Irishmen. One of my friends, as well-bred and well-educated an Irishman as I know, with a hundred ties to England and even to the British Army, said to me a few days ago that these last three or four months had left him with the feeling that if the British Empire could be blown to pieces he would gladly see his own nation involved in the wreckage. He realised clearly that war between England and America would trample Ireland flat. The grass would grow again: it was worth the price to lose all else.

The consequences of such a struggle would not be limited to Ireland; but in such matters a nation is entitled to think of itself first. What Irishmen have to consider is firstly the consequences for Ireland. If an Irish Republic can only be attained by war, setting all else aside, it means civil war in Ireland. No part of the British Commonwealth is more strongly attached to connection with that system than Ulster—I had better say, Protestant Ireland—and these people could and would fight to the uttermost to maintain that connection. The demand for an Irish Republic means crushing by force, before it can be obtained, one of the strongest and best elements in Ireland.

Is the difference between complete separation and what is attainable without

war worth the cost of war and civil war? One of the difficulties is that Ireland does not realise what war means. It thinks it is having the experience of war at present. Morally, I agree, there is a state of war—but war with the most limited liabilities. Short of an absolute refusal of self-government, I am not prepared even to consider facing the full consequences of war as it is.

But the concession of self-government within the Empire is no longer in dispute. It has statutory recognition. Much more important, Ulster, the last citadel of resistance, has reluctantly but finally accepted the principle. I admit, of course, that the degree of self-government conceded is less than that which the dominions have gradually acquired, and that Ulster accepts the principle only upon condition that Ulster shall be self-governing and shall not be forced under a parliament where the majority would be inspired by ideals which Ulster repudiates, and against which Ulster would fight. For the ideals of the rest of Ireland are no longer those of Redmond but at least professedly those of Mr. de Valera and Professor MacNeill.

Theoretically, and from the standpoint of some Sinn Feiners practically, the amount of what is conceded short of a Republic makes no matter; the difference is in kind not in extent; the demand is for full national independence, full self-determination. Here then one is perplexed by a recent utterance of Mr. Bonar Law's, which makes it uncertain whether there is after all a difference in kind between what Sinn Fein is asking, and what the Dominions have gained. His remarkable pronouncement was rendered still more remarkable by the absence of any reference to South Africa. That in itself suggests that it was not the expression of a coherent and thought out policy perhaps too much to expect from a British parliamentarian. It made clear that Great Britain would not resist by force the secession of Australia or Canada. I do not believe that it means that Great Britain, or even Mr. Bonar Law, knows clearly what policy would be adopted if the proposal of a majority to secede threatened civil war in the Dominion concerned. Many would hold that in such a case the Sovereign power

would have both the right and the duty of intervening.

But the essential point is that Great Britain is determined to resist by force the secession of Ireland, and that Protestant Ulster at least would support Great Britain. Shall we go ahead with a policy which promises war and civil war? We can get at once self-government by Irishmen for all Ireland, but on a dual basis and with limited powers. Self-government everywhere within the Empire has grown and extended its powers. Also, in every case, as in Australia and in Canada and South Africa, when it has been given to separate parts of a geographical unity, it has resulted in the voluntary formation of a central unity—the coalescence of parts. There is therefore every reason to believe that the limit of power, and the condition of partial separation, imposed on Ireland at the start of self-government, will not be permanent. Self-government can start at once, with peace—unless that part of Ireland which demands self-government insists on making war.

What are the alternative possibilities if the demand for an Irish Republic be pressed? We may hope for a war in which England will be beaten to her knees by America: there is no other war possibility in sight; and it is worth thinking about the implications—a world war in which the East would be active. My ambitions are more moderate. We may hope for a conversion of the British Labour Party to the principle, in which case the middle class in Great Britain would once more make Ireland the political battleground. But assume that Labour won—would Labour be likely to win up to the point of forcing Protestant Ireland to separate itself actually from the British connection. And if it did, what sort of element would Protestant Ireland be in an Irish Republic? What sort of a Republic would you have with that powerful and most useful element hostile and sullen?

I dismiss as inconceivable the possibility that England may assent in principle to an Irish Republic, and leave Ireland to put it into operation—keeping the ring for a civil war. I hope I am not cowardly if I shrink from the prospect and would much rather take my chance

of obtaining what will satisfy Ireland by trying united self-government first.

The Fenian brotherhood, undoubtedly under American inspiration, was professedly Republican in principle. But to the many old Fenians whom I have known freedom for Ireland was the essential purpose—the Republican idea in itself had no importance. They did, however, certainly stand for absolute separation, and they were a great power.

Yet I have never felt that any of these men—and some of them had put their foot as far in the movement as any of their time—had relinquished a principle which he valued by accepting the idea of remaining within the British connection. Still less have I felt, in many years of observation, that the average Irish peasant had any ideal beyond one that would make him feel a free man in his own land—or that the full power to manage his own Irish affairs would not content this ideal. Even to-day I do not believe that the mass of Ireland regards the claim for an Irish Republic as a flag that it would be disgraceful to haul down.

It is well to be explicit. If I believed that the honour of Ireland was committed to maintaining the claims for complete separation, I should cease from all interference in Irish politics. I do not believe this. Neither do I feel, especially now that the right of secession is avowedly conceded to the Dominions, that Ireland need pledge herself to any irrevocable acceptance of a subordinate status. It is evidently not considered that taking the oath of allegiance in Canada binds a man for all time to the British connection. But I am convinced that the connection between these two countries is natural and right, provided it be so loosened and supplied as to give local freedom. The connection has great advantages to offer to the individual Irishman, especially to the brilliant individual. If the British and Indian Civil Service, and the British military and naval career were closed to Irishmen, in ten years there would be weeping and wailing over lost opportunities. And as for the national interest, it may not suffer greatly so long as England adheres to Free Trade with the world. But if once a British tariff were imposed, England would have the power to ruin

Ireland, and the right to do so. "Obliging gods have overthrown entire households at the prayer of the householder," says Juvenal. I am afraid of a like answer to some pious aspirations in Ireland.

Such prayers grow up in an atmosphere of passion, and that has been the atmosphere in which the demand for an Irish Republic grew. I believe this demand to be unreal, not the expression of Ireland's reasoned mind—yet a not unnatural outcome of unnatural conditions. We are thinking to-day throughout Ireland less in terms of profit and loss than of national sentiment. My view is that Irish nationality can attain its full development without being kept in a watertight compartment. Those Sinn Féiners are quite right who hold that the ideal of an Irish Republic is inseparably bound up in the kindred ideal of an Ireland primarily Gaelic speaking—an Ireland which thinks in Irish. Both seem to me an attempt to force Ireland out of the line of its natural and true development.

My objection is not to the Republican ideal—it is to the separatist ideal. And I think the element in the present Irish revolutionary movement which is most sincerely republican is least separatist—Irish Labour. Sinn Féin through Irish Labour counts on the support of British Labour, pins its hopes on British Labour. I do not believe that the Irish working man sincerely entertains an ideal which in its full acceptance—welcoming and desiring the barrier of a different language—would make him as much a stranger to Labour across the Channel as to Labour on the Continent.

Labour and not Capital is the real link between the countries. If Labour in both countries really desires an Irish Republic, it must come. But I do not think it will ever be desirable for either country or for the Labour elements in either Great Britain or Ireland itself. In any case, to press it now seems suicidal. I want to see Ireland get on at once with the work of governing herself; and this implies the acceptance of conditions which make immediate beginning possible. If Ireland decides that only Ulster can begin, so much the worse; but even that is better than no beginning.

THE MAID OF FRANCE.

THE PROBLEMS OF HER LIFE.

How are we to explain the passion that the name of Joan of Arc alone of all the Souls still excites? Why do her admirers write of her with the heat of men who had ridden by her side to the Sacring at Rheims. And why do critics arise from time to time to explain her naturally, to underrate her achievements, to set her visions down to hysteria, or hallucination, or hypnotism?

It cannot be said that the controversy is one of Free Thinkers against Catholics, nor can it be said, as some French writers imagine, that the dispute is one of English against French historians. Voltaire's *La Pucelle* was a loathsome piece of buffoonery, but in the "Dictionnaire Philosophique" the philosopher has written of the Catholic heroine with generosity and enthusiasm. Hume, the prince of sceptics, has for ever vindicated the patriotism and chivalry of the Maid for English opinion, though it must be remembered that this philosopher was a Scotchman, who remembered the "auld alliance." Southey and Coleridge, as well as the German Schiller, have offered poetical tributes to Joan. Passing to the Victorian age, Hallam and J. R. Green have been far more sympathetic to her than the Catholic Lirard, who writes of her visions in a tone of sceptical criticism. In the France of this age the highest tribute to her mystical insight into the future, before which science stands paralysed, was paid by that careful student of her life, the free-thinker Quicherat, while Michel's portrait of her is a magnificent piece of prose poetry. To come to our own time, there have been the Chanoine Dunand and Mr. Andrew Lang on the one side and M. Anatole France on the other.

There are reasons why the Maid is still an object of bitter controversy. The first is political, the second scientific, and the third religious.

In the first place, she made France. It is true that in a sense the French monarchy was firmly established before her time, but French national feeling was undeveloped. English rule was popular

in Gascony and seemed to be establishing itself in Normandy and Paris. Burgundy was at deadly feud with South France. Brittany was almost independent. The one link that united the dominions of the house of Valois was the anointing of the King with the holy oil of Rheims. If the child Henry the Sixth had been crowned there, there would have been an end of Charles VII. and his house as rulers of France. This is not saying that England could even then have retained for any length of time any considerable portion of French soil. But it would have been quite impossible to make a united nation out of the various provinces of France when once the House of Valois had disappeared.

The second reason why Joan's name excites controversy is the insoluble mystery of her vision and prophecies. Here we are faced with a mystery that Rationalism cannot solve. If we say, as some moderns do, that her Visions and Voices were "automatisms, expressions by which were made manifest to her the monitions of her unconscious thought," we must allow that this unconscious thought could transcend time and space. The faculties that enabled Joan to ascertain her King's mysterious secret, to foresee her arrow wound at Orleans, to discover the buried sword at Fairbois, in the opinion of the sceptic Quicherat pass beyond the circle of human power. Yet, says the same author, they rest on basis of evidence so solid, that we cannot reject them without rejecting the very foundation of the history. Medical science has entirely failed to explain the mystery. Whether psychology can find a solution without postulating the intervention of extraneous spirits is a more open question, but, as yet, it has not found it.

We come to the third question, the relations of Joan to the Church, and mixed up with it is the further question of the religious responsibility of English rulers and French priests for her murder. The question has never seriously interested English historians, but in France

fiercer battle has raged between historians like Quicherat, who see in Joan's condemnation the logical result of the Inquisition's methods, and historians like the Chanoine Dunand, who view the trial as a gross travesty of justice, the cancelling and not the execution of the Church's law. And then we have the cynical remark of Andrew Lang "that no person in the position of Joan, a feared and hated captive in hostile hands—no man accused of high treason or witchcraft—had anywhere for centuries after 1431 the slightest chance of being fairly tried." Joan, on this theory, suffered no more unfairness than her companion in arms, the Marshal de Rais (the Bluebeard of History), who was condemned after an ecclesiastical trial at which no reliable evidence was produced, or than the average Scottish witch, who was burnt with the full sanction of the Presbyterian Kirk in the 17th century. It is impossible to accept this theory. The trial at Rouen shocked the Inquisition lawyers themselves. Hard men they were, accustomed to burn witches as part of the day's work on evidence that seems to us worthless, but even they drew the line at this crime.

The attempt to make the English Government the chief criminal will not wash. Cardinal Beaufort, Bedford and Warwick indeed treated the Maid with a brutality which should for ever make their names stink in the nostrils of all decent people. The English Government further found the money for this "beau procès" of iniquity. But after all the English chiefs were not the chief sinners. Left to themselves, they would have burnt or drowned Joan off-hand; the solemn procedure of their French allies had for them little meaning. But the doctors of the University of Paris and Bishop Cauchon of Beauvais, the Anglo-Burgundian Prelate, had a diabolic scheme in their minds. They were not out primarily to murder a child, but to blast the reputation of their enemy, of Charles VII. of France and the clergy, who supported him, by showing that they were the allies of a witch. But as the canonist Lohier told them, such a trial, to be in proper form, would have required the presence, not only of Joan, but of the King and his supporters. Why were they not cited? For a very excellent reason.

Joan had already been examined by Cauchon's own ecclesiastical superior, the Archbishop of Rheims, at Poitiers at King Charles' orders, and acquitted of all evil. If he could have brought his Archbishop to this Court, as he ought to have done, the case would have ignominiously collapsed on Church law. The fact was brought to Cauchon's attention by one of his assessors, and he ignored it. Of his other gross illegalities it is hardly necessary to speak. The holding of the trial in a castle where the Judges were terrorised by foreign soldiers, the refusal to the Maid, who was left to the mercy of rough and superstitious soldiers, of an ecclesiastical prison and female companionship, the horrors that followed the abjuration ceremony, all these were crimes even according to the merciless law of the Inquisition. But the vilest thing about this mitred ruffian and his crew was their solemn oaths and declarations that they were only moved by zeal for the faith.

But it is argued that Joan refused to submit her visions to the Church, and for that reason alone any Church Court of the time must have condemned her. It is true that she appealed from the malignants of Rouen to the Church triumphant in Paradise, but this was not unecatholic. Bréhal the Grand Inquisitor of France, who helped in 1456 to annul judgment, says, "She had certain knowledge on these points, and she had to obey no man." Besides from these judges she also appealed certainly to the Pope, probably to the Grand Council at Basel. Her case impressed some of the theologians present as one of those difficult problems which according to the great authority, St. Thomas Aquinas, ought to be settled by the Pope or a Grand Council. The appeal was ignored. Had it come off, her life would have been saved, for if only for the sake of her high-placed friends neither Pope nor General Council would have condemned her.

The Church as a whole is therefore no more responsible for the sin of Cauchon than it is for the sin of Judas. But Cauchon, the Caiaphas of the mediæval church, stands out a terrible warning to priests or ministers who prostitute their sacred calling for selfish political aims.

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

A KEY TO THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

Revolutionary Germany has three emphatic types—the Junker, the "Schieber," and the Red. . . . Anyone who wants a key to the Right Counter-Revolution of Kapp, and to the more significant Left Revolution that succeeded it, can, short of any deeper philosophy of revolutionary history, find the key in the actions and interactions of the emphatic three." Thus Mr. Robert Crozier Long, in a remarkable letter from Berlin to the *Fortnightly Review* (May), under the heading "Junkers, 'Schiebers,' and Bolsheviks."

This writer's main thesis is that the factions in Germany which are struggling to-day are influenced by pocket motives rather than political ones.

Monarchy versus Republic, war versus peaceful submission to the Versailles humiliation, the two issues which absorb foreign observers, play no rôle. When Herr Kapp, who at heart was Monarchist and Militarist, enough, established himself for five days in the Wilhelmstrasse, he did not dream of doing the traditionally correct thing for a Monarchist-Militarist—proclaiming a new Kaiserdom with a programme of national liberation. He had too close a knowledge of the public mood for that. He promised unheroically to cleanse his country in business matters and to abolish the *Zwangswirtschaft*; that is, the Government control of trade from which all except the "Schiebers" suffer; and so the emblem on his helmets and armoured cars was not the eagle or the sceptre, but the innocent Swastika cross which, as adapted by himself, adumbrated a pogrom for the "Schiebers," which meant for the Jews. The extremists at the other end, the Red Revolutionaries of Westphalia, also have only an economic programme; and the correct converse of Kapp's universal honesty is their universal plunder.

The "Schiebers" are thus explained:

In the narrow, original sense, the "Schiebers" are mere dishonest traders who sell goods above rationed quantities at above legal prices. In wider sense, they are an

enormous class who, sometimes innocently, have been enriched automatically by the unexampled displacement of all values which has resulted from the currency collapse. Socially, the "Schieber" is a marked type in every German city; and politically, though he is usually passive and has naturally no ungrateful prejudice against the queer Democracy which presents him with diamond shirt-studs and deep sealskin collars, he exerts an unintended influence no way smaller than the influence of the other two.

Mr. Long finds a remarkably close parallel between the Russian Revolution and that in Germany. It is pretty well known how Lenin and Trotsky came to power on the ruins of the Kerensky movement; the German Condominium created in Germany on March 20th by the agreement between the Coalition Cabinet and the Trade Unions, as the price of calling off the general strike, was arrived at by much the same process. The outward appearance of that agreement was a compromise; but the acceptance of the Unions' modified programme really meant that the Trades Unions would henceforth be a controlling organ for Cabinet, National Assembly and Reichstag.

Since this success the temper of the Unions has been in the highest degree confident; their speakers and newspapers openly proclaim that at the Union bosses' behests any Minister may be dismissed or appointed; and there are exultant prophecies of new general strikes or "civil war" if Herr Müller's Cabinet does not with sufficient slavishness clean out the Army and the bureaucracy and hurry on the promised Socialisation. This is by far the most striking event of the past unsettled month. It is a new Revolution which is only a shade removed from the ultimate Revolution—Minority Dictatorship.

The success "is not explained by the great popular support for the agitators. . . . The Unions were able to grasp power not because they had

wide support, but because the Cabinet of Herr Bauer had no militant support." Moreover, when the Cabinet ran away to Dresden, it knew it was unpopular, and half believed "that Kapp would not only seize power, but would keep it with a large measure of popular support."

After the Counter-Revolution's collapse the legend quickly spread that Kapp was condemned and execrated by the whole population. But the legend began with the failure and not with the attempt. Kapp was at first a hero, not merely to the Junkers with their satellites, the farming population, and to the German-National and German Peoples' Parties which a day after his *coup d'état* issued ambiguous manifestoes more for him than against. In addition, as long as he seemed to have a chance of success—and in the complete absence, within half a mile of Wilhelmstrasse, of news as to what was happening, many thought he might succeed—he had a great measure of popularity with the non-political city populations, particularly with the middle classes. The well-to-do western suburbs of Berlin, which participated in events merely by collecting at poster pillars and debating Kapp's untruthful, and his foes' equally untruthful, manifestoes, were largely pro-Kapp. That was my personal observation. But in these debates one heard nothing at all about the Monarchy, the Versailles Treaty, or any other high-political issue which logically ought to have come up when a Junker partisan achieved power through support of the old Army.

The subject of debate was the "Schiebers," and Kapp was the anti-Schieber Messiah. There are hundreds of ways in which "Schiebertum" manifests itself, most of which reveal an amazing ingenuity in slipping through the official regulations. Theoretically food is rationed and its prices fixed, as here, with a view to a just distribution. In practice, the wealthy, through the instrumentality of the "Schiebers" get what they want over and above the ration, while the poor are made to pay the same price or go with-

out. Practically no manufacturing branch can be conducted without preliminary deals with "Schiebers." They corner the supplies of steel and pig-iron. They even ride roughshod over the spirit of the rent-restricting laws promulgated by the Central Housing Department.

Every vacant dwelling must be registered; every applicant must wait his turn; all tenancy contracts must be officially sanctioned; and as rents are severely limited there can be—in theory—no favour for the rich. In practice, dwellings change hands at enormous prices, as much as ten times the annual rent being paid as premium; "Schiebers" are ever at hand to arrange deals by which rich families are first taken in as "lodgers," and then allowed to edge out the earlier well-compensated tenant; or by which, as a veiled premium, "furniture," which means a few tables and chairs put in specially, are bought by the new tenant at a thousand times their cost.

Besides this dishonest and often openly illegal "Schiebertum," there is an unconscious, automatic kind which results from the progressive devaluation of the currency. "Schieber" means "pusher," and the devaluation of currency pushes our part of the population, often without any effort of its own, into unearned wealth, and the other into undeserved ruin. Debtors and persons with solid property and commodities in their possession are rapidly enriched; creditors, pensioners, owners of state loan stocks decline as rapidly to penury. And the Government's careful Socialistic legislation absolutely ignores these effects, which are exaggerated by the fact that German business is done on credit to an extent unknown in England.

These are samples of the difficulties that have to be faced by the Müller Government, quite apart from the continued movement towards the political Left that is the chief legacy of the Kapp affair.

A SOLDIER PRESIDENT FOR AMERICA?

In the *American Review of Reviews* (April) the Hon. Norman J. Gould, who is manager of the Eastern headquarters of General Leonard Wood's Campaign Committee, writes enthusiastically of the General's prospects as Republican candidate for the Presidency at the forthcoming elections. "Major-General Leonard

Wood," he declares, "is beyond question the outstanding candidate for the nomination at the Republican Convention at Chicago on June 8th. Whereas the three other prominent candidates have had considerable experience in their native states, General Wood has been a man of national and international renown since the days

of the Geronimo Campaign on the Mexican border when he won the Congressional medal of honour."

General Wood's campaign has made such progress during the past several months that his managers have claimed and still continue to claim that when the convention is called to order he will have 300 delegates pledged to him. There will be 984 votes in the convention; 498 being necessary to a choice. If, as his managers confidently expect, General Wood receives 300 votes on the first ballot, he will need to capture but 183 more to obtain the nomination. The history of Republican Conventions shows that after one or two ballots on which delegates cast complimentary votes for favourite sons, they swing over to the leading candidate, and in this case the leader undoubtedly will be General Wood. His nomination on the third ballot would not be surprising. At all events, the delegates pledging themselves to General Wood are committing themselves to "stick to Wood as long as his name remains before the convention."

Senator George H. Moses, his manager in the South, calculated, before any of the primary elections had been held, that he would be certain of the votes of three hundred delegates when the convention met, and that they would be furnished in the following way: One hundred delegates would support him from New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and New England; 50 from the South Atlantic states; 50 more from the interior South and South Western States; and 100 more from the Middle West and North West. Reports received from his supporters throughout the United States, declares Mr. Gould, more than confirm the predictions of Senator Moses.

The campaign in favour of General Wood had its origin among the men who had taken their military training as members of the Plattsburg Association under his command, and the idea of running him for the Presidency had occurred about the same time, soon after the death of his friend and admirer ex-President Roosevelt, to the Rough Riders who had served with him in Cuba. From this small informal beginning, the sentiment in favour of General Wood's nomination spread to the Training Camps Association. One of the most important advantages in his favour is the assistance of Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock, a former Postmaster-General, who managed the Republican Campaigns of Mr. Hughes and ex-President Taft.

Interesting extracts from General Wood's speeches are given, which suggest in outline the programme for which he stands.

We must stand for one language, one flag and one loyalty, an undivided loyalty to the United States of America. We must stand for law and order, for the rights of the property of the rich as well as the poor; for an unintimidated judiciary uninfluenced by political influence. We must oppose all class legislation, and against any autocracy of wealth or of labour. We must strive to give both labour and capital an absolutely square deal. If each will be honest with the other, relatively few labour difficulties will arise. We want to establish conditions under which every thrifty, industrious man and woman can earn a comfortable living; be able to put something aside for a stormy day; be able to marry, to have a family, and to give their children a reasonable opportunity. These conditions should be attainable by all who are willing to strive.

Regarding foreign politics, General Wood approves of the adoption of the Peace Treaty with the League of Nations. "Americanised with reservations which will leave America free to follow out her traditional policies to control without interference her own internal affairs; in other words, free to follow the dictates of American public opinion as expressed through the instrumentalities provided by the Constitution."

He is an ardent advocate of better pay for school teachers; closer governmental co-operation with farmers for the purpose of reducing the high cost of living; closest scrutiny of immigration; rigid government economy; adoption of a budget system for the nation; universal training for clean citizenship; creation of a Department of Health, the head of which would be a member of the cabinet, and selection of diplomatic and consular officials with the greatest care.

His attitude towards Capital and Labour is expressed in the following quotation:

Labour and capital in this country must work together in order to meet the problems which are going to follow this world war. We do not wish an autocracy of either capital or labour, but a real democracy in both, characterized by a spirit of helpfulness and helpfulness. We must inject the human element into our relations with those about us, whether they be our associates or our subordinates—more gathering about the table and discussing matters fully and frankly.

Labour must recognise that high wages can only be maintained under conditions of high production and high efficiency. Capital must be paid in accordance with the risk of the enterprise. Those who direct must be paid adequately, labour must be paid adequately.

and after this, if anything remains, comes the question of equitable distribution.

But General Wood's candidature is by no means universally favoured, even among the Republicans. His chief advantages are his distinguished military record, his straightforward soldierly attitude towards public questions, and above all, his resolute advocacy of preparation against war with Germany on the lines urged by Roosevelt during the prolonged hesitations and indecision of President Wilson's first term of office. But an indignant leading article in the *New York New Republic* (April 7th) suggests that bitter resentment has been aroused by the methods of those who are organising his campaign. It declares that "the net result of the primary elections in South Dakota was to show that no one of the three Republican candidates, General Wood, Governor Lowden, or Senator Johnson, is the decisive choice of the voters. None of them has succeeded in obtaining even half of the total votes. The *New Republic* attributes General Wood's success to the fact that he has the best organisation and "lots and lots of money." Governor Lowden had ample finances and a good organisation, but Senator Johnson, whose rapid success has astonished the political prophets, lacks both organisation and money. Unless great things happen, says the editorial article, he cannot himself be the nominee this year, but he will, if he can hold his present pace, decide what other men shall not be the nominees. It interprets the South Dakota vote as showing that the bulk of the Johnson voters would prefer Lowden to Wood, and the bulk of the Lowden voters would prefer Johnson to Wood.

The reason is that a majority of the voters in the western country are moving to-day in response to an increasingly powerful anti-militarist sentiment. The best proof of this is the character of the campaign waged by the backers of General Wood. Let anyone who doubts this examine the Wood newspaper circulating in South Dakota, or the literature of the Leonard Wood for President Committee.

A curious and interesting result of this tendency is the attempt of General Wood's supporters to represent him in the Western States as a civilian, while it refers to Governor Lowden as Colonel Lowden, although he has had no connec-

tion with the American Army apart from his service as a Colonel of the Illinois National Guard in the Spanish-American war. A selection of headlines and articles from the press which supports General Wood, shows the astonishing fact that he is being represented in Western America as an opponent of compulsory military service.

The effect of the South Dakota climate on the General's deepest conviction is fairly evident. The effects are visible elsewhere. His eastern backers will be amazed to learn that in South Dakota Mr. Wood is the champion of the people against Wall Street.

Let a four-column headline on the first page speak:

BACKED BY WEALTH INTERESTS IN EAST "OLD
GUARD" PLOTS TO SCARE PEOPLE
FROM WOOD.

Lowden "Represents opponents to
Liberalism."

And the text:

Early last January before actively entering the Presidential campaign, Colonel Lowden, who through marriage is a multi-millionaire, went East to confer with the interests with which he always has aligned himself. On January 12th he delivered the principal address at the annual banquet of the New York Bankers Association, held in the gold room of the Great Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and around the board sat 700 men who control eight billion dollars of their own and the people's money.

He was given a great reception by his Wall Street associates.

FAVORITE OF MONEY ELEMENT CHEERED.

"They waved handkerchiefs and shouted their approval, that Lowden is still the favourite of the moneyed element for President Wilson's job," says a newspaper account of the banquet. The affair commonly was called "Belshazzar's Feast" and Colonel Lowden told the millionaires, multi-millionaires and billionaires who applauded him:

"The Government cannot be efficient if you neglect it."

At once the Lowden boom took on new form and strength.

America is a vast empire, says the indignant editorial writer, and one section does not always know what the other is doing.

It is so big a country that a candidate who puts office first and principle nowhere can be for compulsory military service among his friends in the big cities and let his supporters pretend that he is against it among the rural voters. It is so big a country that his managers can denounce Wall Street in South Dakota, and still please the *New York Times* in New York. But somebody before he is through is destined to be amazingly fooled: either the people who believe in what Wood really stands for, or the people who do not.

STATE PURCHASE OR LOCAL VETO?

A fair-minded and remarkably informative article on "The Problem of the Liquor Trade" is published in the *Fortnightly Review* (May) over the signature of Mr. Anthony Dell. Assuming that the national interest calls for reform of some sort, what is to be done with the Trade? Mr. Dell, to begin with, reviews the operations of the Liquor Control Board, and gives some startling figures relating to their effect on convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales. Thus, in 1914, the weekly average convictions were (men) 2,688 and (women) 700. These figures were sharply reduced by the regulations as to the sale of drink and the dilution orders until, in the first quarter of 1917, they were down to 852 for men and 323 for women. It was then that, owing to the submarine war, another factor intervened with the effect of reducing them still further. This was the restriction on the output of beer and spirits ordered by the Food Controller.

The weekly average of convictions for drunkenness for both sexes in England and Wales was, in 1914, 3,388, and had fallen in 1916 to 1,544. In 1917, the first year when the curtailment of the supply began to be seriously felt, convictions fell to 851 per week. In 1918 they were down to 538, and were decreasing each week. For women the weekly average of convictions was reduced during this period from 718 to 78.

Conversely, the average has rapidly mounted up again since the Armistice, with the gradual relaxation of restrictions. On December 8th, 1918, the weekly average was only 457, even though it included Armistice week. On the following March 30th, it had increased to 771 following an increase of 25 per cent. in the output of beer. Extension of the hours of sale, further increases in output, revocation of the no-treating order, and finally the removal of all restrictions on output of beer and spirits sent up the figures by leaps and bounds until, on February 22nd of this year, the average stood at 1,876.

The position to-day is broadly that, in spite of State regulation, as represented by the Liquor Control Board (which now means practically little more than restriction of the hours of sale), the nation is rapidly falling back into its pre-war intemperate habits. The drink evil, after having been torpedoed by the German submarine during the war, is now reappearing, and shows every sign of becoming

as rampant as ever unless prompt measures are taken to curb it. The national drink bill for 1919 is estimated by Mr. G. B. Wilson at £387,000,000, an advance of 49 per cent. on the 1918 figure.

The contention of those who hold that the nation can be made more sober by Act of Parliament and less so by the same means, would thus seem to have been proved up to the hilt. At any rate, a return to pre-war conditions in respect of the Liquor Traffic is out of the question. The Trade itself realises this and has its own plans for reform of the publichouse. But this does not meet the views of the Temperance Party, who characterise the attempts of the brewers to make their houses more attractive to a temperate and respectable class as an effort to "get hold of the boys and girls." The aim of the United Kingdom Alliance is frankly Prohibitionist. They realise, however, that Prohibition at the present day is not feasible, and so they are concentrating on the next best thing, "local option." Since this "Local Veto" is incompatible with any policy of reforming the publichouse under State management, the Temperance Party oppose all schemes of State Purchase. Yet the State Purchase school can make out a strong case.

It is argued that the State is already drawing a revenue of something like £160,000,000 a year from the sale of alcohol, and is to that extent directly interested in the continuance of a dangerous trade. The argument of the Prohibitionists that the State would be defiled by benefiting under the sale of liquor is therefore beside the point, for the State is, in fact, now benefiting. Under public management the State would be able to control for the general good a trade upon which it is now financially dependent. To the argument that the State would never consent to the reduction of a traffic in which public money was sunk the State Purchasers reply that the profits on the trade would be so great that in a few years the whole sum invested would be wiped off. It is claimed that as a result of reduction and sale of licensed premises, more efficient management, etc., at Carlisle, the Liquor Control Board would be in a position to close down the whole trade in the acquired area at a date ten years from the time of purchase, and not show a penny of loss.

In 1918 Lord Sumner's Committee issued a definite scheme of State purchase.

According to this plan, the State would acquire: breweries; licensed premises; free

houses; the interest of holders of "on" licences, and the interests of holders of "off" licences, without the premises. The businesses of wholesale dealers were to be excluded from purchase; so also were hotels, restaurants, and railway refreshment rooms. British beer for export (a trade of increasing importance) would be sold by the State to the exporters.

The basis of the purchase would be the true commercial profit of each concern on a freehold basis from 1910-1914. This would be capitalised at fifteen years' purchase. The Committee held that in equity the Trade should be bought out on the basis of its pre-war profits, capitalised at the rate of capitalisation which it could have commanded before the war. The pre-war value of the main interests to be acquired was estimated at not less than £350,000,000. This is for England and Wales alone.

The Trade would not be satisfied with purchase on such a basis, but it is hoped to make the proposals palatable to the Prohibitionists by combining with them a Local Option scheme.

The Trade is to be bought out and run by the State. But each county and county borough is to have the option, every few years, of voting for Local Veto. This proposal has a certain reasonableness. It invalidates the Prohibitionist objection to State Purchase, that the State, once owning a profitable trade, would never consent to destroy it. The State will become the owner of the trade, but the local authorities (which, by the blessed dispensation of the Constitution, have a certain independence) will be free to stop the trade entirely in their own area. Every local community has the power of freeing itself from the State liquor traffic if it finds it an evil. The proposal has the further advantage that it will enable experiments to be made in Prohibition. Some areas will go "dry," and the rest of the country will be able to see how they prosper or languish under such a regime.

Meanwhile the Trade has made astonishing profits during and since the War. Prices have more than kept pace with taxation, and the orders reducing the alcoholic strength of beers and spirits have simply enabled them to make a greatly increased quantity of liquor with the same quantity of raw materials. Since the removal of restrictions on output this profit has, of course, been largely increased.

On April 1st, 1918, the beer duty was put up from 25s. to 50s. per standard barrel; but, simultaneously, the gravity of beer was

lowered to 1030 degrees. This affected profits in the following way. During the March quarter the duty on 1,000 standard barrels was £1,250. From these 1,406 bulk barrels were made and sold for £10,123, at £7 4s. per bulk barrel. From April to December the duty was £2,500 per 1,000 standard barrels. But these made 1,898 bulk barrels and were sold at the same price for £13,665. The increase of tax was, therefore, only £1,250, whereas the increased return per 1,000 standard barrels was £3,542—a clear gain of £2,200. It is estimated that during the last nine months of 1918 the Trade gained £18,000,000 as the result of the increased dilutions.

Mr. Dell advocates buying up the Trade at its present value, as, indeed, was done successfully at Carlisle. "Even the Government," he maintains, could not fail to make a profit at present prices.



Melbourne Punch

[Melbourne]

A Distressing Welcome.

American Immigrant :—"Gee whiz ! Fancy meeting you !"

(A number of Americans, driven out of U.S.A. because it has gone dry, are coming to Australia; meanwhile Pussyfoot Johnson is supposed to be on his way here).

MR. BELLOC ATTACKS MR. K. G. WELLS.

The "Outlines of History," by Mr. H. G. Wells, which is appearing in monthly parts, is the subject of a strong criticism by Mr. Hilaire Belloc in the *Dublin Review* (April). The method in which the history is written is the chief bone of contention. Mr. Belloc objects to the materialistic interpretation of history, which assumes the theory of evolution by natural selection, and traces the development of Christianity from the point of view of a modernist. Mr. Wells talks about Neolithic men where Mr. Belloc would prefer to talk about the sons of Adam. The article is a virile protest against the hypothesis usually taken in the scientific treatment of history. It is avowedly a criticism of Modern Thought. In fact Mr. Belloc regards "Outlines of History" not merely as inaccurate but dangerous, because it slips glibly over the stoniest controversial grounds as though by this time the old difficulties had all been settled.

Mr. Belloc identifies modern thought with loose thought and says that the most remarkable thing about it is its credulity and cocksureness. His complaint with Mr. Wells is not so much that he is modern, but that at heart he is a materialist.

If the votaries of modern thought cannot bear the word materialism, and if we choose (through charity) to respect their etiquette, we will not call it materialism. We will give it some new name which has not yet become offensive. We will call it, say, Hylism. Modern thought is "Hylistic." In plain English, it wants to explain the nature of man (for man is really what it is concerned with; and it only talks about animals and things in connection with its human argument); it wants to explain the nature of man, and say, as something which has come out of nothing without the operation of will. The conversational way of putting it is that it wants to get rid of God. Another way of putting it is that it wants to get rid of the idea of right and wrong. It also wants to avoid the hard task of fundamental inquiry; it wants to impose a philosophy which the least competent will most readily accept.

Such writers as Mr. Wells insist that man developed slowly because in that way it is easier to suggest to an unthinking mind the idea that matter and not will is the responsible agent.

Why, in this slow development, is everything said, imagined, and asserted, which can make the origin of man as vile as possible? Why the loving emphasis upon dirt, treason, brutality, and idiocy of our fathers? Because in that way you eliminate the conception of sin. Sin is a fall. Every mind has within itself the strong conception of original loss. That conception is inextricable from the idea of right and wrong. If you can, by assertion, persuade a disciple that he is the best because the last phase of a long uninterrupted ascent, you eliminate, in that particular convert, the normal and sane idea of a fall, an idea universal throughout the human race; you make it appear to be an illusion.

Naturally, Mr. Belloc takes a dogmatically Catholic standpoint. He contends that the inroad of modernism into religion is, due to the absence of Catholic theology, calculated to shake faith in the Resurrection of the Flesh, the Old Testament, and the literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis. The mind was left open and materialism came in and filled the void. In Europe to-day there are two great intellectual forces. One is a philosophy, the Catholic Doctrine; the second, is a mood, modern thought. The Catholic, contends Mr. Belloc, understands his opponent, whereas his opponent does not understand him. He knows, well enough what passes within the mind of the man subject to modern thought. He can read, although he despises the mood. Mr. Wells is only one example, although an important one in this country, of the operation of that mood. It will pass and reappear and pass again; but the philosophy of Christianity will remain.

Meanwhile I would suggest to those who have built up on such evidence the philosophy here criticised, a certain thought touching but one point of their creed. Should record be established of a complete chain with every link intact, discovering a process of development from this or that organic origin to man, the Catholic student will follow the unfolding process with intellectual delight and continue to hold precisely what the Faith has always held. For these things do not concern it, save as a manifestation of the creative power of God. But if discovery proves with equal certainty and mass of evidence—a sudden leap: the sudden appearance of man and his faculties, then the jejune creed of our momentary opponents will be in ruins.

The article is a valuable contribution to apologetics by a leading Catholic scholar.

THE AGONY OF MONTENEGRO.

Montenegro has paid bitterly for her part in the war. It would have been easy for King Nicholas to have pleaded impoverished finances and avoided the catastrophe of war like the King of Greece. Instead, Montenegro rallied to the aid of Serbia, ignored the overtures of the Central Powers, and heroically stood by her word. In spite of the Balkan Wars out of which she had only just emerged, forty thousand Montenegrins took up arms against the common foe. They fought with Serbia and with the French at Verdun and suffered from the terrible famine and starvation that scourged Central Europe. To-day, her King is in exile, she is still paralysed from the effect of the war, and she is practically ignored by the Great Powers. This is a strange fate for an Ally, after the promise by Mr. Asquith that "England will always pursue her programme of a vigorous continuation of the war until Montenegro and Serbia are re-integrated as independent kingdoms."

Propagandists are working hard in this country and are divided into two camps, the "Unionists" who desire union with Serbia, and the "Separationists," who are fighting to maintain the independence of their country. The main dispute is whether the Grand Skupstina of November, 1918, which voted for union with Serbia and deposed the Petrovitch Dynasty, was truly representative. The case for separation is admirably stated by Mr. C. D. Mackellar in the *Empire Review* (April). The case of Montenegro, he contends, involves more than the affairs of a diminutive kingdom; a great principle is at stake.

As an independent Sovereign Kingdom with her own dynasty, constitution and parliament, and scorning Austrian offers of territorial aggrandisement to remain neutral, Montenegro entered the war to aid Serbia, continuing the struggle without reservation and without adequate resources in men, guns, munitions, food or money. Having covered the retreat of the Serbian army and refugees through Montenegro in winter, her own end came. King, government, fragments of the army and some refugees escaped and went into exile, the Court and government ultimately taking up their residence in Paris; for so long as a government existed—just as in the case of Belgium—the country remained unconquered.

Notwithstanding this gallant record, the Serbian Army entered Montenegro with the appearance of attempting annexation. The invasion was resisted and since then a reign of terror has existed in order to subdue the nation. The King and Government have not been allowed to return from France, except with a Serbian passport, which implied their becoming Serbian subjects, and although the Supreme Council have been kept informed by the Montenegrin Government of the state of that country the protests and notes have been ignored.

Mr. Mackellar vigorously attacks the plea that the Montenegrin people do not wish their King back.

Could anything be more opposed to the facts of the case? The people were never asked what they wanted. Only after the full restoration of Montenegro to her King and people, can the people, in a legally summoned parliament, and in accordance with their laws and customs, settle their own affairs and destiny, and this cannot be without the return of the King and Government. Many Montenegrins have taken to the mountains and guerilla warfare; others fill the prisons of Montenegro and Serbia. And all the while Europe looks on with indifference at the martyrdom of this brave, noble, but helpless nation.

The case for union is ably put in two strong articles in the *Balkan Review* (April). These deny that the Grand Skupstina which declared for union was a "bogus" assembly, and go so far as to claim that the risings against the Serbian troops were due to a few bands organised and paid by the ex-King.

Is M. Plamaratz unaware that the Italian Government was called upon by the Italian Socialist deputy M. Lazari to explain for what purpose the Italian Government spends 300,000 lire a month to keep this little army of the ex-King Nicolas? Has he any explanation other than the obvious deduction to offer?

The mission of Count de Salis, whose authority in these matters should be respected seeing that he was a former minister to the Court of King Nicholas and British Minister to the Papacy, supported the unionists. The mission reported that the great majority of the Montenegrins are in favour of union with the other Southern Slav lands, though desiring a certain autonomy. The

Supreme Council later informed the Southern Slavs that in the case of the non-acceptance of the Fiume project the Montenegrin question would have to be considered as still open. Mr. Taylor uses strong language on this.

Between the questions of Fiume and Montenegro there is no connection of right and wrong: if the Montenegrins desire union in the Triune Kingdom, that desire does not become illegitimate because the Southern Slavs cannot agree to this or that proposal relative to the northern port, nor, in the contrary case, would assent to the latter legitimise an otherwise illegitimate conten-

tion anent Montenegro. The threat was not, however, a mere piece of bullying, it was also a clumsy attempt at Machiavellism, an endeavour to play upon the supposed separate interests of Serbs and Croats, since it is the former who are more immediately concerned with the Serb Montenegrins as it is the latter, with the Slovenes, who are immediately interested in the upper Adriatic.

The Unionists argue that Montenegro will not be placed in an inferior position to the other units of the State. They regard the talk of Serbian annexation as "simply bad faith or extreme ignorance."

PALESTINE FOR THE JEWS.

The situation in Palestine remains uncertain and disturbing. There are reports of conflicts between Jews and Arabs, and in Jerusalem there has been bloodshed. The Arab fellah is said to dread the anticipated rush of Jews, and the Emir Feisal is credited with having made himself the leader of this discontent. But the degree and importance of the unrest remain obscure.

Mr. R. N. Salaman, writing on "The Prospects of Jewish Colonisation in Palestine" in the *Contemporary Review* (May) puts the case for the Jews, and in doing so sheds some little light on the whole problem. The first part of his article is devoted to a survey of the agricultural possibilities of Palestine. He makes it abundantly clear that to the ordinary English adventurer the country offers no temptation. Not only has the land itself gone, for the most part, to wrack and ruin, but far better climates will be found in other British colonies, where, too, the colonist will have a powerful Government at his back, and will meet with no obstruction from the Administration or hostility from a native population. But for the Jewish immigrant it is different. He is drawn to Palestine by the magnet of sentiment. Return to his ancestral home is a vital article of his creed. Will this alone suffice to sustain him in the difficult task of re-claiming the land to fertility? To begin with, at

any rate, everything depends on his skill as an agriculturist. Is one justified in believing that, in face of the enormous difficulties which he must encounter, he will make a success of it.

It is frequently asserted that the Jew, by reason of his long divorce from agricultural life, is unsuited to agricultural employment, that he has developed tendencies which, whilst of advantage to him in his fight for existence in the economic struggle of modern life, unfit him for the rôle of agriculturalist and settler. It is true of the great majority of present day Jews that they are entirely unacquainted with life on the land, but to assert that because of this separation of the individual from the soil there has developed an hereditary incapacity to return to the soil, is not only to be blind to very striking evidence to the contrary, but to acknowledge the truth of the inheritance of acquired characteristics, a doctrine which is repudiated by the great majority of modern biologists. Moreover, we have examples to-day of the Jew successfully tilling the land both in the capacity of farmer and workman not only in Palestine but in Europe.

"But," says Mr. Salaman, "as we are more concerned with the relation of the Jew to the land in Palestine, it will be best to consider what has been done there and to accept the fact that, in the future as in the past, the newcomer to the soil will have neither experience nor the physical endurance which the European peasant possesses."

The Jewish colonisation of Palestine began with the settlements of the Jewish Duke of Naxos in the seventeenth century. These attempts failed, and very

little headway was made in 1884, when Baron Edmund de Lathauze, of Paris, took all the settlements under his care and founded others. In 1897, following the publication of Herzl's "Jewish State," the first Zionist World Congress was held at Basle, which proclaimed as its programme: "Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." Then came Joseph Chamberlain's offer of East Africa to Herzl.

Joseph Chamberlain's offer of East Africa to Herzl was evidence that this great statesman had grasped at least one aspect of the movement. In Zionism Chamberlain saw a new constructive force. The Jews of Eastern Europe, united by bonds of blood and religion, driven forward by a cruel persecution under a hated despotism, and inspired by the burning desire to live a free life and develop their own culture, formed a new element in the political arena, and he hastened to make use of it. Chamberlain, however, made a mistake for which he at least has the excuse that some Jews, who should have known better, shared it—he thought that the essence of the whole movement was merely a desire to be free from persecution, whereas it was the love of creation, the innate ineradicable desire to build up something in one's own image. Just as in the spring-time of life the same message bursts from the unconscious to the conscious self and becomes objective, so to the Jews had come a re-awakening, a desire to create a state which should be Jewish, reared by Jewish hands, and breathing a Jewish atmosphere in the land of Jewish tradition.

The offer was declined; but the Zionist movement in Palestine took a new lease of life and vigour. A constructive programme, involving a Jewish Bank, a Land Development Organisation, and a crusade in favour of Hebrew as the national tongue, was successfully carried out. Mr. Salaman claims that to-day the Jewish colonies

are the only bright spots in Palestine, the only places where a progressive life is being led, where one finds comfortable European homes with pleasant gardens, where the fields are tilled and the animals look as if they are fed, where the inhabitants can talk in English, French, or German besides their native Hebrew—for the colonists of the younger generation are remarkably linguists—where the homes are scrupulously clean and where, above all, children are cared for and educated as they are nowhere better in the world. It was quite a common thing to hear both officers and men in the army during the

war speak in glowing terms of the children, of their looks, their manners and playful friendliness.

As regards the Turkish government in Palestine.

The Turkish Government in Palestine was merely a system of obstruction in which gaps always existed capable of enlargement on the application of that all-powerful solvent—backsheesh. It indeed was a system of backsheesh collection rather than an administration. It never was actively hostile to the Jewish colonies, except in as much as they stood for progress, and progress—except as a means of collecting backsheesh—was hateful in its eyes. The old Government taxed every tree that was planted, and it required a special permission before anyone could build a house for human habitation. But perhaps the whole attitude of the late administration can be understood best by the following tale which has the merit of being true. In 1915 Palestine was visited by a great plague of locusts. The Turkish Government was stimulated into unwonted activity by the persistence of Aronsohn of the Zionist Agricultural Research Institute at Athlit. An order was issued that every landowner must deliver to a special official so many "rotls" of locust eggs at stated intervals. The colonists worked like demons and handed in their quota. The official received them and immediately sold the eggs to an Arab, who sold it to another who in his turn handed it in as his contribution to the extermination of the plague. The trade only ceased with the rotting of the eggs.

Mr. Salaman declares that there would have been no trouble with the Arabs, if Britain had "assumed the mandate immediately after the Armistice and carried out its promise contained in the Balfour declaration" of 1917. He declares that "the Jew and the Arab would get on perfectly well if the politicians would but leave them alone"; and he charges the Military Administration that has held sway with having "trucked to the noisy pan-Arabic party for the sake of peace and quiet, and with having received every Arab nationalist demonstration with courtesy"; while it "cold-shoulders and obstructs Jewish expansion." But "if England accepts the mandate for Palestine, encourages industrial penetration in the spirit of the Balfour declaration of 1917, whilst maintaining an even-handed justice between the races and creeds, then the success of Jewish colonisation in the near future is assured."

THE TRUTH ABOUT ITALY.

A great deal of nonsense has been written about Italy lately, and an attempt to portray the real Italy, beneath the mass of inaccuracies and rumours, is made in *The New World* (April) by Signor Einseppe Prezzolini, the editor of *La Voce*. He dismisses the notion that the "revolution" in Italy is very different from the continuous revolution to be found in almost every European country since the outbreak of war.

There is a revolution in Italy as there is a revolution everywhere. There are the middle classes deposed from power, made poorer by an advance in prices exceeding the increase in their incomes. There are the new rich who occupy their places as the leading class. And everywhere there is the world of labour, advancing and conquering its position. In the rights of property and in respect to every social tie concessions are being made. But this, too, has been coming about for years. Contracts, requisitions, fixed prices, governmental decrees have convulsed the whole economic world. The family, public responsibilities, social values of all kinds—all have swiftly changed. We no longer look at the world with the same eyes as formerly. And all this development is still going on. If this is revolution there is revolution even in Italy, as in other countries. It will continue. But if another kind of revolution is meant all those who know our country best will deny its existence.

Signor Prezzolini claims that the democracy of Italy is essential; it is rooted in the mentality and make-up of the nation. The qualities of strength, stability, and security, found in the common people of Italy, have never been equalled by anything found in their leaders. The trouble about Italy's ruling classes is that they have only personal interests. That is offset by the finer grain in the common folk. It is these qualities and the personality of the people by which the country must be judged, not political triumphs.

Many people abroad have ascribed great importance to the large numbers of votes obtained by the Socialist and Catholic parties respectively in the last general election in Italy. There is an importance in these, but it is not what one imagines. The election of 150 Socialists and 100 Catholics does not imply the existence in Italy of masses of people, possessed of the political convictions and bound by the organisation of the party for which they voted. Italy is a country of opinions rather than of convictions, still less organisations. Her individual citizens are sufficiently developed politically. They take

part in political life as persons who think and form judgments for themselves. From such an electorate the swiftest changes can come, the greatest, the most unexpected variations. Personal feeling has more influence than obedience to one's party. And at moments when, to outside observers, Italy appears to be on the edge of Bolshevism, nothing is further from Bolshevik excesses than the great majority of the Italian people, composed as it is for the most part of peasants.

The ruling classes, he goes on to say, have squandered the fruits of the victory obtained for them by the masses. The position is rendered more acute in Italy by the conceit of its rulers and the weakness of the Allies. Like the rest of Europe, Italy had generals who did not wish to be sent home, diplomats who pretended to fool other countries, armament manufacturers whose greed was enough to plunge that country into another war. If there are any transgressors in Italy they are not to be found among the people. The Italian people, he adds, are disgusted with the rulers who failed to obtain either a moral or diplomatic success, even though they managed to gain a military victory. The moral is that, left to themselves, the ruling class are helpless.

The Italian people is profoundly democratic. Italy is among those countries with the greatest amount of effective liberty in the world. To-day the Italian people feels that there is serious injustice in the Treaty of Versailles; it is not the only one that has certain sentiments of sympathy for the conquered and oppressed. Not so much for recent enemies, but also for those who, now neither enemies nor friends, thought well to withdraw from the struggle, as the Russians, for example, those who appear at present to be suffering for having applied the principles of freedom, self-determination and independence—principles of which our governments made use to keep the men in the trenches for four years. Italy is thus taking up again her old rôle of holding the balance between two groups of powers.

There is a real danger, according to Signor Prezzolini, in the peace making, which may upset the best laid schemes of Versailles. In fact the whole article, while it deals primarily with the condition of Italy, keeps on insisting upon the precautions that must be taken to strengthen and make permanent the peace of Europe. Europe must be democratised. The democracies of the world won the war, and democracy must decide the peace.

Unless the countries concerned are democratic in spirit and aim, any alliance will be merely a Treaty of Statesmen, and have no basis in the will of the people. Something very like the old conditions that prevailed between 1892 and 1900 will begin again on the European stage, with Italy the instrument of peace. The new Italy that is springing up will be yet more pacific in her intentions. It is with the new Italy that Europe must reckon.

The country is undergoing a transformation. A new people is uprising. New men are appearing on the stage of public life. The peasant classes, who are the true foundation of the country, are beginning to manifest a will of their own, after having been subjected to and obscured by the more numerous and better organised, but numerically and morally less important, industrial and labouring classes. It is a testing time, a time of secret agreements, when groups set out to find the right path. She asks nothing better

than to come to a good understanding with the other nations of the Entente, but to go ahead in her own way. The unanimous vote in the Italian Chamber a short time ago for a renewal of relations with all the *de facto* governments of Russia was an invitation to the Nations of the Entente, not a dissociation from them. The Italian people is not Bolshevik, but it does not desire to see the collapse of other nations who, through disasters and mistakes, are seeking their own path, as Italy also seeks hers.

The democracies of Europe must understand this real Italy—which is not necessarily reflected in the movements of the Government. The change that has swept the country may be called a "revolution," although the word is liable to misreading. "But if so," adds Signor Prezzolini, "we desire to express the wish that the revolution should not remain limited to Italy."

WANTED, A NEW MIGRATION POLICY.

At a time when we in this country are faced with an almost unexampled economic problem, and when the demand is about to become insistent that some practical steps be taken to realise the wealth that lies dormant in the sparsely populated portions of the British Empire, the question of emigration once more becomes a pressing one. Mr. Fleetwood Chidell, writing in the current *Quarterly Review* on "Imperial Migration and the Clash of Races," utters a sounding call for a migration policy at once more comprehensive and more courageous than any yet adopted within the Empire. He condemns utterly the *laissez aller* methods that have hitherto prevailed.

The methods which have been followed in the past in order to transfer population from the congested to the unpeopled lands are spontaneous emigration and the assisted emigration of selected individuals. Each of these methods is open to serious objection. In the first place, they have both proved to be wholly inadequate. We have only to look at the facts of the distribution of population in the Empire—three-quarters of the white population concentrated in about one per cent. of the area; or, to put it another way, a density of population about three hundred times as great in England as it is in Canada or Australia. This is the result, after more than a century of colonisation in both hemi-

spheres. The economic loss, not to mention other important considerations, which these figures indicate, is incalculable.

In the second place, both spontaneous and assisted emigration, as they have generally been conducted, have resulted in a lowering of the racial standard in the motherland, since it is only emigrants with mental, moral and physical characteristics above the average that have been allowed to settle in the colonies.

When, as sometimes happens, the fairer plan is adopted of transporting the weak in due proportion to the strong, protests against the influx of pauper elements are speedily raised in the colonies regardless of the fact that the same ship which carries these undesired immigrants brings also the men of more efficient type on which the care of their weaker brethren naturally falls. As with private associations, so also with governmental schemes. The official plans for the emigration in 1920 of ex-service men provide only for the fit. A man may have been good enough to fight his country's battles, but it appears he may not be good enough for the colonies.

In plain words, the colonies only accept those immigrants whom the motherland cannot afford to lose, and the perpetuation of this state of things means either

that the stream of immigrants will cease or that Great Britain, denuded of her best elements, will sink into decay, to the irreparable injury of the Empire as a whole. How is an improvement to be effected? In the first place, the colonial point of view must be changed.

We shall have to modify the conception which has for many years been the guiding principle of colonial governments—the principle that the colonies and all that they hold exist solely for the sake of the present colonists. They are able to quote precedent and instrument in their own favour. The transactions which culminated in the transfer of the lordship of enormous tracts of the world's surface were for the most part negotiated between colonists, on the one hand, who realised the importance of these regions and were bent upon securing them for themselves and their descendants, and home statesmen, on the other, who had small interest in these lands, and whose imaginations had never been fired by the appreciation of their boundless possibilities which comes of intimate acquaintance. The colonists have not been told that they are the trustees for the whole British race of the domains which were won and kept by the efforts of the whole race.

Self-interest alone should induce some relaxation of the colonies' rigorous immigration policy. It is only by encourage-

ment of white settlers that they can hope to check the coming inrush of Asiatic races, already demanding equality of rights and treatment. Mr. Chidell faces this problem squarely.

South Africa, Australia, South and Central America are all involved. The boundaries of the races of the world and the extent to which these races may intermingle are not matters which have been settled for all time. They have been provisionally settled by the white races in their own interest. But that the nations of Europe and their descendants should hold in perpetuity, for their exclusive profit, all the continental areas which have been discovered since the 15th century is agreeable neither to justice nor to probability.

Australasia, if the present exclusive policy as regards British immigrants is pursued, runs the risk of being overwhelmed.

Nothing can be more agreeable to the oriental than the cry "Australia for the Australians." In so far as the catchword means that the actual inhabitants object to sharing the wealth of their continent with the people of the old country or with other whites, in so far as it means discrimination within Australia of a nature to make the country less attractive to the newcomer, in so far, even, as it means unwillingness to shoulder burdens in order to increase the spread or area of settlement, "Australia for the Australians" to-day means "Australia for the Asiatics" to-morrow. Australians will have to face the fact that their ultimate heritage in Australia will be in exact proportion to their hospitality to the races most akin to themselves.

A few leading principles of the policy that would encourage the immigration of many millions of British men and women are given:

Hitherto emigration has been conducted with reference to the numbers which a given colony can absorb in a specified time. In the absence of due provision, emigrants in excess of this power of absorption would become a charge upon the colonists. But, where emigration is directed to a favourable locality, and undertaken by a powerful organisation or by a government, there is no such limitation. Given abundance of fertile land, expert advice, temporary support, newcomers can be settled as fast as the railways can be built. The emigrant must be equal to his work; he can be made so by being trained in the land of his adoption. There is no special mystery about life in a new land. The ordinary man can be made an efficient peasant just as surely as, and much more readily than, he can be made a good soldier. He can become self-supporting, or nearly so, from the start.



The Star

[London]

The Necessary Soup.

"Alas, Brother! If you know of a better recipe, go to it!"

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE CHANNEL TUNNEL.

M. François-Marsal, French Minister of Finance, has an excellent article in favour of the Channel Tunnel in *The New World* (April). He analyses the objections to the proposal, which are chiefly military and economic. The former he dismisses as irreconcilable with either the spirit or the lessons derived from the war. Supposing war broke out between Great Britain and a Continental Power, would his country stand idle while troops were poured through the tunnel? As for commercial objections, M. François-Marsal maintains they do not compare with the advantages. British reluctance, he contends, traced to its source is not due to logic but sentiment.

In fact, we may say, without in any way, we hope, hurting our friends, the tunnel question is in England a psychological, a sentimental question. At the bottom of the opposition of the anti-tunnel party there lies the old ancestral pride which one may see in the formula of "splendid isolation." If to their heart's content the poets have sung of the "emerald set in silver," the merchant knows that it was due to the protection of the broad sea-ditch that he could fill his warehouses, accumulate stocks and make a fortune; even from a "commercial point of view it is on account of its value as a bulwark that the Channel should, in the first place, be considered," Professor Goldwin wrote.

Closely examined, the fear of invasion is baseless and can no longer be held. The security of British "isolation" in view of the facts of modern warfare is a fiction.

Of what avail is the proudest cruiser in face of the submarine? Poison gases can reach the best protected troops. The aeroplane laughs at the Straits of Dover and the "silver girdle." The island can be blockaded, bombarded, starved out and forced to surrender before it can receive any help. And in the same manner as our old Lords in their strongholds, whose mediæval memory we just evoked, we must avail ourselves to escape destruction, pillage, famine, of subterranean communication which gives to the besieged the chance of once more taking the field and establishing himself directly on the lines of communication of the enemy. To-day the tunnel is a means of security for England; the tunnel alone can secure her, when the next great conflict comes, the necessary means of communication.

From the military point of view the Channel Tunnel was regarded as a bad

thing for Germany by Field-Marshal von Moltke, and as a good thing for the Allies by General Joffre, and other French experts. There is another important aspect, however, upon which M. François-Marsal, as Minister of Finance, is able to speak with some authority. The Channel Tunnel, he says, is a profitable enterprise for economic reasons.

In 1901 we imported from England goods to the value of 600 million francs. These imports rose 6 per cent. a year had risen to 640 million in 1913. Our exports during the same period rose from 1,200,000,000 to 1,456,000,000, rising hardly 1.5 per cent. a year; and the period under consideration is a period of undeniable political cordiality with England. During the same time our imports from Germany rose from 401 millions to 1,068 millions, an annual increase of more than 12 per cent., and our exports to Germany rose from 443 millions to 866 millions, being an increase of more than 7 per cent. From Belgium we imported in 1901 357 million, and 556 millions in 1913, an annual rise of nearly 5 per cent., and we exported to Belgium for 1913 1,108 millions as against 582 millions in 1901—that is, an increase of 7.5 per cent. a year.

Altogether there are many strong reasons, for building such a tunnel. It would be of advantage if the English power stations, which controlled trains coming from France, were some distance from Dover—London for example—so as to deepen the sense of security.

Thus the tunnel would seem the logical solution of the series of problems and efforts which for more than a century has been under consideration, to establish between England and the Continent more easy and more rapid means of communication. France, Belgium and Italy are most closely interested. England should achieve security for military intervention and supplies, an increase of her economic range, London would be brought nearer to the Orient, where at the present moment British influence is spreading in so grandiose a manner.

The enterprise should supply France, M. François-Marsal adds, with additional revenue and important sources of income for purposes of the budgets. The construction of a Channel Tunnel forms a part of the French economic programme. The article closes with a warm tribute to Sir Arthur Fell, the Parliamentary champion of the Tunnel.

A PLEA FOR THE CLASSICS.

Compulsory Greek was abolished at Oxford last March, but the controversy that arose on the controversy of not retaining classics as an essential part of the modern educational curriculum has not yet died down. To the *Contemporary Review* (May) the Rev. E. C. E. Owen contributes an article on "The Reconstruction of Public School Education," in which he argues the matter from the point of view of the classicists, and puts forward an educational scheme in which Greek and Latin would have their place, without undue interference with the modern subjects believed by the reformers to be indispensable. Some of the considerations advanced are well worth attention.

In the first place, he points out that the old public school system of classical study had a good deal to recommend it. The classical books that were read were the great books, and a moderately intelligent study of them could not fail to make a boy acquainted with some of the greatest writers in all the chief departments of literature. The weakness of the system was that too much attention was paid to grammar and textual criticism, and too little to beauty of form and matter. Even so, the student had at least "looked great literature in the face, and he could not quite forget." And great literature is with Mr. Owen, as with many of the reformers themselves, the very corner stone of a liberal education. It has been urged that French, German, Spanish, Russian, above all English, will take the place of classical literature. Mr. Owen retorts that seven years ago the list of books in Modern Languages studied in Public Schools showed that the great French authors were almost entirely neglected, and though the latest lists show a considerable advance, "it is still true that the names of Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, Boileau, Montaigne, Fenelon, not to speak of Bossuet and Pascal, are conspicuous by their absence. The list compares very badly with that of the English Literature read in French schools; while 'the list of German authors is much more meagre than the French,

while Spanish and Russian are in a very elementary stage."

As for English, the question is "not so much of the authors read as of the way in which they are taught."

Two things are essential to the teacher of English—first, knowledge; secondly, love of his subject—and the second counts for even more than the first. You will not find the successful teacher on every bush, but it is just there where most headmasters expect to find him. The teaching of English is usually tacked on to the other form-teaching, but sometimes there is an English hour and no one to take it. The hunt is up. It is found that Mr. Brown is not teaching French, Civics, or History (his favourite subjects) at that moment; the headmaster gives a sigh of relief, writes a letter (by his secretary), and Mr. Brown shepherds with a malediction the unshepherded flock. The thing is done. No one dreams of asking whether Mr. Brown knows any English, or cares two pins' heads for it. In theory it is confessed, with many wise shakings of the head, that "the teaching of English is very difficult and most important"; in practice the wayfaring man, though a fool, is expected not to err therein.

Doubtless the great Greek or Latin author suffered indignities at the hands of his modern teachers. But these were the heirs of a centuries-old tradition, and whatever their personal weaknesses, "they inevitably dealt with questions that had loomed large in their own training, e.g., the differences in style between Herodotus and Thucydides, between the Augustan and Silver Ages, the contrast between the style, characters and thought of the three chief Greek Tragic Poets, the rhythm of Virgil," etc.

Mr. Owen believes firmly that education cannot do without both English and Latin. But a revision of the teaching method is needed.

Teach with great thoroughness the general features of grammar, parts of speech, meanings of cases, tenses, moods, voices, the different kinds of sentences. . . . Let everyone learn Latin, but let it be read much more rapidly than was once the custom, and let the use of translations in preparing a lesson be authorised, and the study of peculiarities be much curtailed. It is impossible to feel the interest of Cæsar, or Livy, or Virgil, when half a book is read as a whole term's work. . . . Imagine the difficulty of making a boy understand the meaning in English

history of thirty pages chosen almost at random out of Napier's *Peninsular War* or Macaulay's *History*. And let everyone be taught the history of Rome, and, in bare outline, of Latin literature. . . . Let the books read, as the Classical Association advises, be such as boys really enjoy. Herodotus and Homer. These, if read rapidly in large quantities, with attention to matter and style rather than grammar, will appeal even to the average boy. . . .

Even those who learn Greek as well as Latin can save much time (1) by the curtailment of grammar, (2) by the complete abandonment of verse composition (though it has very considerable uses, at all events for the best boys), and the reduction of prose composition to a minimum, just sufficient to impress on the pupil the peculiar genius of the language and the ordinary constructions which he meets in translation.

In Divinity, the Christian Faith should be taught, "not the names of Jewish kings and the contents of Jewish measures." The teaching of English should be in the hands of "men who know and love its literature," and on the text rather than on the notes, and let the aim be to bring home the interest and beauty of matter and style. The study of Natural Science should be accompanied by training in essay-writing. Coming to details, the writer suggests that whereas under the old *régime* there were two alternative courses of study, classical and modern, there should now be three:— Making (A) Latin and Greek; (B) Science and Mathematics; (C) French and some other modern language its staple subjects. All would learn the outlines of grammar, and, of course, Divinity. The outlines at least of Greek and Roman history would be included in the History. Geography would be learnt by all until they entered the Upper School. In the Upper School, that is during the last two or three years of a boy's course, the time devoted to the staple subjects would be much increased, and Greek and the second modern language would not be begun till then. The time hitherto devoted to classical composition and minutiae of Greek and Latin grammar would be almost entirely saved, so that he would receive a more general education than he did under the old system. The scientific and mathematical specialists would do rather more Latin than at present, but neither they nor the modern language specialist would be distracted by having to cram up Greek for

Oxford or Cambridge at the moment when their minds were focussed on their own subject.

In seeking to "encourage concentration on a few carefully chosen subjects, rather than dissipation among many, and, above all, to maintain the literary element in education and defend it from the domination of purely material and commercial aims," Mr. Owen voices a very widespread protest against the materialism in education for the attainment of which our iconoclastic reformers are making themselves the instruments.



De Nolenkraker

[Amsterdam

Frankfort in Black.

The Protector of European Civilisation.

LABOUR'S SOLUTION OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

After eighteen months of immensely laborious preparation, the Government has at last completed its scheme for building houses in great numbers all over the country. The materials for building them have been got together, the plans and specifications have been approved, the winter is over, and, granted that sufficient money is forthcoming, it would appear as though no further obstacle remained.

But an unexpected hitch has arisen which threatens to hang up all the promising preparations that have occupied so many months. The supply of skilled labour in the building trade is found to be wholly inadequate to the programme that has been designed to meet the urgent needs of the time. And not only is the supply of skilled labour inadequate, but the new conditions of work in the industry have resulted in a very seriously reduced output per worker employed. In the shorter working day the bricklayer and builder's labourer to-day do much less work than their predecessors used to do in an equal time in pre-war days.

Is there any way out of the difficulty, which the trade unions themselves admit to be extremely acute? Within the past few months a constructive proposal has been put forward by the leaders of two building trade unions in Manchester. Their proposal is to organise the building trade forthwith on the lines that have for long been advocated by the exponents of guild socialism. Mr. D. H. Cole, contributes to the *New Republic* (March 3rd) a detailed account of the scheme.

In the middle of January, he writes, the building trade operatives in the Manchester area, on the initiative of the bricklayers, suddenly launched a scheme for solving the British housing problem by means of a building guild. The workers began by forming, on the basis of the various trade unions in the district, a building guild committee, on which each trade union received equal representation. The guild committee then immediately went to the City Council and virtually offered to take over the housing scheme, beginning with a promise to build two thousand houses at once at a price considerably below the prices quoted by private builders.

The idea was at once enthusiastically taken up by the building workers in other centres with the result that other guild committees

are being formed. It now seems almost certain that before long either a national building guild, or a series of regional guilds federated nationally, will have been launched by the trade unions connected with the industry.

He insists that the absolute necessity of finding labour for building houses gives the workers their opportunity of carrying through their own scheme.

The workers contend that, under guild conditions, which include guaranteed continuity of pay and employment, they can, by virtue of their labour-monopoly, mobilize without difficulty for the task of house-building all the labour that is required.

The guild proposal, then, is in its essence this. The workers go to the public housing authorities and say:—"We possess a monopoly of labour, or in other words, we are the only people who can build houses. It is your job to get houses built, and you have, or are in a position to get, the money required for building them. We suggest, then, that a marriage should be arranged between the 'labour credit' of the workers and the 'financial credit' of the municipality, and that the two should enter into a partnership to meet 'the urgent need of the people.'"

Then the workers go on to suggest the terms of this partnership. They inform the Council that they have formed a guild, and that behind this guild is every trade union and every building worker in the area. They propose that this guild should organize as a self-governing democratic body the building of houses, appointing its own architects, managers and technicians, and in all respects preserving its internal autonomy. They propose that the Council should enter into an agreement with the guild, that it should supply the capital required, and, of course, should become the owner of the houses erected.

If the Councils were to refuse to accept this offer, says Mr. Cole, the building workers would have only to stick to their point and in the last resort withhold their labour from housing schemes in order to have the whole mass of public opinion with them.

There is no doubt at all, he adds, that there is an ample number of architects and other professional and administrative workers interested in the scheme to guarantee its success. If it does succeed, it will not only go a long way towards solving the housing problem but will provide an extremely important example for the re-organisation of other industries on a similar basis of amalgamating capital and labour under the control of the trade unions.

AN INDUSTRIAL PARLIAMENT.

This country has never been nearer to revolution than during the last railway strike. Looking back on that crisis, the imperfections of machinery that all but plunged England into civil war over a complicated schedule of wages, about which few people knew anything, are more clearly seen. A remedy against the recurrence of such a danger is discussed by Mr. C. Ernest Foyle, in the *Quarterly Review* (April). He maintains that the country raced blindly to the brink of revolution. The strike was not a conflict between employer and workman but between Labour and the State. The situation thus created is full of danger. The Government, being a party to the dispute, can no longer act as an independent mediator; and, since there is no other body which can claim to represent the public as a whole, the best chance of mediation and conciliation is lost.

The problem for the legislator was to devise some means by which conciliation is not ruled out merely because the Government is a party to the dispute. Since the settlement of the railway strike a new form of machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes has come into operation, in the shape of the Industrial Courts and Courts of Inquiry established by the Industrial Courts Act, 1919.

The provisions of this Act are expressly extended to workmen employed by or under the Crown; and in perhaps the majority of disputes the verdict of an Industrial Court or Court of Inquiry would probably be accepted on an appeal from a departmental decision. It remains to be seen, however, whether the Courts will win a prestige sufficient to overcome the temptation for powerful labour organisations to go direct to the Cabinet on disputes involving the most important issues; and, in view of the grave objections to this process, it appears desirable that there should be created some tribunal sufficiently representative and sufficiently authoritative to render it impossible for either Labour or a Government department to disregard its decisions, or go behind its back to the Executive, and to which all disputes in a State-regulated industry could be referred, either as an alternative to an Industrial Court or on appeal therefrom.

Mr. Foyle holds that all the good work of the scheme would be wrecked if the decisions of the Tribunal were made binding under legal penalties. It is impossible, therefore, to dismiss the possibility

of strikes, but a big stride forward is made if they are only diminished. A strike in these circumstances would be directed against a representative body of the community, but not the Government. There would be nothing to hinder the Government from guarding the public safety, which is its proper function, without incurring suspicion. It only creates a dangerous position by introducing compulsory arbitration.

At present the Employers' Association and the Trade Unions act more or less in opposition to one another. The problem of co-ordinating them is clearly the first thing on the reformer's programme. If they were satisfactorily brought together it would be easier to separate political and industrial influences. A specialised organisation is needed to deal with purely industrial questions.

A year ago, some such development seemed to be within reach. The Joint Industrial Councils set up under the Whitley Scheme provided machinery by which the workers' and employers' organisations in each great industry could be brought together, not merely for settling or averting disputes, but for the joint consideration of all questions affecting the industry or those engaged in it. A recently published book on the work of the Industrial Council for the Building Industry shows how far development and experiment on these lines may extend in co-ordinating the activities of functional groups, and realising the idea of industrial autonomy in a single complex industry. But it was always recognised by advocates of this and similar schemes that no such machinery would suffice without the formation of some central body charged with co-ordinating the work of the Councils and considering the interests of industry as a whole. This proposal was made by the Industrial Conference, composed of representatives of the leading Employers' Associations and Trade Unions, which sat for a brief period in 1919. The failure to establish the permanent National Council proposed by this Conference has reacted most unfavourably on the development of the Whitley Scheme. It has also deprived us of precisely the kind of organisation which we need to avert the dangers and difficulties which arise from allowing the Government to become entangled in industrial controversy.

The objects of an Industrial Parliament would be to educate public opinion on industrial matters and to spread a sense of responsibility among employers' and employees' unions.

It should deal rather with questions common to all industries—the fixing of national minima in wages and working conditions, the consideration of such matters as decasualisation and dilution in their general aspects, the conduct of inquiries into such problems as a scientific basis for wage-systems and piece-rates, the degree of publicity which can be given to costings (both for this purpose and as a check on profiteering), the elimination of the gambling element in industrial finance, the avoidance and relief of unemployment. To it also would be referred disputes or difficulties arising between the Industrial Councils on questions of demarcation, or decisions arrived at by any Council and alleged to have injurious reactions in other industries.

The article advises the adoption of a suggestion made by the Industrial Council of 1911, that where the Trade Unions and Employers' Associations include three-fourths of the workers or employers in an industry any agreement between them shall bind the minority. A legal sanction would be required in fixing national minima of wages, hours, and safety devices, etc. The Council would in no way intrude upon the work of Parliament. It would fulfil a need made the more acute by modern industrial development.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM IN CHINA.

Most people know that China, like Japan, though not to the same extent as the latter, is becoming "westernized." In an article by "Y. L. N." on "The Awakening Women of China" in *The Trans-Pacific* (March), the writer reveals some of the ways in which this change is affecting the status of women in this oriental country. But the process is gradual. For instance, there is no feverish demand as yet for political emancipation. In 1912, a band of Chinese Suffragettes invaded the provincial legislature at Canton, with a clamour of "Votes for Women." But it was only a flash in the pan, and at the present time a vast majority of Chinese women don't want the vote.

On the other hand, there has been an enormous advance in the general education of Chinese women, and this has stimulated their ambitions in other than political walks of life. A great number of girl students go abroad, especially to the United States, in search of education, professional and commercial; and as a result, the demand in China for matrimonial reform and other changes has made progress. It is no longer the invariable practice for Chinese parents to arrange the marriages of their children. Young couples choose for themselves. But they also consult their parents before making their choice; and one may surmise that for many years to come this

practice will be observed, since the oriental has not yet learned to accept the Western philosophy so completely as to lose faith in the soundness of his own.

In China custom is often stronger than law and it avails little to try to destroy the shackles of immemorial custom. The Westerner prides himself upon his marriage being founded on love. If so, asks his Chinese brother, why do you have so many divorces and separations in your land? Can it be that your love has already spent itself at the altar of Hymen? It would seem so, judging from the number of matrimonial tragedies recorded in the daily press. On the other hand, divorces and separations are practically unheard of in the East. Force of public opinion which condemns dissolution of matrimonial bonds unless for very good cause, no matter what the statute books may permit, acts as a salutary protection for Chinese wives, but even deeper reasons underlie conjugal tranquility in this country, namely, respect for the selection made by parents, confidence in their judgment and reluctance at worrying over that which has already been done. The late Sir Robert Hart, the distinguished Irishman who served for half a century as Inspector-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs, compared a Western marriage to placing a kettle of boiling water on a fireless stove and letting it cool and a Chinese marriage to putting a kettle of cold water on a hot stove and letting it boil.

However, Chinese widows are undeniably less fond than they were of immolating themselves on the graves of their husbands, and they occasionally re-marry and even seek divorce.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

As far as foreign politics are concerned German opinion during April was occupied with practically only one subject—the French advance into Frankfurt and other German towns and the possible implications, both for the *Entente* and for Germany, of this serious step. The debates in the National Assembly revealed some differences of opinion on the subject—certain of the Independents taking up the attitude that the French were far to be preferred to the Reichswehr, who were bent on exterminating all that remained of the Communist movement in the Ruhr Valley. But the number of people who held this view in Germany was extremely small, and the scorn with which the pro-French Independents were criticised in the National Assembly itself found an enthusiastic echo on the vast majority of the other benches. An average moderate German view of the matter was to be found in the Democratic *Hilfe* for April 15th, from the pen of the Editor, Wilhelm Heile:

• Among the enemies of Germany in the world-war France is our nearest neighbour. Germany's wish is to live with France in peace and friendship. But this will not be a reality, with the best will in the world, so long as France is pleased to be a bad neighbour. We are far from drawing the conclusion that Germany must therefore make an attempt to intrigue with England against France. But the question nevertheless arises whether the French attitude does not of itself drive us nearer the other "Allies." The strong disapproval with which France's action in Frankfurt, Darmstadt and other towns has been received in England, Italy and America could easily be considered as an encouragement. The warning against nursing such illusions, however, could not very well be too strong. . . . The jubilation over the discomfiture of France is as dangerous as it is premature. France's weak position is thereby strengthened. French troops still stand on German soil, occupied in defiance of the Treaty. The last French soldier must leave, not merely this occupied territory, but German soil altogether, before we can exult. Until that comes about there can be only one voice in Germany, which must sound out into the whole world, demanding in loud and commanding tones the revision of the Treaty of Versailles or, so long as it is

not revised, treatment which will make possible the bearing of the heavy burdens which have been imposed upon us.

In the reviews of the month there are several references to the future military organisation of Germany. The question was raised in an acute form by the procedure of the Reichswehr in the Ruhr Valley. German politicians, although stoutly in favour of the use of the Reichswehr as the means of restoring order in a district which was economically of vital importance to the German Republic, could not however blind themselves to the fact that a considerable proportion of this same Reichswehr had little more love for the Berlin Government than they had for the hated "Reds," and that therefore there was always a danger that the armed forces of the Republic might be turned against the state. In this way the question of the reform of the Reichswehr was raised, and an article in the Majority Social Democratic *Neue Zeit* for April 16th deals with the problem and discusses possible methods of solving it. The writer, Herr Bernhard Rausch, would propose a radical cure. He begins his article:

The most logical and radical deductions from the experiences of the Kapp *coup d'état* should be the complete abolition of the Reichswehr and its replacement by a "popular army" (*Volksheer*) with general liability to military service and the shortest possible period of active service. Such would be a fulfilment of our old demand: A people's army instead of standing armies. In the history of modern times standing armies of mercenaries were the supports of absolutism. It was for this reason that the first fighters for democracy always demanded their replacement by people's armies. The Wars of the French Revolution forced general liability to military service on Prussia, and this remained the rule in Imperial Germany. Until the November Revolution we had, in form, a people's army; in spirit and in social structure it was not this, however. Just as the German Constitution was nothing more than a veiled absolutism, so was general liability to military service merely an instrument in the hands of an undemocratic caste and class domination. The tragedy of the German Revolution lay in the fact that at the very

moment when the way was clear for the democratisation of our army the distrust of our enemies forced upon us a mercenary army.

A series of arguments is then given to show that, despite the exceptional example of Great Britain*, which was able to develop a democratic constitution although possessed of a standing army of paid soldiers—in spite of this the system of general conscription made for democracy. The writer then comes to his remedies, such as can be applied under the refusal of the Entente to allow forced military service in Germany:

The first and most necessary measure is the absolute removal of all counter-revolutionary elements from the Reichswehr. The command over the German Army must be taken out of the hands of those who have used their power to establish class-domination over the German nation. The Imperial Minister of Defence, Herr Gessler, has indicated the manner in which it is proposed to apply this purge and it remains to be seen what success this will have. The most important means of soundly establishing the Reichswehr is education, well-directed and directed at education and instruction in the duties of a citizen.

Herr Rausch then speaks of the impossibility of the demand, so loudly put forward especially by the papers of the extreme Right, for the complete removal of the Army from the sphere of politics, if by that is meant the abolition of all government control and influence. He rebuts against his critics of the Right that the Army has already been used in the service of one political party or group of parties and gives details of the wide propaganda organisation instituted in the Reichswehr by General Lüttwitz. There must be the assertion of complete authority by the government in power, and with a series of suggestions for assuring the civilian control over the military organisation of the Republic the writer ends his interesting and timely article. In the Democratic *Demokratische Deutschland* for April 4th, too, it may be noted the same subject is dealt with on similar lines. The author of the article, General Otto Löffler, advocates "general liability to military service, with as short periods of service as possible. This would be the fulfilment of one of the most important demands in the programme of the German Democratic Party and would, of itself, mean

the abolition of the mercenary army, with all its weaknesses and dangers." The same issue of this review gives an account of the collapse of the Kapp Government which is worth noting for reference.

Towards the end of the month considerable attention began to be paid to the prospects of the new elections. The new electoral law, providing for the redistribution of seats for the elections to the first post-Revolution Reichstag—which will replace the Constituent National Assembly—was presented to this latter body and was, when the month ended, passing without noteworthy incident. There was a revival of party activity, the most remarkable being in the ranks of the Centre Party, whose spokesman in the National Assembly, Herr Trimborn, delivered a speech which was everywhere interpreted as having been made with an eye on the electorate. The comment on the elections in general which appeared in *Die Hilfe* for April 15th is worth reproducing:

If the first Reichstag of the German Republic is really to be elected on June 8th it would be very desirable to have as nearly as possible on the same day the elections for the different states and for the communal councils. In Prussia that would, of course, not be possible, since Prussia has as yet no final constitution. . . . But, apart from Prussia, is it really necessary to have the Reichstag election so early? Day by day telegrams arrive from the eastern provinces protesting against an election before the plebiscites have decided the fate of the inhabitants. If elections take place in the whole Republic and not in those districts these latter will have the feeling that they have been surrendered by the rest of the country, and the consequent discouragement will have the most serious results on the voting in the plebiscite. In view of such possibilities we ask once more whether the democratic reproach of the parties of the Right, that the National Assembly is acting in an undemocratic way in not declaring elections at the earliest possible moment, is really worthy of heed at all. These gentlemen of the Right are continually shouting, "The Fatherland above the party." Here is their opportunity of acting up to their profession.

That aptly sums up the position in which the controversy was left at the end of the month. For some weeks there was, it was clear, likely to be much party activity in the press and on the platform, and the exaggerated report in the Right Press of an impending Bolshevik Revo-

lution, and in the Press of the extreme Left of a serious and widespread monarchist move, which began to be published in the last week of April, were rightly set to the account of party political propagandists.

The most important articles on foreign politics—the French occupation of Frankfurt and the San Remo Conference apart—in the German reviews for April were those respectively in the *Neue Rundschau*, by the Socialist political writer August Müller, on "Europe and World-Policy," in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, by Ludwig Quessel, on the "Eastern Orientation, old and new," and in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, by Professor Emil Daniels, on the "Czech Conception of History"—this last an attack on the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, M. Eduard Benes, and an attempted refutation of his thesis of the historical and continuous nationhood of the Czecho-Slovak people. The article by Herr August Müller is deserving of quotation, both for its remarks on the future of Russo-German relations and for its general remarks on European solidarity:

The outlook in the east is more favourable (than elsewhere in Europe). Russia and Germany tend towards one another; the one is such an obvious complement to the other that co-operation between them must quickly develop. The artificial barriers which the Entente has placed in the way of this tendency by the formation of Germany's eastern frontiers will prove much weaker than the powerful economic impulse by which Germany is driven to the east. Only from this point can the European economic system find its beginning. If the co-operation of Central and Eastern Europe succeeds a centre will be formed about which the remainder of Europe will gradually group itself. The most important point is the establishment of this centre; the extension from it will come in due course.

For the comparatively swift recognition of the fact of European solidarity the writer relies on the growing forces of Social Democracy and on the increasing permeation of political thought by Socialistic ideas. The very need of the hour will hasten this process:

Germany is faced with the greatest need of all; in her, therefore, will the will to understanding be manifested most powerfully. In no country is the appreciation for the national characteristics of other nations more strongly developed. The bitter experience of the peace will have the effect of producing a

synthesis of well-comprehended national interests and practicable international co-operation, and from this will come that state of mind which is necessary to put the idea of European solidarity into practice. The possibility of other enterprises abroad on the part of Germany have been taken away by the groups of powers who have assembled themselves in consequence of the world-war. Germany will therefore proudly assume the task of using her diplomatic talents in the task of building up a united Europe—talents to which the great sphere of world-politics is for the time being closed.

The *Literarische Echo* for April 1st, in addition to its critical articles, of usual character and high quality, has an interesting article on the export of German books, from which it appears that whereas the German publishers had been selling their books abroad at the same price as in Germany, that is, allowing to the foreign buyer the tremendous advantage of the exchange—a German book of fifteen marks cost, for example, about seventy-eight centimes in Switzerland—now they have come to the decision, registered through their principal organisations in Leipzig, to send books abroad only at a certain price which is to be fixed at stated intervals. The fifteen-mark book will now cost about thirteen marks, and the German publishers argue that the Swiss buyer, whoever he may be, has no right to grumble.

FRANCE.

Up to the time of the San Remo Conference French opinion was undeniably swinging violently against her Allies, especially the British Government, on the problem of Germany. That opinion had been stimulated by the German penetration of the Ruhr Valley and by the British protest against the French occupation of the German towns. So much emerges from the speeches, interviews, articles from responsible French statesmen, that have found their way across the Channel during the past month. M. Poincaré's political *Chronique* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* is one of the most authoritative voices raised on behalf of an aggrieved France. In the issue of April 1st he complains bitterly of his country's political isolation. President Wilson confuses her with Germany in accusing her of militarism. Italy, for whose sake France

sacrificed the good will of the United States President, calls for great moderation in the fixing of the German indemnity. Cold and evasive looks meet France on every side. He explains why this is so. As soon as peace was signed, each of France's Allies went home flushed with victory, and in a hurry to gather the harvest that victory could bring them. France, whose sacrifices had far exceeded those of her partners, was left with her dead citizens and her ten devastated departments. When she pressed her claims, it was inconvenient to listen to them. At the same time there will be no quarrel—the Alliance survived worse crises during the war.

M. Poincaré followed this up with a category of the many undisputed sins of omission and commission on the part of the German Government, and ended the article on a note of self-justification.

We do not want to ruin anybody. We shall be quite content if the conquered nations recover their prosperity by means of hard work. It will please us to see a peaceful Germany reconstitute herself in order and liberty. There is no need to appeal to our clemency. We are human, and we are just. But we are not rich enough to offer presents to those who have stolen from us, and however worthy of pity the vanquished may be, we ourselves have the right to live.

The next instalment of the *Chronique* (April 15) begins with a review of France's financial position. This indeed, with an expenditure calculated at 50 milliards of francs and industries crippled by the war and now paralysed by lack of coal, is desperate enough. M. Poincaré speaks of recovering "sooner or later" 22 milliards from Germany, "if we pursue a clear-sighted and firm policy"; but he provides a deadly collection of statistics showing how the industrial life of France is being throttled by the lack of coal, and he points out that the Ruhr disturbances must "more than ever compromise the deliveries of coal which Germany owes us." In short, the main substance of this article is concerned with showing the grave economic injury that has been done to France by the German failure to carry out their Treaty obligations. The sense of injury is heightened by M. Poincaré's firm conviction, shared by most Frenchmen, that this failure is intentional rather than due to the force of circumstances, and by the apparent inability of France's

Allies to realise this. France is also convinced that there was no disturbance in the Ruhr that called for armed intervention on the scale undertaken by the German Government; and really believes that conflict with the miners was precipitated by this step. As for the military threat to France, so loudly advertised by Marshal Foch, M. Poincaré simply reminds his readers that

When the German troops occupy territories forbidden them by the Treaty, when they approach that line eloquently described by President Wilson as the frontier of liberty, it is France who is primarily threatened. When the German troops lay hands on the Ruhr mines, when, under pretext of protecting the pits, they recklessly put them in danger of destruction, it is France who risks losing the coal.

M. Bernard de Lacombe's "Chronique Politique" in *Le Correspondant* (April 10) voices almost identical opinions. But he deprecates M. Barthou's recent outburst against Great Britain in the Chamber. It was not that his remarks were not just; but it was a pity to make them in public. The incident is only one more proof, meralises M. de Lacombe, that diplomacy was not made for the Forum. If England had got what she wanted out of the victory, and France had been disappointed, was it necessary to attack Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Lloyd George? At the moment of the Armistice, the English Government knew exactly what it wanted; the French had been so busy with the war that they had made no preparations for the peace. It was therefore France's own lack of forethought that was largely to blame. M. de Lacombe goes on to quote sundry utterances of Mr. Lloyd George with approval; but he says plainly that just as England was able to secure that Germany should not have any aeroplanes or a fleet, so France ought to secure in her turn that her enemy should have no army. On the whole, the tone of both M. Poincaré and M. de Lacombe revealed a rather nervous anxiety to think as well as possible of the British leaders, while re-iterating the claims of their own country in unmistakable terms.

In the *Revue Mondiale* M. Jean Finot starts a new feature entitled "Impartial Thoughts on Men and Events." He explains that the object of these aphorisms is to make people think instead

of doing their thinking for them. "Peu de mots, beaucoup d'idées"—a noble aspiration! Here are some specimens.

Lloyd George's Great Britain resembles those dyspeptics who, suffering from internal complaints, cease not to demand more and more abundant nourishment which they are not in a condition to digest . . . and in proportion as they overload their stomach, the entire body revolts and a threatening malady. . . .

Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George have, without doubt, done more for the triumph of Bolshevism than Lenin, Trotsky and their followers. If after having tried vainly to suppress it in a clumsy and infantile manner which has contributed to its success, they had at least had the wit to conclude a speedy peace, instead of ruining their respective countries by sustaining a fight already lost, Bolshevism would now be trampled under foot by the mass of the Russian people . . . it would have vanished in the ridicule evoked by its own programme.

ITALY.

At the end of March Signor Nitti secured a majority for his new Government of 250 to 195. Included in his majority were the parties represented in his Cabinet, Liberals, Giolittians and Bissolattian (Reformist) Socialists, also the deputies of the Popular Party (Catholics), who had refused to participate in the Government. The minority was made up of Official Socialists and Nationalists. It was thus made clear that Signor Nitti's ability to hold office depended entirely on the Catholic vote, and in the circumstances special interest attached to the general congress of the Party which was held during the month.

It may be explained that prior to this meeting the Popular Party, although as a whole far from reactionary and indeed considerably advanced in its policy, showed a distinct inclination to split into two groups—the extreme Left and the moderate reformers. The former had a policy of capital taxation, land-expropriation, and the rest, which was scarcely distinguishable from points in the programme of the extreme Social Democrats, and its agrarian policy had received the implied and indirect censure of the Holy See. The general party congress, therefore, which met at Naples on April 8th under the chairmanship of the leader, a priest named Don Sturzo, was watched

very anxiously by Italian politicians of all parties. If the extremists asserted their domination over the policy of the Popular Party Signor Nitti's majority would have disappeared.

Happily the Congress demonstrated the ascendancy of the Moderate Party. Signor Miglioli, the champion of the extreme Left section, abandoned the most questionable part of his programme, the immediate socialisation of land, and the extremists were shown by the various votes which were taken to be in an insignificant minority. Catholic support for the time being to Signor Nitti was therefore assured.

There was considerable industrial unrest in Italy during April, particularly in Piedmont, and the authorities, although partially successful in their efforts, had not completely succeeded by the end of the month. An article in the *Nationalist Rassegna Nazionale* for March 31st, on "Nitti's Domestic Policy," drew attention to the serious social condition of the country and the way in which the more moderate Social Democratic workers were being driven into the extremist organisations. The policy of concession followed by Signor Nitti, who is credited with the intention of bringing Social Democratic representatives into his Government, was condemned and strong and resolute action demanded. That is one side—the Nationalist and Conservative side—of the picture. The other is the fact that a great part of the unrest in Italy to-day is due to the lack of coal and the lowness of the Italian exchange, which forbids adequate purchases from abroad. During the month Signor Nitti addressed himself very seriously to these two most vital problems and apparently secured a considerable increase in the coal imports. It remains to be seen what effect this will have on the industrial situation.

It may be noted, in regard to foreign politics, that during the month almost unanimous disapproval of the French advance into Germany was manifested in the Italian Press, that Dr. Renner's visit to Rome was regarded as the beginning of friendly relations between Austria and Italy, and that at the San Remo Conference Signor Nitti's policy of conciliation with both Russia and Germany found expression.

TWO PLAYS OF THE MONTH.

With a new Barrie and a new Galsworthy being produced within a few days of each other the month is a more interesting one theatrically than we have had for some time.

Let us take Sir James Barrie's new play first. "Mary Rose," as it is called, is a further experiment in Peter-Paniam. In "Peter Pan" Sir James Barrie was content to treat the main theme as a fairy story for children, in "Mary Rose" he has written a fairy story for grown-ups, and there is a big difference between the two.

But before we continue further it is necessary to give the reader who has not seen the play some idea of what it is all about. When the curtain goes up we are introduced to a bare room in a shut-up house. An Australian soldier is being shown round by the caretaker. We learn that he had long ago run away to sea from this very house. We learn also that the caretaker is frightened by a ghost which haunts it. The soldier sits down in a chair while the woman goes to make him a cup of tea, and while he sits he dreams.

In the next scene we are thrown back twenty years, and introduced to Mary Rose, her parents, and her lover. The latter, a young naval lieutenant, is demanding the young girl's hand in marriage. Before, however, the parents will grant it they have something on their minds which they must tell. Mary Rose it seems had seven years earlier had a mysterious adventure. She was staying with her parents in the Highlands, and every day her father would leave her on an island, whose name in Gaelic means: "The Island that likes to be visited," while he fished hard by from a boat. One day she disappeared. The island was searched without any trace of her being found, and her parents were in despair. Then quite suddenly she re-appeared again on the spot on which she had last been seen.

In the next act Mary Rose, now married to the young lieutenant, visits the island once more, and once more mysteriously disappears. She is away this time for twenty-five years. In the last act we see the parents, now thoroughly old, and Mary Rose's husband

now an important man in the navy. The years have brought forgetfulness and they are happy. Suddenly Mary Rose arrives hard on the heels of a telegram announcing her intention of doing so. She is still the same age as she was when she disappeared. Then she looks wildly around



[Photo, London News Agency]

MISS FAY COMPTON

Who is appearing in the title role of "Mary Rose."

for her two-year old baby (now, of course, a man in Australia) and cannot find him.

Then comes the last scene, in which we find the Australian soldier once more. He learns from the caretaker that his mother has been dead a few years, and that it is her ghost that haunts the house. He determines to speak with her. Then at last they meet. He talks gently to her and consoles her, we hear the sound of angel voices and know that she has gone off once more to her mysterious island.

Now what is one to make of all this? Very little in our opinion. It is an opportunity for Barrieisms. It is often pretty and sometimes sentimental. But it

means nothing. The chief objection to it as a piece of symbolism is that "Mary Rose" forgets, for that at once rules out any continuity between her two states. She is not, that is to say, half mortal, half fairy, but sometimes wholly mortal and sometimes wholly fairy. She is not one being, but two unrelated beings. Even apart from that there seems little of beauty or genuine mystery in the creation. It shows us nothing more than itself. It has nothing to reveal us of the mysteries which we see and cannot understand. It merely spins new and rather futile mysteries on its own account.

What is remarkable in the production is the fine acting of Miss Fay Compton in the part of "Mary Rose." Her sweet childishness is beautifully rendered; and her pathetic bewilderment on returning after twenty-five years was so just and delicate, rang so true, and was so lovely a thing in itself, that we feel certain that there is not another actress in London who could have done what she did with it.

* * * * *

Mr. Galsworthy's play, with the hideous title of "The Skin Game," is at once a plain straightforward drama of everyday life and a finer allegory than Sir James Barrie's also. One can look at it both ways though we have little doubt of Mr. Galsworthy's intention. On the face of it though it is straightforward enough.

We are shown a struggle in a country village between its two leading forces. On the one hand we have the Squire, every inch of him a gentleman, a good man to his tenants and a just and kindly man to all; on the other, there is the new man Hornblower, a man who lets no such thing as sentiment stand in his way, who considers himself as good a man as anyone, who is vulgar, and rich, and crude, but has a soft heart where his family is concerned. There had been trouble between them for some time we gather. Mrs. Hillerist, the squire's wife, had refused to call for one thing and there were doubtless in a country place a thousand other pin pricks to contribute to it. But the first outburst occurs when Hornblower breaks his word to the squire and turns two old tenants out of a cottage that the squire had sold him. There is a furious row over this and Hornblower declares war to the knife (or as the

Squire's modern young daughter calls it "a skin game") and threatens to build chimneys all round the squire's park. Then comes an auction in which the two outbid each other furiously for some land that adjoins the Squire's. This Hornblower wins by a trick. Then Mrs. Hillerist takes a hand in the game. She like Hornblower is not an idealist when war is declared; all weapons are alike to her, and she means to make use of a particularly vile one which has come into her hand. Putting it briefly she has discovered something more than shady in the past of the young Mrs. Hornblower, old Hornblower's daughter-in-law. With this in her hand she comes out victorious but not before, she has ruined the happiness of young Hornblower and his wife, has driven Mrs. Hornblower to attempt suicide, and, we gather, killed Mrs. Hornblower's unborn child. Even that is not all. The Hillerists have made the Hornblowers their implacable enemies for life, and as the Squire asks at the end of the play, "what is gentility worth which cannot stand fire."

The whole point of the play is that you cannot go into a fight without falling into the methods of your adversary, that hatred, however fine your motives and ideals, will breed hastiness, that worldly defeat is the only victory you can win over your enemies, and that your victory over them can only be purchased at the price of the defeat of your ideals. What further application this has is obvious enough, but we can leave Mr. Galsworthy with the play he has written.

It was wonderfully acted; indeed for perfection of all round acting without one weak link in the chain the production is one of the best we have ever seen. Nothing is done to hinder our entering, as Mr. Galsworthy intends us to enter into sympathy with both sides of the case. And such small things as the auction scene, or the appearance of the two dispossessed cottagers were as fine as they well could be. The play, like all Mr. Galsworthy's, is perhaps too clearly a presentation of a problem; in nature it would be hard to find so out and out a Hornblower or so implacable a Mrs. Hillerist. Nevertheless there is a fine sincerity about it. It is thoughtful and fair. And it is beautifully acted.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

LIFE OF LORD KITCHENER. By Sir George Arthur. (Macmillan, £2 12s. 6d.)

Lord Kitchener's biographer has bided his time, despite the incitements from detractors, and his book puts to rest finally some matters of burning controversy. Sir George Arthur's purpose was wider than the justification of Kitchener against malicious attack. He recognised the real greatness of his subject, and he has attempted to furnish a sketch as adequate as truthful. "The little boy with the serious face asking questions" came to be one of the world's great figures. His work in the East had stamped his name on people's minds from Tripoli to Tibet. In Italy his name was sufficient endorsement to our assurance of victory. In France, no one so fully possessed the confidence of the army as he. In Russia his name "was familiar to rank-and-file hanging on grimly to trenches on the Dvina and in the Ukraine who had never heard of Joffre; and it was sounded in the workshops of Putiloff and Tula by artificers ignorant of the existence of Elswick and Essen." It may be, of course, that such a position can be achieved by brilliant if small and isolated achievements. But in England, where the public has an uncanny gift for seeing through people, it requires solid gifts to stand the wear of time; and here Kitchener's fame was highest.

Sir George Arthur has, therefore, a great character to deal with, and he has produced a notable book, serious, restrained and careful, which should find many readers. Kitchener first donned a uniform in the Franco-Prussian War; but he was too late to serve in battle, though his action was too hasty to escape official censure. The Duke of Cambridge severely scolded the ex-cadet of Woolwich, threatened him with the refusal of a commission and then, inconsequently, added, "I am bound to say that in your place I should have done the same thing." After receiving his commission in the Royal Engineers he found himself in 1873 aide-de-camp to the General attending the Austrian manœuvres, and through the

illness of his Chief had to take the chief place, draft the report and receive the fêting. He was thus thrown into contact with the Emperor Francis Joseph, who thereafter watched his career, and "repeatedly—though vainly—invited him to Vienna on his way to or from Egypt." In June, 1874, Kitchener was offered, and readily accepted, a vacancy in the party of Lieut. Conder, who was engaged in the survey of Palestine. In this accidental way began Kitchener's association with the East. Conder, whom he had first met at Frost's, the military crammer, was one of the few real friends of Kitchener, and the future Field-Marshal twice risked his life for his friend. It was in connection with his work in Palestine that he made his maiden literary effort *Lieutenant Kitchener's Guinea Book of Photographs of Biblical Sites*, and he wrote of the MS. "I have got so pleased with it by constant perusal that I should not care for much alteration." There, no doubt those who hold that Kitchener was obstinate and overbearing would say, lay the real man. But he went on, "but, of course, if necessary, cut and slash away as much as you like."

Kitchener later became head of the survey and produced a map of Palestine which was probably still the best when the war broke out, and then he proceeded to the survey of Cyprus. It was 1883 before he began true military work as second in command of the Egyptian cavalry. In a short time he became the trusted adviser of the Sirdar, foretelling, with prophetic insight, when Khartum was cut off that 20,000 British troops would be required to deal with the Mahdist movement. It was he who investigated the routes thither, travelling for the purpose in Arab dress to Dongola, a six-days' camel ride across the desert, with an escort of 20 Ababdeh. He was later attached to the Desert Column and the abortive attempt to relieve Khartum made a mark on his memory. The next eight years were a valuable schooling in knowledge of the East, so that when in 1892 he became Sirdar he probably knew

more about the topography, psychology and politics of Egypt than any other European. He had already been Governor-General of the Eastern Sudan, and on becoming Sirdar he at once set himself to train the Egyptian Army for its great task. It was uphill work. He alone appreciated its magnitude. He gave the Army which had known little but defeat, and had even disbanded itself on occasion, self-respect through good treatment, officered it with care, and drilled it into discipline. His advance, when at last it began, proceeded with precision and the end became inevitable. And when he finally put an end to the Dervish tyranny he assembled 22,000 troops, just 2,000 beyond the number he had estimated to be necessary 14 years before. At Omdurman 10,563 corpses were counted and 5,000 prisoners were taken, against a total casualty list of less than 500 killed and wounded. Omdurman may be criticised; but it may fairly be called conclusive, and Kitchener on his return to England found himself a popular hero. We have passed over the Fashoda incident, though it was significant. In the hands of a less tactful man it might have led to war. As it was, it was passed over in very friendly fashion by the two chief actors, and the French and British Governments contrived to straighten out the matter.

On January 19th, 1899, Kitchener became Governor-General of the Sudan, but he had not been many months at his post before a new war broke out which was to call him to the other end of Africa. After the early disasters it was resolved to ask Lord Roberts to assume the chief command, but, at Lord Salisbury's express order, Kitchener was to be sent as Chief of Staff. This office which had so definite a rôle in the German Army was not yet acclimatised in the British, and Kitchener had first to address himself to general organisation. As in Egypt it was his voice that sounded the note of warning. "I fear the W.O. does not yet realise the importance of this war," he wrote a few days after he had arrived in the field. "If we had worked the Sudan campaign like this we should never have reached Dongola—most of us would be in prison at Omdurman or dead by now!" Kitchener was sent in February to super-

intend the turning of Cronje's position and was in time to grasp that the Boer leader was escaping from Magersfontein. Promptly French was ordered to Paardeberg Drift and Cronje was cornered. On the 18th began the battle of Paardeberg Drift which has been taken as the text for a lecture upon Kitchener's lack of tactical ability. But something more than this is necessary to justify such a conclusion. All the Divisional Commanders engaged had been granted higher local rank than that of Kitchener, and, though Lord Roberts attempted to bridge this difficulty by writing to Kelly-Kenny that Lord Kitchener was to communicate his orders, some confusion resulted. To make matters worse, the perimeter of the battle-line was extensive, while Kitchener had only two staff officers and his personal aides-de-camp to convey orders. Finally, he rightly thought that time pressed. Cronje would not have stood but for the knowledge of the presence of considerable Boer forces in the vicinity. In the result, the battle failed through lack of co-ordination, and Kitchener lost over 1,200 killed, wounded and missing. It was an unsuccessful battle and proved costly, on the standard of the day; and if we can point to ill-considered action, we must at least realise that the general scheme was correct, and that all the machinery for achieving co-ordination was lacking. How Roberts thought of the battle is perhaps best shown by his recommending Kitchener for the Chief Command when he left South Africa at the end of the year. In leaving, he unfortunately did Kitchener the great disservice to remark that the war was practically over, and that there remained but "a few marauding bands." With the memory of von Lettow's campaign in German East Africa fresh in our minds, we can appreciate how prolonged and arduous may be the resistance of well-led bands operating in such a field. The weary months dragged on and the home Government, despite the statesmanlike advice of Kitchener, refused to take the high road to conciliation which would have put a term to the fighting. His theory, then as always, was quite the reverse of the German. If it had lain with him, the war would have ended fourteen months earlier, but that it ended as

it did was due to him, and his wisdom was seen in the action of the Union of South Africa during the war.

The November of that year saw Lord Kitchener in another position of heavy responsibility. Attempts had been made to lure him to the War Office. But he resisted and entered upon his duties as Commander-in-Chief of India with pleasure. He was a hater of "red tape"; but order and scheme he insisted upon, and there was neither in the Indian Army when he arrived. The situation was radically changed when he left, and "dual control"—so strangely misconceived at the time—had been ended. After a short holiday he returned to Egypt once more, in the autumn of 1911, as British Agent and Consul-General, and at once found himself placed in a delicate position through the declaration of war by Italy against Turkey. Egypt was to be neutral, and we gain some insight into another part of Kitchener's repertoire from a study of his methods of enforcing neutrality. A suggestion that some Egyptian battalions might be sent to help the Turks was met with the remark "that is quite a good idea, only as I could not improvise fresh Egyptian troops I might have to ask for some English battalions to come here." The deputation did not press the point! On another occasion some Egyptian officers asked leave to volunteer for the Turkish Army. "By all means," said Kitchener, "only I should warn you that, as the establishment of officers must be kept up to strength, your places will necessarily be filled by promotions from the junior ranks, so that when you return you will find yourselves automatically on the retired list." A third assault was made by some Bedouin sheiks who wished to raise desert levies for the Caliph. "Kitchener complimented them effusively on their warlike spirit, but was sure it would be a thousand pities if Egypt were to lose the services of men of so fine a fighting quality; and he undertook that, on their return, they should come under the Law of Conscription from which they had been specially exempt. The matter was reconsidered and the request withdrawn." With human insight and tact he steered Egypt through a delicate period and established peace there. He was about to return

thither when the outbreak of the Great War called him to a post of higher responsibility.

He found even the French with no sure measure of the greatness of the crisis, with no real insight into the meaning of the German attack. He alone foresaw the true weight of the German western flank and French's peril. His own view was that it would be wiser to concentrate at Amiens; but he gave in to the French plan, so far was he from over-riding the judgment of others. He was right, as usual, in the big things; but he saw then, as often after, that there are bigger things than being merely right. It was thought by some that he held too much power in his hands and attempted to do too much himself. The fact was that, with the departure of the Expeditionary Force to France, the War Office was sadly depleted. "There is no Army," he said as he assumed office, and he alone rightly knew the truth of this statement. His unforgettable achievement was its creation. In defiance of all pre-conceived notions he set about the work; and, after due consideration, he chose not to build on the Territorial foundation, as many eminent Generals insisted. But the Army was formed, despite the incredulity of the Germans who then fell back upon the comfortable assurance that there was but one Kitchener.

Very early he was called upon to deal with a project which might have lost the war. On August 30th, 1914, French telegraphed that he would "be absolutely unable to remain in the front line," that he had decided to retire "marching for some eight days . . . at a considerable distance from the enemy." A letter arrived later that he must have "power to retire on my base" (not "towards" my base, as "1914" put it). The Cabinet was summoned and Kitchener hastened to France, saw French at the Embassy and drafted a memorandum of the meeting which he communicated to French in a letter. He informed French that he had telegraphed to the Government, "French's troops are now engaged in the fighting line, where he will remain conforming to the movements of the French Army, though at the same time acting with caution to avoid being in any way unsupported on the flanks." And

French was ordered to "consider it an instruction." It was not the least of Kitchener's services to his country that he prevented French leaving "the front line"; but we can only marvel at the mind that could so misrepresent the episode as did Lord French in "1914." On the shell episode, we again receive an adequate explanation. French breakfasted with Kitchener on the morning of the 14th April. He had promised "to tell him everything." It was after this conversation that Kitchener was able to tell the Prime Minister that the Commander-in-Chief would have sufficient ammunition for the next movement. It is incredible the subject should not have been mentioned, and if it were, most people will trust the accuracy of Kitchener's version. And in any case French wrote on May 2nd "the ammunition will be all right." It was apparently the request to send 20,000 rounds of 18-pounder ammunition and 2,000 rounds 4.5 inch howitzer ammunition to the Dardanelles that caused the shell controversy, though the despatch was made up within 24 hours. But it is profitless to follow the episode further.

Kitchener was against the advance on Bagdad, against the Salonika expedition, and still more against Mr. Lloyd George's proposal, at the beginning of 1915, "to transfer to the whole of the British Army in France—bag and baggage, lock, stock and barrel—and to dedicate the new forces to the Balkans." He deprecated the early rash attempts to storm the German lines in France. He did not live to see how terribly just his foresight was. Lord Salisbury states, in his preface, that interwoven with firmness of purpose there was in him almost the quality of a child—the simplicity of a child and a measure of a child's audacity—which created towards him amongst his intimate subordinates an attitude of affectionate amusement. On such evil days has intuition, which merely differs from reason in being the integration of a hundred reasons, fallen! Lord Kitchener perished on an errand of duty. Something of tragedy surrounded his death, the fitting end of so great a life. Sir George Arthur's book should find many readers and students, for, written with conspicu-

ous care and restraint, it does justice to the greatness of its subject, and, apart from some extremely novel reflections on the battle of the Marne, it will stand the test of careful criticism.

THE LETTERS OF HENRY JAMES. Selected and Edited by Percy Lubbock (Macmillan Two vols. 36/- net.)

We doubt whether anyone, after reading these two very sumptuous volumes of "The Letters of Henry James," will be able to place his hand upon his heart and vow that he is completely satisfied. Certainly he will have experienced pleasure in his reading. He will have digested and been intrigued by much suggestive literary criticism; he will have enjoyed many a subtle portrait of men and places, many an acute analysis of the conditions of various social sets in three if not four countries during the latter half of the nineteenth century; he will have watched the growth (technically, at any rate) of an extraordinarily perceptive artist. But, if we are not mistaken, he will feel himself just the least little bit in the world aggrieved in that he has not been rewarded, or only rather grudgingly so, by those qualities which he expects to find in a volume of letters above all else, and without which letters, however interesting they may be in other ways, cannot be expected to live.

For letter writing is, of course, an art in itself, and one in which literary men as often as not are rather failures. Just as Queen Victoria objected to being addressed by Mr. Gladstone as if she were a public meeting, so are we inclined to resent the literary man who addresses a private correspondent as if he were the British public, or even that small and chosen portion of it to which such men as Henry James make their appeal. Intimacy is of the first importance in a letter writer, and it is difficult to feel that Henry James had many intimates. Perhaps this was due to the fact that he was for most of his life a dweller in a strange land, perhaps, even more to the quantity of his acquaintances. Whatever the reason may be we never feel, as we feel with Lamb, say, or Cowper, or even Horace Walpole (who had as many acquaintances as he and was at least as

inveterate a diner-out) that Henry James is ever indulging in the luxury of being entirely himself, of giving himself or his opinions or tastes quite shamelessly away. He is always fully dressed we feel, and on his best behaviour. Not that he is by any means cold in his method of address—he is on the contrary too regularly warm. Always we seem to find him thanking a fresh correspondent for "your good and charming letter," "your sweet and dateless letter," "your beautiful letter," "your charming, vivid, pictorial report," and regretting that it has not been immediately answered. To all and every correspondent his method of approach appears to be the same, always courteous, always a little distant, always overwhelmingly and a little conventionally affectionate. Even the very warmth of the praises he showers upon his correspondents who are themselves literary men though generous, though intensely moving in a way, especially when one considers his own conviction of something approaching failure in the indubitable fact of his unpopularity—even that never quite convinces as it should of having reached the heart of the man. What we know of Henry James, we cannot help feeling, we know primarily from the novels, then from the autobiographical *A Small Boy and Others* and *Notes of a Son and Brother*, and only lastly from his letters.

But if Henry James is not to be ranked with the great letter writers, the book on the lower level of the criticisms of life and letters it contains is, of course, intensely interest. From Flaubert to Mr. Walpole he has something of value to say of or to them all—sometimes a little prejudiced against when he is writing of, and usually a little prejudiced for when writing to, but in either case invariably suggestive. At one time we find him vowing in a fury not to allow himself to open *Lourdes* "till I shall have closed with a final furious bang the unspeakable *Lord Ormont* which I have been reading

at the maximum rate of ten pages—ten insufferable and unprofitable pages, a day," and proceeding at considerable length to give his reasons for his statements. At another he is praising Mr. Wells most charmingly for his "cheek." Or, wandering to Mrs. Humphry Ward again in reference to Mr. Wells, "at the co-existence of so much talent with so little art, so much life with (so to speak) so little living!" But the literary judgments are scattered broadcast and we cannot quote them here. But they are the whole value of the book. So much so that is with almost a feeling of tragedy that we read of *Du Côté de chez Swann* being ordered and then discover that that author whose opinion above all others we should have cared to have on that remarkable book apparently died before he could give it, or perhaps even before he had had the chance of forming it.

As for the editing and the format of the book—they are both ideal. Mr. Percy Lubbock never obtrudes himself between the subject and the reader, and his short explanatory introductions are admirably clear and sympathetic, while the paper and printing are such that it is difficult to believe that wars, high wages, and paper shortages have ever been.



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OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

Political and Social.

West and East. By Edward Caldwell Moore (Duckworth, 12/6 net).

This volume comprises the eight Dale Lectures delivered by the author, who is Professor of Christian Morals at Harvard University, at Mansfield College, Oxford. The influence of the West upon the East, exercised partly through political and commercial channels, and partly through missionary endeavour, is traced, and the latter is subjected to an exhaustive analysis. As a contribution to the literature of the new missionary effort, these lectures are of the first importance. The present-day need of a strenuous and enlightened missionary policy, in order to solve the ever-darkening difficulties of the inter-racial problem, was touched on by Mr. Basil Mathews in our last issue. No one interested in this subject can afford to miss Professor Moore's brilliant exposition of the situation and suggestions as to the lines on which this effort should proceed.

Nationality and Its Problems. By Sidney

● Herbert (Methuen, 5/- net).

Nationality was one of the catchwords of the war. One knew it was important without having any clear idea what it meant. Mr. Herbert examines the various definitions of the term, and fixes on "consciousness of kind" as the most satisfactory. He then examines Nationality as a political force, carefully separating the concept from that of the State, and arrives at some interesting conclusions. One is that while the national idea is being advocated at present with greater fervour than at any time in history, its existence is threatened by the industrial doctrine of the "economic man" who belongs to the world and not to any country. He realises the dangers of nationality as a political force, and thinks that it can only be developed in the future along the lines of language, literature and art. The book is well-argued and suggestive.

Stevenson's Germany. By C. Brunson Fletcher (Heinemann, 12/- net).

Mr. Fletcher is an Australian writer who, like most of his countryman, is strongly opposed to any restoration to Germany of her Pacific colonies. This book expresses his view. Its text is Stevenson's "Footnote to History," in which that writer, ranging himself on the side of the missionaries, voiced the native standpoint and made a general

attack on German methods of exploiting them. It was at a time when German "efficiency" was an object of undiluted admiration to our statesmen, and R. L. S. came within distance of being deported as a meddler. Mr. Fletcher deals with the ancient history of the islands at some length, and shows why Australasia is so keenly interested in their future. The book is a useful summary of evidence on a much-discussed problem.

The Three-fold State. The True Aspect of the Social Question. By Dr. Rudolf Steiner (Allen and Unwin, 5/- net).

The translation of a German work, whose author has enjoyed a considerable vogue on the Continent. In the main it proposes a solution of social problems by a new form of State-structure—a three-fold state in which the body social, the body spiritual, and the body economic function independently of each other, instead of being, as they are now, interdependent. Under this scheme Labour would cease to be a commodity controlled by economic laws; wages would be fixed by the communal sense of right emanating from the body social. The book embodies an ingenious theory, ingeniously worked out, of a *via media* between the capitalistic system and State ownership.

The Pankov Policy. By the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith M.P. (Cassell, 2/- net).

Mr. Asquith's Pankov speeches are here collected in volume form. The book is a remarkably concise summary of his views on British home and foreign policy, including such important questions as Nationalisation, revision of the Peace Treaty, intervention in Russia, the political status of women, and so forth, and as such will prove a useful textbook for Independent Liberals and others.

Portraits and Sketches of Serbia. By Francesca M. Wilson (Swarthmore Press, 2/6 net).

These sketches show literary skill and much sincerity, tempered, as in "The Orphan Hunt," by a quiet sense of humour. As a working member of the Serbian Relief Fund and of the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee, Miss Wilson had good opportunities of studying the individual Serbian in his own country and elsewhere; and most of her impressions were worth recording. Serbia has been somewhat forgotten in the clamour of problems of relief and resettlement nearer home—in Central Europe, for example. This book should do something to re-kindle interest

in an interesting people. Some account is given of the work of reconstruction that is still being carried out in Serbia by voluntary committees from the United States and Great Britain.

Labour Troubles and Birth Control. By Bessie Ingman Drysdale (Heinemann, 3/6 net).

The author finds the panacea for Labour unrest in birth control. So did Malthus. Here is the old familiar argument that small families mean happy homes and ultimate prosperity for the workman whose services will find their real market value in a world that is short of them. They must be taught how not to have children. Then real wages will take the place of artificial ones, the detestable mediocrity-making trade union will die out, and we shall all be happy together. Unfortunately history has shown that a nation can more easily force down its birth rate than increase it. But there are points in this short treatise that are worth considering.

The Sword of Justice. By John Eyre Winstanley Wallis. With an Introduction by Ernest Barker (Blackwell, 5/- net).

Here Mr. Wallis re-examines the Christian attitude towards war, and decides—as others have decided before him—that an earnest member of the Church should accept war, even as a participant, waged by his country against another, provided that it be for a just cause. As for what constitutes justice, the State itself must decide, and it is the duty of the Christian in his capacity as a citizen to obey. It would be well, however, if the State instead of shouldering the whole responsibility, should have a higher authority to appeal to. Hence the call for a League of Nations, which should be less a combination for preventing wars, than for enforcing justice. The theme is logically developed, though the writer reveals no strikingly original views.

Can Church and Industry Unite? By David Carnegie (Marshall Bros, 3/6 net).

We presume that when Mr. Carnegie writes of the impotence of the Church to influence favourably the eternal struggle between Capital and Labour, he means the State Church. Otherwise his promises would hardly be valid, since the independent churches have undoubtedly contributed to the formation of the Labour mind and spirit. However, even among these, there is room for better organization and greater effort on the part of the churches. Mr. Carnegie's panacea is an International Church Industrial Union, representing all sections of Christian opinion, with a definite programme of education and training. One of his proposals is that every theological student should receive a practical training in a factory or business house, before accepting a call to the ministry.

History and Memories.

Hellenism. By Norman Bentwich (Jewish Publication Society of America).

This is the latest of a series of books issued under the general heading of "Movements in Judaism." During the three centuries before Christ, the Jewish people came into close contact with the Greek-speaking world—largely owing to the conquests of Alexander—and imbibed much of its influence, more especially in the Jewish colonies formed, owing to the Dispersion, outside Palestine. The Jews, however, were always opposed to foreign influences which conflicted with their philosophy of life, and the some centuries of Judaism with Hellenist culture was one of the most remarkable in the history of civilization. The author describes this struggle from the Jewish point of view; and his conclusion vindicates the innate strength of the Jewish ideal. The scholarship revealed in the book will appeal to the expert, and there is much also to interest the lay intellect.

A Lord Mayor's Diary, 1806-7. By Sir William P. Treloar. Bt. (Murray, 10/6 net.)

Sir William Treloar has been styled an unconventional Lord Mayor. He was certainly an unconventional Alderman when, on the occasion of his being knighted, he telegraphed to his wife: "Operation successfully performed; both doing well." And one would certainly have liked to see him dancing through the streets of Helston, in accordance with custom, when he received the freedom of that place. This diary is informative as well as entertaining. It tells us a lot about a Lord Mayor's life during his brief, glorious year. It reveals the writer not only as a humourist and a good "Savage" but as a Diplomat—witness the German attempt to trap him at Berlin into an expression of anti-French sentiment—and as the humane author of the Crippled Children's Fund. The human touch in his record contrasts curiously with the dry formality of Micajah Perry, an 18th century Lord Mayor, whose diary is included in this volume.

Fiction.

Our Flagdom. By Johan Bojer. Translated by Jessie Muir (Hodder and Stoughton, 7/6 net).

This is the fourth of Mr. Bojer's novels that have now been translated into English, and if not quite up to the level of the three which preceded it, is at least a fine novel. The story is the account of a man's efforts to make restitution for the wrongs that he himself and his family had done. Erib Goje, the hero, as a youth had at different times deserted a friend and a lover; and through his desertion both of them had gone in tragic circumstances to prison. Over these facts he had brooded, and from them he tries to escape by turning first of all to Socialism, and afterwards to

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idealistic schemes for his workpeople. The end as one forges with a hero of Mr. Bojer's is failure. Where the novel, like the others, stands out is in the fineness of the chief characters, and the actuality of the small scenes. And Mr. Bojer's refusal to have any touch with the sentimental ending is in itself astringent.

The Dream Detective. By Sax Rohmer (Jarrolds, 7/- net).

Mr. Sax Rohmer is the master shocker-writer of to-day. But *The Dream Detective* is not among his best books. It is a collection of short stories, all of which concern a mysterious old man who becomes an expert in detection by allowing himself to sleep on the scene of the crime and thus to receive the strong emotions with which the place is saturated. The objection to this method of detection is that it must be so easy, when once you know how to do it. What we like about a detective story is to put our wits, of course disastrously, against the hero in picking up the clues that the author, if he is fair, gives to us both. That at any rate gives us a chance of taking a hand in the game. By allowing his hero to dream, we feel that Mr. Rohmer is giving him an unfair advantage over us.

The Red Widow. By William Le Queux (Cassell, 7/6 net).

Mr. William Le Queux knows his public as Mr. George Robey or Mr. Lloyd George knows theirs. He knows exactly how often the villain may say "Ha! ha!" to himself, as he chuckles mysteriously in the corner. He knows his public's taste for fine clothes and rich food and scandal, and how to mix his drinks accordingly. But he is not a master of the mystery story. Obviously there is no need for him to be. The villains of this story, who grow rich on the nasty practice of insuring people and then killing them, are not, one feels, either 'cute enough, or evil enough, to thrill a man who has seen the whole thing done before. Still, he knows his public. We suspect, however, that though it is always the same, the units which compose it must be for ever changing.

The Voice. (Hodder and Stoughton, 7/6 net).

There is a simplicity about the message of this anonymous book which is not unattractive. The author is convinced that all modern ills can be cured by persuading men to read the Bible. The hero, a hard man of business and a mine-owner, is wrecked on a desert island, and for five years reads nothing but the Bible. After his rescue he comes home to find a strike in his mine being thoroughly mismanaged by the young heir. He sells all he has, erects modern machinery and a garden village and consequently Utopia. But even then his work is not finished, for he must show all men the rightness of his belief. We read of him persuading and striving with capitalists and extreme socialists; and in the end he is called in by

the Prime Minister. It is all naïf enough, certainly. But it is in a way refreshing.

Almonds of Life. By F. E. Mills Young (Hodder and Stoughton, 7/6 net).

This is a rather good novel of South African life, as far as the South African part goes; for the rest it is the old, old question of adultery, on which, though there are doubtless plenty of new things to say, precious little but the old things get said. There is a man (what the French call *un mâle*, and incidentally little more) who has been married for some time, and his sensible wife, a thoroughly good sort. There is also an older man and his pretty young wife. And there are passions and regrets and renunciations. The women are significantly the finer characters in the book and both of them have a certain merit. Miss Mills Young, at any rate, turns out her novels with a certain amount of finish, and the book, if not deeply imagined, is well executed.

Salt. By Charles G. Norris (Constable 9/- net).

This is another of those novels of American life which are becoming so popular with English publishers. It is a rather full life story of a young American, through various schools, through what strikes an Englishman as a most barbarian university, through corrupt (very corrupt) Commercialism and sordid marriage, until he reaches, on the last page or so, his sentimental entry into matrimony with the only woman for him. But the book is often interesting if a little crude. We hear of the University hero that "he affected all the undergraduate carelessness of dress, which is so thoughtfully conceived and so casually assumed. On his silk shirt there dangled a heavily jewelled, diamond-shaped fraternity pin." And what we hear of the fraternities is hardly prepossessing. Still the story often grips and there are certainly many worse novels published in England.

A War Book.

The Battle of the Marne. By G. H. Perris (Methuen, 10/6 net).

Mr. Perris was war correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle* with the French Armies, 1914-18. His "Campaign in France and Belgium" contained an excellent account of General Joffre's strategy at the first Battle of the Marne; in the present volume he treats this subject in greater detail, and examines the issue afresh in the light of expert opinions published in the interval. Mr. Perris is a frank critic of Allied as well as German mistakes in this historic battle. But it is significant that in attributing the blame for the defeat of the Germans, he has a generous word for von Klück. That General, he considers, made the best of a bad job which the High Command had ordered him to undertake. The book has excellent maps.

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No. 366. Vol. LXI.]

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[JUNE, 1920]

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, June 7th, 1920.

Negotiations with Russia.

The beginning of June may mark a turning point in the resettlement of Europe, and the mission of M. Krassin and his colleagues to London to discuss the resumption of trade between Russia and the Allies is the most hopeful event in the history of Russia since the beginning of the Russian Revolution. We say this with no sense of satisfaction at the personal triumph of the Bolshevik leaders over their opponents in Russia, who have in the main had our sympathy in their protracted endeavour to re-establish constitutional government in Russia, and to overthrow the band of Anarchists who have maintained themselves in power by the exercise of a ruthless policy of massacre and starvation whenever any attempt was made to control them. By superior organisation, tireless energy, and a fixed determination of purpose, the Bolshevik Government has succeeded in defeating every one of its enemies in turn, and now reigns with undisputed dominion over the whole of Russia in Europe, and the immense provinces of Siberia. During the past year, in consolidating their government of the country, they have been obliged to repudiate in turn almost all the experiments that they originally advocated as indispensable principles in the establishment of the fantastic Socialist Republic. Their victories over Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin could never have been won if they had not frustrated the wild extravagances of their original programme, and if they had

not made large concessions to the national traditions of Russia when they appealed to the whole people to aid them in their fight against armies which were subsidised from abroad. For that reason, unconsciously and indirectly, Kolchak and Denikin have thus undermined the power of Bolshevism, and have gradually transformed the Moscow Government, under pressure from without, into something approaching a popular national government of Russia. In the new Russia one of the most outstanding figures is General Brussiloff, who led the Russian armies that finally overthrew General Denikin, and has rallied around him all classes of the population in the defence of Russia against Polish aggression.

The Birth of a New Russia.

A new Russia has been slowly coming to life during the past year, but the transformation is by no means yet complete. Cosmopolitan Anarchists like Trotsky, Litvinoff, and Pieters, celebrated for his part in the famous Sidney Street "siege" before the war, still hold the most important offices in the Moscow Soviet. But the lapse of time has brought with it a gradual and growing revival of hope and self-confidence in the mass of the people. Left with no foreign enemies to face, the Bolsheviks must justify their own government by its results, and can no longer blame their failure to maintain supplies and to avert famine upon the blockade or the necessity of raising armies to fight foreign enemies. Russia has not yet demobilised her army, but the number of her troops under arms has been steadily

diminished. With the return of peace, representative government cannot long be deferred, and the new hope of a real peace throughout Europe has arisen from the fact that Russia has no longer any justification for maintaining an enormous army. The only possible normal conditions can be restored throughout Russia, the more surely must the Russian Government fall into line with the other civilised governments. The one way of overthrowing Bolshevism is to make Russia prosperous again. Those who are still denouncing the Government in this country for entering into negotiations with the Bolshevik envoys are merely helping to prolong the life of the Moscow Soviet in its present form. The decision to receive M. Krassin and his colleagues was not taken by this country alone. So early as January 16th, even before M. Clemenceau had left the Supreme Council, the Allies decided jointly to permit trade with Russia, and this decision was repeated again on February 24th at a further meeting of the Supreme Council in London. It was decided then that trade relations with Russia were to be resumed at once, but that all trade must be conducted through the Russian Co-operative Societies. Whether the Supreme Council were genuine or not at the outset in their ostensible intention to trade with Russia without any dealings with the Bolshevik Government, can only be guessed. At any rate, the Bolsheviks quickly defeated any such manoeuvres by at once taking over the entire co-operative organisation and converting it into a government department under their own control. This fact was well-known to all the Foreign Offices, when the San Remo Conference last month decided to invite M. Krassin to London to confer with a specially appointed committee comprising representatives of all the principal Allies.

Mr. Lloyd George's Prevarications Our own complaint against the Government is not that they have opened their eyes to the obvious consequences of recent events, and have recognised that the Bolshevik Government must henceforth be reckoned as one of the most important Governments of Europe, established at least as firmly as any of the Central European Governments, but that they have per-

sistently deceived the public by pretending that they would not negotiate with Russia while they were, in fact, taking steps week by week to resume trade negotiations, in flat contradiction to the professions of uncompromising hostility which Mr. Bonar Law and the Prime Minister repeatedly made in the House of Commons. The insistence upon the statement that trade was to be confined to the Russian Co-operatives was obviously intended to mislead public opinion. Mr. Lloyd George's latest explanations of the real significance of M. Krassin's visit are equally insincere. Instead of proclaiming openly that his Government has come to the conclusion that the Bolsheviks must be recognised and that trade with Russia must be revived, he tries to keep up the pretence that he has pursued a persistent policy all along. Consequently, each stage in the negotiations has been marked by a deliberate misrepresentation of the previous decisions, and a refusal to state the reasons upon which the new policy of negotiating with the Bolsheviks is based. For ourselves, we are convinced that negotiation with Russia is not only desirable but urgently necessary in the interests of any stable settlement of Europe, and we believe that the Government takes the same view. Why then, cannot the public be told openly what the real policy of the Government is? Instead of candour, we have been treated first to the ridiculous prevarication about the Co-operative Societies, which the Government knew quite well to be under Bolshevik control, and subsequently, to most explicit assurances that M. Krassin would not be allowed to discuss any questions other than those relating to trade, and that his status would be merely that of a commercial agent. Mr. Lloyd George now informs the House of Commons that M. Krassin, who is the Minister of Transport in the Moscow Soviet, and one of the most important of its members, is in London "acting in the name and under the authority of the Soviet Government."

The opportunity to make Peace. Now that this highly important admission has been wrung from the Prime Minister, it is to be hoped that a full and candid exchange of views on foreign politics

between the British and Soviet Governments will take place. Equally, we hope that the Government will take the public into its confidence, and rely upon the support of public opinion for whatever decision it may make. Mr. Lloyd George has explained that he is trying to secure the release of all British prisoners in Russia as the first essential condition of any resumption of trade. There are much more important questions at stake than the liberation of the few hundred British men and women who are now in Russia under the jurisdiction of Mr. Pieters, of Sidney Street. Russia is even still involved in two wars, each of which must react with fearful severity upon the prospects of resettlement in Europe. On her Western front, she is engaged in defending her territory from invasion by the Polish armies, and in the defence which she has organised under General Brussiloff, the hero of Russia's greatest offensive against Germany during the war, she has the sympathy of all Western civilisation on her side. But on her South-Eastern frontiers, the Bolsheviks have undertaken a totally different campaign with the object of joining forces with the Young Turks under Mustapha Kemal and threatening our position in Persia. One is a war of defence, the other is an Imperialistic campaign undertaken in furtherance of the Bolshevik gospel of "World Empire or Downfall."

Poland and the League of Nations.

Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the League of Nations Union, drew the attention of the Cabinet to the Polish invasion of Russia nearly a month ago, and received a reply from Lord Curzon so evasive and so tortuous that we are tempted to despair of any sign that the present Government would ever adhere faithfully to its solemn pledges to the League of Nations. The fundamental principle upon which the League was built was the formal recognition by all the nations which signed the Covenant, that if wars were to be prevented in the future, they must all agree to refer their own disputes to arbitration before a supreme international tribunal, and that they must regard themselves as respon-

sible individually and collectively, for preventing any single nation from declaring war against its neighbours until every means of peaceful settlement had first been tried. The Treaty of Versailles was founded upon the Covenant of the League of Nations. Such moral authority as it has ever possessed had to depend upon this solemn undertaking by all the Powers that signed it, that they would be prepared to reconsider any injustice that the Treaty might contain, and that they really intended to abide by their promise to carry out the Treaty in an impartial spirit, and see that no country attempted to annex territories which were not granted to it under its provisions. Yet there is no doubt at all as to the character of the war which Poland has now undertaken against Russia. Its avowed object is to secure by military conquest territories in Russia to which Poland laid claim unsuccessfully at Versailles. The Poles are perfectly entitled to consider that the Treaty of Versailles is not a final settlement, and to bring their case before the League of Nations for revision. But as a signatory to the Peace Treaty, and an original member of the League of Nations, Poland has made two solemn pledges to the rest of the world, which she is now violating flagrantly. She is pledged to abide by the Peace Treaty in its present form until it is revised, and still more, she is pledged not only to abstain from war against her neighbours but to assist in punishing any nation that declares war without having given due notice to the League of Nations.

That second pledge places an equally definite responsibility upon every member of the League, but no attempt whatever has yet been made by any of the principal members of the League of Nations Council to carry it out. Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the unofficial League of Nations Union, sent a formal request to Lord Curzon as our Minister for Foreign Affairs and an actual member of the League's Executive, that it was the duty of the British Government to summon a meeting of the Council of the League at once to take the necessary measures to recall the Poles from the unwarranted

invasion of Russia, upon which they had embarked. Lord Curzon merely replied with the specious argument that the Polish invasion was no more than a new phase of the unended war between Poland and Russia, and that there was no occasion for the Great Powers to intervene. Lord Robert Cecil's letter had pointed out the obvious truth that, whether the Poles succeed or fail in their military adventure, the result could only be to set back for many months the economic recovery of Central and Eastern Europe, and to involve a renewal of the devastation of Poland and Western Russia, with untold misery and loss of life to their inhabitants. But the Foreign Office apparently refuses to take such facts into consideration, and Lord Curzon's reply might have been written a hundred years ago, for its total lack of any perception of the universal popular desire among all the democracies for a practical application of the League of Nations Covenant. His letter would perhaps have been couched in different terms if he had anticipated that it would be made public, but Lord Robert Cecil has added greatly to his claims upon the gratitude and esteem of this country by revealing this further proof of the official attitude of our Foreign Office towards the responsibilities of peace and war. He has raised the question once and for all, of whether or not the League of Nations is to be a reality or a sham. It has become more clear than ever that if the League of Nations is to have any effective influence upon the destinies of Europe, its driving force will have to come from a spontaneous agitation by the peoples themselves that shall keep their Governments to their pledges. But if the League of Nations is to be a dominating force in the public affairs of the world, its influence must be applied impartially in every direction. The two wars in which Russia is now engaged, are opposite examples of the manner in which the Covenant could operate for peace. The Supreme Council could have put an end to all talk of an invasion by Poland by making clear its intention of cutting off all supplies and credits from Poland if she declared war. But by its readiness to connive at Polish aggression so long as there appeared to be a chance of its suc-

cess, it is no longer in a position to say to the Bolsheviks, plainly and forcibly, and without being open to any charge of dishonesty, that it will help them against Poland if they will themselves behave peacefully in the Middle East.

Mr. Lloyd George as Peace-Maker.

Mr. Lloyd George's chief task must be to persuade the Bolsheviks to demilitarise Russia and to abandon their plans for an extension of Bolshevism throughout the East. Their co-operation with the Young Turks in Asia Minor has already practically reduced the Treaty with Turkey to a farce. Mustapha Kemal's forces are already within thirty miles of Constantinople at one point, and within fifty miles elsewhere, and there is no army available to subdue them. By making the Turkish Treaty so severe that it could never be enforced, while allowing the Turks to remain in Constantinople, the Allies have only destroyed all their own labours and given new strength to the Young Turks as the leaders of a Turkish Nationalist revival. If the Bolsheviks can maintain their influence unimpaired in Moscow, they may yet extend the overthrow of constitutional government and gather further power into their own hands by skilful management of revolutions and by supplying their own picked organisers to form provisional revolutionary Governments throughout all the Middle East and a great part of Eastern Europe. The outcome of Mr. Lloyd George's negotiations with M. Krassin will largely determine the result. If Russia is to get on her feet again, then the revival of the old Russia will undermine the autocratic power of the Soviet, which has been hitherto able to disregard all that steady pressure of public opinion, and of traditions which restricted the theoretical autocracy of the Tsardom. If Russia is still kept in a ferment, or if Poland is allowed to pursue an attack upon Russia which can only result in her own military collapse, then the Bolsheviks will have a new lease of life and will be able to spread anarchy still further throughout the civilised world. If the present opportunity of resuming trade with Russia is not taken, then the reconstruction of Europe must wait still longer, until either

the Bolsheviks have been given time to accomplish their aims of world revolution, or until the Supreme Council is forced by the logic of facts to consent to help Russia to regain her place in Europe.

**Labour's
Refusal to
Transport
Munitions.**

Once again the difficulties of the Bolshevik Government have produced important reactions upon Labour in this country. The Dockers' Union has flatly refused to handle munitions that have been lying in the London docks since last year and were now being shipped to Poland for use in the offensive against Russia. The Government, having sold them a year ago to Poland, cannot fairly be held responsible for the use to which they are now put. But the dockers were sufficiently justified in the line that they adopted. A similar situation arose almost immediately afterwards in connection with the transport of munitions to Ireland, which has led to an extremely interesting conflict between the two wings of the Labour movement in Great Britain. The Irish railwaymen refused to handle a trainload of munitions intended for General Macready's military operations against Sinn Fein in the South of Ireland, and the Irish Railwaymen's Union appealed at once to the National Union of Railwaymen in London to support their attitude. It was a case of "direct action" by a particular trade union for a political purpose, and on precisely the same lines as the dockers had followed in dealing with the munitions for Poland. But opinion on Ireland is deeply divided, and the N.U.R. Executive referred the question to the whole Triple Alliance for decision. The Executive sub-committee of the Triple Alliance has in its turn referred the matter still further back, making a strong recommendation in favour of a special Trade Union Congress to consider the matter. The N.U.R. has since issued an appeal to the Irish railwaymen to resume work indiscriminately until the question has been decided over here. Of course, if the Irish railwaymen acceded to this request, they would have missed their sole chance of making an effective protest. As it is, General Macready has been able to pour quantities of munitions into Ireland through Belfast and other harbours

in North-East Ulster. And it is quite plain that neither the railwaymen nor the dockers in Great Britain show any enthusiasm for helping Sinn Fein. Incidentally the episode has greatly strengthened the hands of those who are working out plans for a "General Staff of Labour"; which would have power to deal with any sudden emergency of this kind without the necessity of delaying to summon a special Trade Union Congress. The necessity for such decisions raises the whole question of "direct action" for political purposes. This is not a question of any general offensive against the Government, but of a refusal by an individual union to perform work that the Government wishes it to do, when the great majority of the workers object to do it. In such cases the obvious policy for Labour is to leave the trade unions free to decide such questions as affect themselves directly, but to withhold any concerted action until the whole Labour movement has been consulted and has had time to bring its decisions before the Government. Even then, a general strike cannot be justified; but a concerted refusal by all the unions affected to do some particular work that the Government have ordered secretly to be done, is a different matter.

**Sinn Fein's
Hopes from
British Labour.**

But the most important aspect of the discussions over the transport of munitions to Ireland is the apparent reluctance of British Labour to side definitely with Sinn Fein. It has been increasingly evident for some time past that the ultimate success or failure of the Irish Republican movement must depend upon whether it can gain the active and resolute support of the British Trade Unions. Sinn Fein has now played all its other cards. Its leaders, having failed to obtain a hearing at the Peace Conference, thereafter set themselves with extraordinary success to discredit the Peace Treaty in America. Their efforts have, in fact, been mainly instrumental in securing its defeat, and they have assisted enormously in raising up Senator Johnson as a possible next President of the United States, primarily because he is an anti-British candidate. But with the Presidential Elections their

scope in America will have practically come to an end. While the elections last, everyone is angling for the Irish vote, and subscribing largely to the Irish Republican funds. But when the elections are over they will have to look elsewhere for support. They have indeed been converted by our persistent misgovernment of Ireland into formidable enemies, and if a war with America is not a likelihood of the near future, it is folly to ignore the possibility that Irish influences and Irish propaganda in Canada and Australia, and South Africa may lead to a very real danger of their severance from the United Kingdom. But such hopes—and Sinn Feiners undoubtedly cherish them, and are prepared, if need be, to wait until they are fulfilled, if we will not produce a genuine national settlement of our own accord and without being threatened by the downfall of the Empire—do not, at any rate, concern the immediate future. The Irish question has by this time been reduced practically to the bare alternatives of whether the Irish Republic can or cannot be brought into being. Sinn Feiners declare that it has been in existence for the past year and more. Certainly it would be impossible to describe our present rule in Ireland as constitutional government. It is a spectacle of military force trying to cope with the most skilfully organised and well-disciplined anarchy, with the leaders of the "Irish Republic" attempting always more boldly to extend their jurisdiction and to obtain for it the sanction of accomplished facts.

The Condition of Ireland.

If the Government had been content to pursue the policy of senseless coercion that was administered under Mr. Macpherson's Chief Secretaryship, it was fully possible that Labour in this country might have given its support to the demand for an Irish Republic. But circumstances are at present strongly in favour of the Government. In the first place, all the recent by-elections show that the Government has regained its lost prestige in the country. And secondly, there has been a real transformation of its policy in Ireland. For this tardy realisation of its former stupidity, General Macready is

mostly to be thanked. *Dublin Castle is being rapidly re-organised, and many of the older and most reactionary officials have been told to retire. Sir John Anderson goes to Dublin as Assistant Under Secretary, with the plenipotentiary powers exercised by the Secretary to the Treasury in this country; General Macready not only has a completely free hand in trying to restore order, but is able to get whatever he wants approved by the War Office; and Sir Hamar Greenwood, as a genial, but otherwise rather indefinite figure, acts as liaison officer between Dublin and Downing Street. Backed by these influences, General Macready is setting himself energetically to restore order—which means, in plain language, to prevent the population of the country from burning down police barracks. How many troops he will have to import into the country he probably does not know himself. The general idea of his military measures is to send out cavalry patrols and to link up one police barracks with another by means of S.O.S. signals and wireless. Apart from these attacks upon the police, crime in Ireland scarcely exists. The country pursues its normal life of quiet agricultural prosperity undisturbed except by reports from day to day that a police barrack or some house that the military or police are believed to intend occupying, has been burnt down, or that there has been some new encounter between the police and Sinn Feiners. These attacks upon the police have altered greatly in character during the past month. From being cold-blooded murders committed by surprise, they now take the form of organised raids upon police barracks, strongly defended and containing anything from five to fifteen armed policemen. In the majority of cases these attacks have lately been beaten off, with casualties to the raiders. It is significant that up to the present soldiers have not been attacked, although their arms have been taken from them successfully in several cases. The object of all these raids is either to obtain arms or to destroy all official records which are necessary to the Government for levying taxes in Ireland. They are a very different sort of disorder from the brutal murder of policemen by masked agents of the secret societies, for these raids on the

police stations are frequently made in broad daylight by fifty, or even several hundred young men. It is quite possible that still more ambitious raids may take place against the military barracks before General Macready has finished his defensive preparations.

Why not Abolish the Irish Police?

It occurred to Sir Edward Carson, during one of the recent Home Rule debates, that the Royal Irish Constabulary are able to perform no sort of useful function under the present, or any conceivable, conditions in Ireland, but are, in fact, the main cause of the necessity for sending so many troops to the country. The sole business of the R.I.C. at present is to protect their barracks. In several recent instances they have had to remain indoors while court houses were burned down in the same street, not daring to venture outside for fear that their own barracks might be attacked. They have long ceased to make any attempt at carrying out the ordinary civil duties of policemen, and such protection as is available for the preservation of public order or the punishment of local crime is carried out by the voluntary police force that has been organised all over the country by Sinn Féin. This amazing situation has raised the simple question of whether the Royal Irish Constabulary are worth keeping as a permanent force at all. For years they have been maintained as an armed police force in every little village in Ireland, with no conceivable duties to administer from day to day, costing about five times the cost of the police in Scotland. Now that the conditions have arisen with which they were presumably intended to cope, if they should ever arise, they have proved utterly helpless to exercise any authority whatever, and their intelligence work is wholly valueless. Nor is there any possibility that they would regain their lost authority if any workable scheme of Home Rule should ever be put into operation by the Government. Sir Edward Carson's proposal that the force should be disbanded altogether, and that the Irish Parliament should have power to raise their own police force according to their local requirements, would, in fact, go far to pacify the country if it were

accepted by the Government and accompanied by an altogether more generous Bill than that which is now before Parliament.

The Future of the Home Rule Bill.

But the Government's real instructions with regard to Ireland are wrapped in mystery. It is almost impossible to believe that the present Home Rule Bill, which is being passed through all its stages in an empty and indifferent House of Commons, is seriously intended as a piece of constructive legislation. We discussed at length last month the importance of the impending reconsideration by the Ulster Unionist Council of its decision that the Northern Parliament should be confined to six of the nine Ulster counties. The Ulster Unionist Council has since met and re-affirmed the original decision which was dictated by the Orangemen of Belfast; and so that last hope of a satisfactory settlement to the present Bill has disappeared. Sir Edward Carson alone appears to be devoting any serious attention to its progress. The Bill is still completely boycotted by the Irish Nationalists, the Independent Liberals, and the whole Labour Party. A few young Unionist supporters of the Coalition have made courageous speeches advocating a more generous reconstruction of the Government's scheme, but their eloquence has gone unheeded. Lord Robert Cecil attends the debates from time to time and intervenes every now and then to express his amazement at some extraordinary provision it contains, and to repeat his own conviction that everybody believes that it "does not matter two straws" what is done to the Bill in the House of Commons. Sinn Féin, meanwhile, which still represents the majority of Irishmen and practically all the Irish Parliamentary and local constituencies, refuses obdurately to enter into negotiations with the Government, declaring that successive British Governments have always broken their pledges to Ireland, and that they will waste no more time in parleying. It would seem that a hopeless deadlock has been reached, and that the Government may intend to use the precedent of the last Home Rule Act to postpone indefinitely the operation of the new Bill which they

are substituting for it. Should they do that, and should General Macready succeed in preventing all active resistance to the Government in Ireland, Sinn Féin will be thrown back upon passive resistance, with the faint hope that eventually the forces of British Labour may be mobilised to compel the Government to produce a scheme that has some chance of acceptance in Ireland.

Prices Beginning to Fall.

Meanwhile the Government has on the whole gained a more secure seat in its saddle, and Labour unrest has subsided almost entirely since there is practically no unemployment in any important industry, and the working classes are earning good wages everywhere. If prices can be reduced to any appreciable extent, the Government will be free from further uneasiness. There are clear signs that a distinct downward movement in the cost of living is about to begin. Production has had time to overtake consumption in most countries, and the continued chaos in the foreign exchanges has effectively compelled those who are affected to curtail their imports. Consequently, large stocks of all sorts of commodities are accumulating for which the foreign demand is, at any rate, temporarily falling off. Speculators who have been buying up everything which has been in steady demand since the war ended, find that they have bought at prices which the public are not now prepared to pay, and they are faced with the necessity of selling at once in order to avoid being under-sold within a very short time by producers who are steadily increasing the rate of their output. In such circumstances, the markets will no longer yield their previous rates of unearned profit to middlemen and speculators, and many of them are already beginning to lose heavily on their speculations. A slump on the Stock Exchange has been noticeable in recent weeks, owing to the forced liquidation of stocks, and the banks have accelerated the process of refusing to grant further extensions of credit, thereby compelling customers with overdrafts to realise whatever they can upon their securities to clear themselves of debt. Several significant incidents have taken place during the month—most notably, the temporary

suspension of the auction sales of tea, in order to prevent a complete collapse in its price, and the bold decision by Messrs. Selfridge, the celebrated London store, to reduce all food prices forthwith by 5 per cent., and all other prices by 10 per cent. Other stores are finding it necessary to follow their example, and there is no doubt that the decline in prices will become general and will be maintained. That this downward movement must soon make itself felt in retail prices was evident from the recent steady decline in most wholesale prices, apart from food. No decrease in food prices, however, is probable, and they may increase still further, since the world supply is still far short of the effective demand, and the growing resumption of trade with Central and Eastern Europe is likely to add to the competition for the supplies that are already inadequate.

A War Fortune Tax Impossible.

But while the effect of this welcome decline in the cost of living will be to ease industrial unrest, the Government's financial difficulties may be increased rather than diminished by the consequent disorganisation of capital that may ensue. The immediate result of the slump in prices has been to hit the speculators hard, and they are for the most part the people who have made fortunes during the war. It is fully possible that many of the richest profiteers will, during the present year, lose the greater part, if not all of their war profits, for they have mostly made their money by a reckless determination to keep on forcing up prices. Their impoverishment will, of course, be an enormous advantage to the whole community, and since they have been the worst offenders in private extravagance, it should result also in a falling off in the demand for luxuries of every kind. But the beginning of such a slump as has now set in can only increase the difficulties in the way of any levy on war fortunes. The present movement of prices does indeed confirm the objections of the banks and traders, who claim that it is impossible to make any accurate valuation of capital in the present fluctuating state of all economic values.

In some cases already, war fortunes have practically disappeared during the past year, and if the slump of the Stock Exchange should become really serious, many industrial securities will fall very low. The idea of confiscating war fortunes can no longer be considered practicable, if many of them are liable to swift depreciation or even total extinction, before the levy could become operative. Mr. Chamberlain and the Government are therefore still confronted with the problem of how to wipe out over 1,800 millions of floating debt, before the main volume of the War Loan can be even approached. The capitalists themselves are beginning to realise how serious the danger to our financial stability has become, and the past month has produced a number of important pronouncements by leading industrialists, who are showing a new readiness to consider a drastic tax, of perhaps 5s. in the pound, on all industrial and trading profits.

The Presidential Elections.

The Republican Convention in Chicago which has to choose the official candidate of the Party for the Presidential Elections will have met before this issue of the REVIEW appears. The past month has considerably altered the prospects of the various leading candidates, and the issue would now seem to lie fairly evenly between General Wood, Governor Lowden, and Senator Hiram Johnson, unless the Party organisers are able to produce some new candidate, more docile in their hands, who will also be more generally acceptable to the whole Republican Party. Both General Wood and Governor Lowden have undoubtedly suffered in prestige by the fact that their candidatures have been supported by enormous campaign funds. Senator Johnson has suddenly leaped into popularity as a new comer whose success owes nothing to outside financial support. His vigorous personality and his intensely American outlook upon public affairs, combined with his fearless criticisms of Big Business and his relentless onslaughts on the present administration, have won him a measure of enthusiastic support which none of the

other candidates is capable of arousing. His natural gifts as an orator, and his fiercely prejudiced attitude towards other nations besides the United States, make him a figure who can arouse fervent devotion among large sections of the American people. But his very insularity, if one can apply such a word to that form of American patriotism which regards all other countries with contempt, may easily detract from his prospects of carrying the entire country in his favour, even though in the Eastern States, in the Middle West, and in the Western States, he has succeeded with equally striking victories in gaining upon the favourite candidates in the primary elections. His chief trial of strength up to the present was in his own State of California, where he was opposed by Mr. Hoover, who was not only the strongest possible Republican supporter of the League of Nations who could have stood against him, but was also a native of California himself. In this struggle between two of the most dominating personalities in American politics, fighting an even contest in their own country, the issue of America's participation in the League of Nations was put in the forefront on both platforms. Senator Johnson declared his vehement resolution to "carve the heart out of the League," while Mr. Hoover took his stand no less firmly on the principle that America must play her part in assisting the reconstruction of Europe. It was a straight fight between the two policies, and Senator Johnson's overwhelming victory by 160,000 votes was all the more remarkable in view of the fact that Mr. Hoover had the support of the Democrats, as well as all those Republicans who, while disliking Mr. Wilson and his administration, are determined to carry out the responsibilities of the United States towards her Allies during the war. Nevertheless, Senator Johnson's triumph in California—where his local popularity is practically unassailable—has by no means put Mr. Hoover out of the running for the Presidency, and the agitation in his favour, especially among the women voters and the millions of unattached men and women who refuse any allegiance to the old political parties, may yet bring him into the final stage of the Presidential Elections.

Who is going to Win?

If Senator Johnson is nominated at the Chicago Convention, the chances are very strongly in favour of his election to the Presidency. But the Convention, unless it chooses a candidate capable of inspiring the same public confidence that Senator Johnson inspires throughout the United States, will do no more than eliminate the less important candidates whose names have been put forward in the primary elections. Mr. Hoover as an Independent candidate, or Senator Johnson as an unofficial Republican, would stand as good a chance of election even as the candidate who may have the whole Republican machine behind him. It has become quite clear that the Democrats have no chance whatever of retaining the Presidency unless by the accident of a split vote. Even in such circumstances, it would require a candidate of very great personal prestige to live down the utter discredit into which President Wilson's administration has fallen. Except for Mr. Wilson's own son-in-law, Mr. McAdoo, whose record as a Minister in half a dozen different capacities at the same time during the war proved him to be a man of the highest ability, no Democratic candidate has yet appeared who could be set beside either of the four leading Republicans. It seems likely, moreover, that President Wilson's personal influence will result in the choice of a more or less unpopular candidate at the Democratic Convention that is to be held at San Francisco, for he is determined that his party shall fight the Presidential election, regardless of consequences, upon the issue of his own justification in adhering to the Treaty of Versailles without reservations. His own party have split seriously on this very question, and Mr. W. J. Bryan will be found opposing the President at the Convention if some understanding cannot be reached in the meantime.

An Anti-British President.

In many ways, the result of the American Presidential Elections will be of even greater importance to the bankrupt countries of Europe than to the United States. For America, the result will determine little more than the personal issue of who is to govern the destinies of the United States,

subject to the very considerable restrictions placed upon his authority by the Senate and Congress. But for the rest of the world the issue is in the main that between the policies outlined by Mr. Hoover and by Senator Johnson. As President of the United States, Mr. Hoover would put in practice his belief in the need for intimate co-operation between America and the rest of the world in restoring peace and rebuilding Europe. To a man of Senator Johnson's temperament and upbringing, the continuation of wars in Europe appears rather as a proof of European barbarism for which he is no more prepared to hold America responsible than we are to feel ourselves under any necessity to be concerned about the welfare of Mexico and the South American States. If Senator Johnson is made President at the end of this year, his election will be directly due to the desire of a majority of the American people to resume their traditional policy of isolation from European affairs. Moreover, his astonishing progress up to the present is notoriously due to the support of the Irish-American vote and the German-Americans. The Irish support him because of his intensely anti-British prejudices; the German-Americans support him because of his determination to destroy the Treaty of Versailles. Yet his policy is by no means altogether destructive. His followers argue, with some reason, that the quickest way to obtain a constructive Peace Treaty in Europe is to destroy the Treaty of Versailles outright, and to make a new one. They maintain that by producing a new treaty, new hopes can be revived throughout Europe, and America can play her part in a settlement that has won her approval because it is consistent with American traditions. Apart from Mr. Wilson himself, the Democrats have long ceased trying to justify the Treaty as it stands, and they explain their support of it by saying that some sort of settlement must be made without delay, and the Treaty of Versailles offers a basis of settlement which can be revised almost at once. Since the Peace Treaty will undoubtedly be the principal issue in the elections, the outcome will be decided by the eventual conviction of America as to which of these two methods is more likely to produce peace throughout the world.

Diary of Current Events

FOR MAY.

May 1.—May day was celebrated by peaceful processions in this country.

Prince Albert attended the Royal Academy Banquet and appealed for the revival of English signs.

May day riots took place in France.

May 2.—Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament denounced the Irish Bill in a manifesto, and refused to take part in the debates on it.

South Africa is repaying part of the British War advances out of the Budget surplus, 87 per cent. being accepted.

The Polish advance continued up to Kieff. Giving evidence before the sub-committee of the Senate, Mr. Frank Munsey said there would be no paper-producing forests in twenty-five years at the present rate of consumption.

The Prince of Wales resumed his tour in New Zealand on the settlement of the Railway Strike.

The Turkish Peace Envoy departed for Paris.

May 3.—The first piece of work undertaken by the Electricity Commissioners will be the Lower Severn Valley scheme.

A requisition signed by 100 members of the Ulster Unionist Council has been handed to the Secretary of the Council requiring a special meeting to consider the partition of Ulster under the Irish Bill.

At the Guildhall meeting to inaugurate the issue of Housing Bonds Mr. Bonar Law spoke, and Mr. Lloyd George said in a message that happy homes were the best guarantee against unrest.

May 4.—The estimated expenditure for 1920-21 includes "temporary expenditure arising out of the war" amounting to £816,700,000, of which £244,300,000 is not recoverable.

Mr. Lloyd George received a telegram from the Council of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture urging the immediate introduction of the Agricultural Bill.

The railwaymen's claim for a flat rate increase of £1 a week was before the Central Wages Board on May 3rd and was referred to the National Wages Board.

May 5.—The sum required to provide the increase in the wages bill of the coal industry is £40,000,000.

The Mexican revolutionaries presented an ultimatum to President Carranza demanding his resignation by May 15th.

Forty-eight members of the United States House of Representatives addressed a message to Mr. Lloyd George protesting against the imprisonment without trial of political offenders in Ireland.

May 6.—According to a statement concerning Lord Inchcape's mission to Mesopotamia, tenders for 362 surplus river craft have been accepted, the purchase price being £1,540,612.

The Labour Party, with the Triple Alliance, decided to make an inquiry into the high cost of living.

The settlement of the wage dispute in the spinning section of the cotton trade has been reached.

A statement issued by Mr. Chamberlain showed that the direct taxation in this country under the Budget will be £14 7s. per head.

The Loyal Coalition of America sent a telegram objecting to the message addressed to Mr. Lloyd George by 88 members of the congress protesting against the imprisonment of persons accused of political offences in Ireland without trial.

May 7.—At Leamington Dr. Addison and other Coalition Ministers were given a hostile reception at a meeting of the National Liberal Federation.

Sir Hamar Greenwood, Chief Secretary for Ireland, was returned for Sunderland by a majority of 8,434 over the Labour candidate, the Independent Liberal having failed to secure one-eighth of the total votes.

The recommendation by the Bishop of London's Commission that nineteen City churches should be demolished caused opposition from many quarters.

An agreement has been reached by the Republican Party at Washington, following Senator Johnson's success in California, to adopt a more aggressive attitude towards the League of Nations and the Peace Treaty as presented by Mr. Wilson.

General Carranza issued a manifesto from Mexico City in reply to the rebel leaders' ultimatum, declining to resign the Presidency.

May 8.—The King and Queen of the Belgians arrived at Farnborough and spent the week-end with Lord and Lady Curzon of Kedleston.

A military convention is said to have been concluded between Soviet Russia and the Turkish Nationalists.

Kieff fell, and the Red Army retired before the Poles.

The King has sent a message to Marshal Pilsudski on the occasion of Poland's Fête Day, congratulating him and his country on their independence.

The Mexican Revolutionaries took possession of Mexico City, General Carranza being in flight.

May 9.—The Prince of Wales ended his visit to North Island, New Zealand.

May 10.—The Government decided to increase the maximum price of household coal by 14s. 2d. per ton, and industrial coal by 4s. 2d.

The Prime Minister appointed a sub-committee, with Sir L. Worthington-Evans as Chairman, to expedite housing progress.

By the Turkish Treaty Greece obtains all Turkey in Europe except Constantinople, and a small area around the city. An Allied Commission will have absolute control of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Mosul comes under a British mandate in Mesopotamia.

The French C.G.T. Strike met only with partial response, and M. Millerand declared that a return to work must precede a discussion of demands.

American Zionists have passed a resolution of thanks to Great Britain for accepting the Palestine Mandate.

The Prince of Wales spent his first day in South Island (New Zealand).

May 11.—Mr. Asquith, addressing Women Liberals at Scarborough, described fusion with the Conservatives as penal servitude for life.

The six Liberal Ministers who were unable to speak at Leamington delivered their addresses at a meeting in London.

The new scale of salaries for London (certified) teachers has a minimum for men at £200 and for women at £187 10s.

The Turkish Peace Treaty was presented to the delegates in Paris.

The French Government decided to proceed against the General Confederation of Labour with a view to its dissolution.

Polish and Ukrainian troops continued their victorious advance towards Odessa.

President Carranza was captured by the Mexican revolutionaries.

May 12.—Lord Milner, speaking at a luncheon to the Treasurer of the Australian Commonwealth, proposed the establishment of an Imperial Clearing House.

The report of the Speaker's Conference on Devolution was issued submitting two schemes.

Signor Nitti and the Italian Cabinet resigned.

The occupation of Odessa by the Poles' Ukrainian Allies was announced.

May 13.—Memorial services for the Crown Princess of Sweden were held in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, and in Westminster Abbey.

The Select Committee on National

Expenditure estimated an increase to 1s. 3d. a ton of sugar was necessary unless the industry was to be subsidized.

The Conference between the Yugo-Slav and Italian delegates was suspended owing to the Italian Cabinet crisis.

The successful revolutionary party in Mexico was engaged upon forming a Provisional Government with Señor de La Huerta as President.

May 14.—The Food Controller has reduced the price of imported mutton.

The Agent General for Queensland discussed with Lancashire business men the question of developing cotton growing in Queensland.

A Copenhagen Scientist has produced cancer in rats by feeding them on the eggs of a cockroach parasite.

May 15.—The King addressed the Lords Lieutenant of Counties and the Lord Mayors and Lord Provosts in Great Britain at Buckingham Palace, and called on them to use their utmost endeavours to create a strong, efficient Territorial Army.

Cases tried at Assizes and Quarter Sessions during 1914-18 averaged 6,632 per annum, compared with 13,235 for 1909-13.

The dates for the compiling of the Autumn register this year have been changed, and the qualifying period is to end on June 15th instead of July 15th.

At the first public meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Rome, reports were read on various subjects with which the Council has been dealing.

The United States Senate passed a resolution declaring the war with Germany and Austria at an end by 43 votes to 38.

The Prince of Wales was thrown from his horse while taking a jump at a race meeting at Christchurch.

May 16.—The canonization of John of Arc took place in St. Peter's, Rome.

The Hythe Conference reached a decision by which the minimum amount to be paid by Germany will be fixed by experts.

May 17.—The National Wages Board considered the railwaymen's demands. Sir H. W. Thornton, the general manager of the Great Eastern Railway, advocated a consolidation of railway interests and co-operation in buying and other activities.

The new express air mail service between London and Amsterdam opened.

Lord Jellicoe and Lord French received the Freedom of the City of London in the Guildhall.

French troops evacuated Frankfurt and the Maine region.

The Viceroy of India in a message to the people regarding the Turkish Peace Treaty admitted some of the terms would pain Muslims, but exhorted them to have confidence in the justice of the British Empire.

Signor Bonomi relinquished the task of forming a Cabinet owing to the unwillingness of the Italian Catholic Party to collaborate with him.

- A Bolshevik force has invaded Persia from the Azerbaijan frontier, demanding the withdrawal of British troops.
- A Yugo-Slav Coalition Government has been formed, M. Vesnitch as Prime Minister.
- May 18.—Sir John Simon, for the railway companies, proposed before the Railway Rates Advisory Committee the abolition of the statutory maximum in favour of the establishment of a tribunal with power to disallow an unreasonable rate.
- An installation of Knights Grand Cross of the Order of Bath took place at Westminster Abbey in the presence of the King (Sovereign of the Order) and the Duke of Connaught (Grand Master).
- Devonshire House, Piccadilly, has been purchased for 1,000,000 guineas by a Liverpool shipowner, who proposes converting part of it into a cinema.
- May 19.—The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, in conjunction with the Labour Party, proposes to make an inquiry into the causes of high prices.
- The University of London has been offered by the Government a site of 11½ acres behind the British Museum for a new headquarters of the University, and for the extension of institutions connected with it.
- Honorary degrees were conferred at Cambridge on Lord Jellicoe, Lord Haig, Lord Plymouth and others.
- The Council of the League of Nations at its last sitting considered the reply to be sent to Soviet Russia.
- A Bolshevik force invaded Persia, the troops landing near Enzeli. The Poles have been compelled by the Bolsheviks to fall back on the Northern front.
- May 20.—Evidence before the National Railways Wages Board indicated that a further advance of 20 per cent. on present wages and rates would be necessary, and a further 20 per cent. if the new wage demands were granted.
- Signor Nitti has formed a new Cabinet with the co-operation of the Catholics.
- Turkish Nationalists have issued proclamations calling upon all Turkish patriots to resist the Peace terms by force in Anatolia.
- May 21.—Mr. J. H. Thomas announced that the railwaymen's executive had followed the example of the dockers and ordered their men not to handle munitions for Poland.
- Empire Day was celebrated in the schools. Dublin dockers and crannemen refused to unload military stores.
- The French Strike collapsed, and by a large majority the C.G.T. issued an order for the resumption of work.
- The Prince of Wales embarked for Australia.
- May 22.—Important changes at Dublin Castle, involving the retirement of Sir John Taylor, and the appointment as Joint Under Secretary of Sir John Anderson, foreshadowed a more moderate policy.
- The fixing of standard rates of pay on a higher level for firemen is recommended by the Departmental Committee which has been inquiring into the conditions of service in professional brigades.
- The United States Secretary of State has informed the Senate Committee that he sees no reason why the Committee should not take any action it deems just and proper in regard to the United States and "the Irish Republic."
- General Carranza, the defeated President of Mexico, has been killed.
- May 23.—The King, accompanied by the Queen and other members of the Royal Family, visited Sandhurst and inspected the Cadets.
- May 24.—There were 15 hours of sunshine, and the holiday was generally spent in the open air.
- Mr. J. R. Clynes, speaking at Aberdeen, condemned "direct action," and a policy of violence.
- At the Annual Co-operative Congress, which opened at Bristol, the Rev. G. A. Ramsay, the President, made an attack on modern capitalism.
- The Grand Master, at the Annual Conference of the Manchester Unity of Odd-fellows, attacked the administration of State Insurance.
- M. Deschanel, President of the French Republic, fell out of the train, while . . . from Paris to Montbrison, but . . . was not seriously injured.
- President Wilson sent a request to Congress that the United States should accept a mandate for Armenia.
- May 25.—The Report of the Departmental Committee of the Board of Trade on the non-ferrous mining industry, issued as a White Paper, recommends a tribunal to deal with questions of mineral rights and leases, and proposes State aid to the industry in certain conditions.
- The King has become a Patron of the Imperial War Famine Fund, which makes an urgent appeal.
- The British Cotton Growing Association has proposed to the Queensland Government that a period of experiment should precede an attempt at cotton growing on a large scale of Queensland.
- The Soviet Government sent out a message addressed to the Allies declaring that Russia and the Ukraine have no aggressive designs, and denouncing the Polish invasion.
- Señor Adolfo de la Huerta has been elected President of Mexico *ad interim*.
- May 26.—Owing to the strike of Dublin dockers on the question of handling Army stores, the L. and N.W. Railway cargo steamboat service to Ireland was stopped.
- The Hunter Committee on the Punjab disturbances has presented both a Majority and Minority Report. General Dyer is censured in both, and has been asked to retire.

The estimated requirements of sugar for the United States in the present year are about 1,200,000 tons higher than last year. The British price must be still further increased if these supplies are absorbed.

May 27.—Dr. Inge delivered the Romanes lecture at Oxford on "The Idea of Progress." He denied that there had been any real progress in human nature itself. The 29th Conference of the International Law Association opened at Portsmouth. The Executive of the N.U.R., after considering the refusal of the Irish members to handle munitions, decided to submit the matter to a full meeting of the Triple Alliance.

The Ulster Unionist Council decided by a large majority in favour of the six-county area for the Northern Parliament.



Hindi Punch

Fleming

A Hot Reception!

(Meetings have been held in several parts of the country, again condemning the Rowlett Act.

An interim report by the Medical Consultative Committee proposes a scheme of primary and secondary health committees.

M. Krassin, the delegate of the Soviet Government, arrived in London.

M. Henry Bordeaux was presented to the French Academy as successor to M. Jules Lemaitre.

May 28.—A Sinn Fein attack on the Kilmallock Barracks, Co. Limerick, resulted in the killing of two policemen and the wounding of six others.

Londonderry Corporation expunged the name of Lord French from the City roll of freemen.

The King, accompanied by the Queen, laid the foundation stone of the new building of the London School of Economics at Clare Market.

M. Masaryk was re-elected President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

May 29.—A terrible flood, supposed to be due to a cloud burst, caused havoc and great loss of life at Louth, Lincolnshire.

The Irish Labour Party Executive has decided to support the railwaymen and dockers in their refusal to handle munitions.

May 30.—At the annual conference of the English Zionist Federation, a resolution was passed thanking the Supreme Council for recognizing Palestine as a national home for the Jews.

The memorial service to the officers and men of the United States Army who fell in the war and are buried in the British Isles took place at St. Margaret's, Westminster.

May 31.—M. Krassin interviewed the Prime Minister, Lord Curzon, and other ministers at Downing Street.

Tram and omnibus fares were increased on the routes controlled by the London United Tramways.

It was reported that on the northern part of the Polish front the Bolsheviks had been defeated with much loss.

OBITUARY.

May 1.—THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN, daughter of the Duke of Connaught.

May 2.—SIR T. W. RUSSELL, an Irish politician, 80.

May 8.—DR. MOULSE, Bishop of Durham.

May 12.—SIGNOR BISSOLATI.

May 17.—MAJOR-GENERAL SIR COLERIDGE GLOVE, and also SIR IWAN MORGAN EDWARDS, Chief Inspector of Education. JOSHILLO, the well-known Spanish matador.

May 28.—CANON H. D. RAWNSLEY, poet of the Lake District.

May 31.—SIR HENRY SUTTON, Judge of the King's Bench, 75.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giffle gie us
To see oursels as others see us."—Burns.



[Kiedorfsch]

The Invitation to Spa.

[Berlin]

Bismarck: "Now Müller, you are at any rate going to receive payment in good coin—
with a jackboot."



Walter Jacob

[Stuttgart]

Peace Treaty Ulcers on the body of Central Europe.

"The patient must inevitably die if his ulcers get no better. The San Remo decisions must be revised."



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

"Is America concerned or not concerned?"



Le Rive

[Paris]

Before the Conference.

Lloyd George: The Conditions of the treaty are too hard for the Germans; they must be revised.

Millerand: Then you are anxious to restore to them their fleet and their colonies?



L'Asino

Sickness.

[Paris]

The World: The war's blood lettings have not cured me of all my sickness; I have still such a lot of bad blood in my veins.



Wahre Jacob

[Stuttgart]

The Parisian Salome.

"I will not ask for the head of the German John, but only for his Ruhr region."



Kladderadatsch

[Berlin]

Europe and the American Dentist.

Dentist Jonathan: "That bad tooth 'Germany' has a broken crown, but the root is sound: a gold filling will save it—as a loan!"



Kladderadatsch

[Berlin]

The New French Expressionism.

Master Foch at his picture: "Germany's threat to France."



Simplicissimus

[Munich]

The French Threat.

"The water here—you can dig for it just as well with your hands."

D



Daily Herald]

[London

Obviously Bad Characters.

(The Times is scornful at Russia's refusal to allow active supporters of Poland to visit Russia as League Representatives).

The Gentleman Cracksman: "Yah, they must 'ave some 'orrible secrets to hide, bolting up their 'ouse like this!"



The Star]

[London

Whose Hand?

Mr. Bonar Law has admitted that the arms are British.



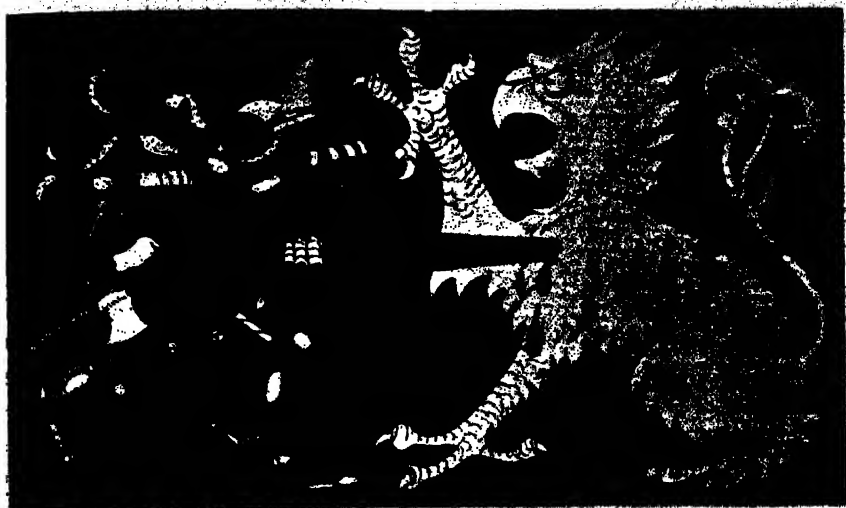
Dr. Notenkraaker]

C [Amsterdam

Turkey's Fate.

An Eclipse of the Moon.

AT THE ARSENAL OF THE FREE REPUBLIC.



Weapons for combating the White Dragons.



Kleinwächter

Weapons for combating the Red Dragons.

[S. 11]



De Nieuwshaker]

Caillaux Banished.

[Amsterdam]

The Scapegoat of the Righteous Ones.



Le Rire]

The Confederation Generale du Travail.

[Paris]

They do not always go on when they are told to stop . . . and they sometimes stop when they are told to go on.



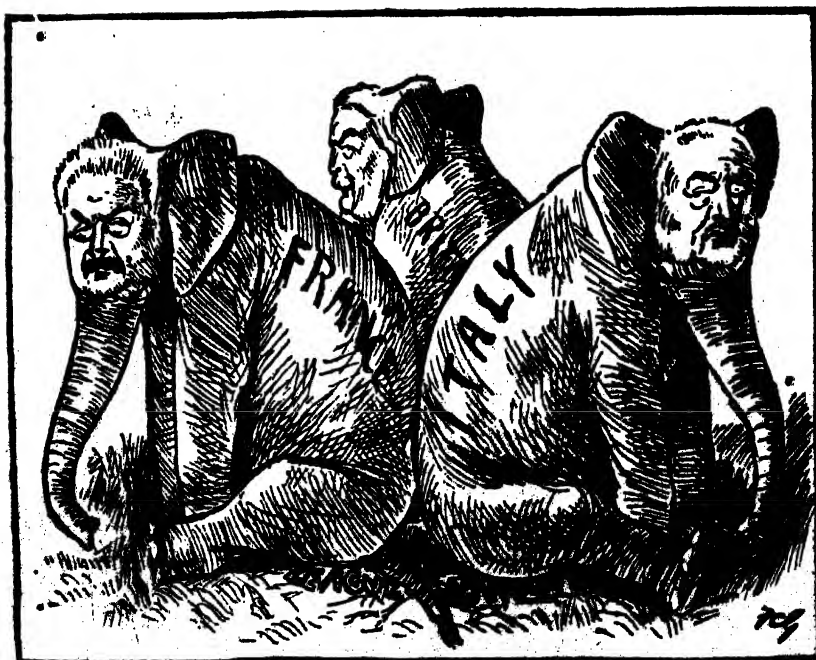
The Star]

[London

The Usurpers.

Citizen]

[Brooklyn, N.Y.

Are you in the race, Woodrow?

Westminster Gazette]

[London

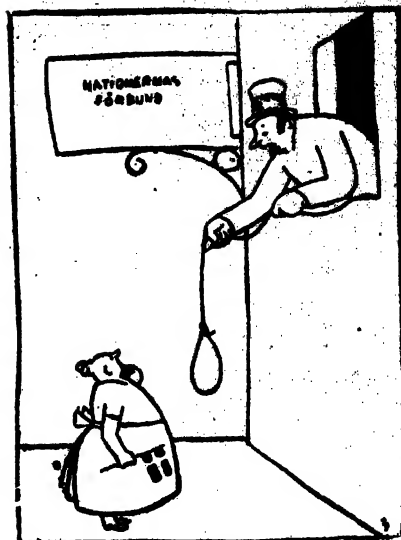
Mothering the League or Smothering it?



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Too Short to Reach Across.



[Naggen]

[Stockholm]

Sweden and the League of Nations.

John Bull (to Mrs. Sweden): "Put your neck in this, and I'll lift you up."



[Daily Express]

[London]

General Mess-up in Command of our Muddled East.



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Don't I make a Devil of a Peace Angel?



Dayton Daily News

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

"How do you like 'em, hi?"



Daily Herald

[London]

Getting ready for the Sporting Season.



Bradford Daily Telegraph

[Bradford, U.S.A.]

Another Colliery Explosion.



Detroit News

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

When a Worm Turns.

The Madness of Militarism.

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

The immense dangers that beset us in the Middle East, which have been insisted upon in these columns, suddenly became clear to the man at the breakfast table and to Cabinet Ministers when the Bolsheviks appeared at Enzeli, a port on the Caspian Sea. The vague agreement with Persia which was regarded by some people as a clever British move last year, and which impressed many other people who had been amiably talking of a League of Nations as a particularly cynical affront to the principles which were being preached, was again dragged into the limelight. Eyes began to open wide. The peril which confronts us was at last realised. The Bolsheviks had penetrated into Asia Minor, the Turks were stirring, the Arabs were in revolt. India even might be lost. A new era of mending war was in sight. Did not Sir Henry Wilson, our great Military Chief, warn us to get ready? Had not the first blow been struck by the Poles against the Moscow Government? In short, was not a splendid period, calculated to rejoice the hearts of the professional soldier, opening?

The madness of it all! I think that the time has come sternly to repress the soldier. He had his day when the nations were at grips on the Continent of Europe. His day ought now to be over. The soldier cannot be allowed to become a politician. His mind is not capable of finding more than one solution to the complicated problems in which the world is entangled. The shoemaker believes there's nothing like leather; the general believes there's nothing like force: they must both be told to stick to their last. We have had enough of them. There are two Wilsons; one of them walks in the shade, and his policy is discredited; the other is triumphant in the limelight. What is certain is that if we act in the spirit of the second Wilson disaster cannot be averted. Not long ago, when the Spa proposals which do promise peace with Germany were first propounded in the hearing of a typical Militarist, he was frank enough to pronounce his opinion of

them by a word which one of Shaw's heroines has made almost respectable. He is entitled to his opinion; but the adjective applies much more appropriately to the policy of those who have in most European countries gained the upper hand in the council of State. Let us examine the situation which has developed during the past month.

I.

There is first the Polish attack. That it was encouraged by the Entente everybody who is at all acquainted with international politics knows full well. I am tempted to reveal the fact that a new move against Bolshevism was discussed in a famous Paris hotel some months ago, and the unwanted publicity which then threatened to become too embarrassing alone prevented an earlier conflagration. Memories are short-lived. The Militarists (who are not of course all military men) unwisely scared the public, but though they then beat a hasty retreat they pursued their plans privately, and when they believed that the moment was ripe they struck in the belief that this time they would succeed. If they had been able to snatch a genuine victory, to present the world with a *fait accompli*, they would not encounter hostility; on the contrary they would be approved. So they reasoned! It may be true. Very few people would complain if some morning we learnt with amazement that Moscow was taken, and the Russian people had gathered in a theatrical group to cheer their saviours. But alas! only the militarist mind is so naïve. In spite of defeat after defeat, it obstinately and stupidly considers victory to be a fruit ready to fall.

President Pilsudski was not a willing tool. He is surrounded by illiterate deputies, by fanatical religionists, by designing imperialists who promised land to the people. Those people, who are half starved, are manoeuvred by the menace of complete famine, by the promise of illegal spoil. Pilsudski ruefully realises that he is (if one may so express it) geographically in the sixteenth

century. Himself, if he is pushed on to mad adventures, at least aimed always at his pet idea of a Polish-Ukrainian federation.

To follow the secret ramifications of the present subterranean diplomacy is difficult: one is lost in the labyrinth, for not only are Governments sending representatives to conclude occult bargains in one sense, but other members of the same Government are (self-appointed Kings!) sending their personal representatives to conclude occult bargains in another sense. At least the old diplomacy, if it was intricate, could be understood if you found the thread; but now there are so many threads that cross and intertwine. These obscure intrigues are not even governmental intrigues; they are private and unavowed policies. In this tenebrous maze one can only find the way if it is remembered that according to the new conception of diplomacy Ministers and Militarists may conduct personal plots—plots in which the lives and money of the State are risked. The scandal ought to be denounced and destroyed: the hideous, the incredible scandal of unauthorised or half-authorised pledges by individuals who, whatever their position, have no more right to act alone than you or I. We exist in an age of conspiracies—conspiracies not outside but inside the Cabinets.

The Allies are guilty of this Polish blunder—the Allies who promised a League to prevent war, to prevent a handful of persons secretly committing whole peoples to criminal paths. What is that word (whether apocryphal or not I do not know) of the Polish General Haller which is recalled: "My divisions in Poland, as in France, are under the orders of Marshal Foch." That the madness of the Poles should be speedily punished, and that the Militarists in Britain and in France had hardly time to betray themselves by exulting openly before the Russian people had rallied to crush the new oppressor, was what anybody but the naive Militarists could have foreseen. Depend upon it, if Poland by her follies is again torn asunder, the misguided people will find nobody willing to rush to the rescue. Poland, if she tempts Fate, will disappear for ever.

But mark the repercussions. The Bolshevik resembles other mischievous animals in this: that when he is attacked he fights back. It is months since we were first frightened at the Bolshevik propaganda in Afghanistan which made us fear for India. Obviously there was an easy way of revenge. If we strike Russia in the West or South, she strikes us in the East. Now if you read the reports of meetings which are taking place in India, at which Mahomedans express their indignation at the Turkish Treaty (I forget: these reports do not get themselves published in the British Press), you will see what dangerous ground this is on which to sow the seeds of economic revolt. Religious revolt is already rumbling. The "ticklish and dangerous times" in which we live would, one might have thought, have persuaded even the most joyous generals to advise caution. This was not exactly the moment, even from the soldiers' point of view (I will not again speak of the economic situation), to provoke trouble. We are, after all, a little people numerically, and we have somehow spread ourselves over a quarter of the globe. We can only remain by the cultivation of goodwill: to make possible a simultaneous rising against our rule is the policy of a lunatic. We had already trouble with Turkey; now we must take on Russia.

For it is a fact that the Russian danger had died down. There are those who picture Trotsky as the new Napoleon of the East, with immense designs of conquest. There is not the smallest evidence that I have ever seen produced to justify this fantastic portrait. What is significant is that only when Russia is pressed hard by her ancient Allies does she suddenly put forth her great bear's paw in the East, and with a negligent tap remind us what active hostilities with her really mean.

II.

The Turkish situation is full of danger. As I write, the decision of the Constantinople Cabinet to accept or to refuse its signature to the treaty is not yet known, but whatever the response may be the chief factors of the sum are clear. From the middle of March Constantinople has been under the control of a British officer,

General Milne. Our French friends reproach him with doing whatever he chooses, and it is certain that he has been to a large extent the real ruler of the Turkish Cabinet. It is for this reason that the mockery of permitting the Sultan to remain has no value in the eyes of our Mussulman subjects. They see clearly that the Khalife is under foreign domination. General Milne, then, has a policy which consists in constituting a Turkish Government sufficiently strong to crush the Turkish Nationalists and yet docile enough to sign the treaty. That policy in itself is desirable enough; the sole objection is that it is impossible.

That was why the Grand Vizier Damad Ferid Pasha, a mild old gentleman whom I remember meeting last year, was chosen to form a Cabinet. He was feeble enough but (one would have thought that this would follow) unfortunately he lacked force. The problem of combining the two contradictory virtues in the same individual is indeed a difficult one. Now the Turkish treaty only leaves to Turkey 35,000 men with allied instructors and certain reinforcements. The Interallied Commission which has already been at work found that troops were being organised to fight the Nationalists, and demanded explanations. The Commission was informed that at least 40,000 men were needed to pacify Asia Minor, that they had been accorded by the British authorities, and that in fact the Turkish Army is under British command. The disarmament of Turkey is essential if we really mean to make ourselves obeyed and to dismember the Ottoman Empire in the fashion proposed. How is this to be accomplished? The Allies at Constantinople — High Commissioners and other officials — have no power. The British military authorities believed that the creation of a Turkish Army to destroy the Turkish Army — the Devil casting out Satan! — was at least a partial solution. But outside Constantinople, in Thrace and in Asia Minor, the Turks think they can defy the Allies and their own Allies-controlled Government with impunity. Mustapha Kemal Pasha is not the only leader of the Turks who is determined never to submit to the conditions imposed. I have yet to find anybody who knows the facts about Turkey who is pre-

pared to assert that now, after two years have been wasted, we can hope to make our commands respected. It is not even a straightforward fight. It is not a fight to which any sort of time limit can be allotted. It is a fight which will go on and on; and even assuming that one day we have rounded up the last of the irregular Turkish troops and that no fresh complications have arisen, the moment we cease to mount guard the revolt will break out again.

There is little prospect of Damad Ferid or anyone else succeeding in getting together a sufficient number of Turks to march against their own countrymen for the sake of the beautiful eyes of the Allies. The Nationalists in Asia Minor naturally take new heart when they see the advance of the Bolsheviks. Even in Thrace where the diplomatic success of Greece brings her in contact with two powerful enemies — that is to say, potentially powerful, for neither Bulgaria nor Turkey will remain, unless the strongest repression is constantly exercised, in their present position — the Adrianople Congress has violently declared that they will not permit the annexation of the country. Resistance to the Greek occupation in Thrace and Smyrna is organised: one begins to ask if Greece has not assumed too heavy responsibilities.

It is surely better to face the brutal truth. The Damad Ferid Army, Turkish or British, is a mere farce. It is perfectly negligible. The weapons which the Constantinople Cabinet possesses do not give it the power, even if it possessed the will, to execute the treaty. It remains then clear that the Allies and the Allies alone must undertake this job if they want it to be done. They cannot expect it to be accomplished for them by proxy. So far as Turkey in Europe is concerned, the situation does not seem to present insuperable difficulties at the moment. I have no doubt that there the Allies are strong enough to preserve order. This fact, however, only emphasises the folly of leaving the Sultan at Constantinople. The reason why the Turk was not pitched out bag and baggage was that the Powers could not agree, that Great Britain wanted to control the Sultan, and that it was hoped to make a tool of him and of what I suppose will be called loyal Turks

—that is, Turks who will take sides with the Allies. To imagine that Mohamedan opinion is thus placated is simply silly. And to rely upon such Turkish forces as can be got together in Europe to effect anything whatever in Asia Minor, is the most ingenuous policy of which I have ever heard.

III.

Let us proceed to Asia Minor. There we find half a dozen hostile elements. The Arabs are far more dangerous than has yet been admitted. They have been our protégés, but they have played for their own hand. They may or may not be capable of complete unity—I find authorities whom I respect scoffing at the idea of Arab unity—but they are capable of some sort of common policy, and this common policy, which is opposed to foreign interference, has been sharpened by the Hedjaz. To despise the Arab hostility in Syria is to close one's eyes to facts. The French are sorely puzzled. They cannot hope to hold down the opposition which is manifesting itself without serious efforts which they are hardly in a position to make. There is a strong public feeling against anything in the nature of an Eastern adventure. Events in Cilicia take on a grave aspect. Italy wisely will have nothing to do with these perilous concerns. England has by no means a safe job in Palestine, though I trust that an enlightened civil administration under Mr. Herbert Samuel will succeed better than the administration which has been dissolved.

What is to be observed is that all pretence of consulting the wishes of the peoples, which was promised under the mandatory system of the League of Nations, has gone by the board. The policy of force reigns. We have to face the Arab; and the Arab, ambitious though he may be, still makes common cause with the Turks. The problems are far too complicated for anyone to be logmatic. However much I would prefer to make clean-cut statements, I cannot but see that there are, for example, at least two sides to our Mesopotamia difficulties; but while there are those who believe that we shall find, besides oil, serious causes of dispute with

America, I am bound to take the view that it is really impossible that we should leave Mesopotamia alone, as certain publicists would advise.

Oil! Here we touch the very core of the Middle East question. Oil is undoubtedly the most important of all commodities. Whoever can command the world's supplies of oil governs the world. Unfortunately power brings its perils. The oil which lies in the Middle East is, in a double sense, highly inflammable. A lighted match, and it may go up in a blaze. Elsewhere the Mexican troubles are largely due to the quest for oil. Our Eastern entanglements are caused by the quest for oil. While Great Britain has shown much enterprise and ability, it behoves us to keep all blundering Militarists away, or the lighted match will do the mischief. There must be no provocative monopolies, no greedy squeezing-out of other nations: the door must be thrown open wide.

The history of this Mesopotamian question does not seem well known in England. Briefly it may be thus resumed. The oil is to be found in the three vilayets of Mossoul, Bagdad, and Bassorah, along the banks of the Tigris. The oil-fields are as vast as those of Mexico. To-day, five-sixths of the precious life-blood of industry which comes to Europe is of American origin. That is why France, as well as England, seeking economic independence, early formed the design of exploiting these deposits which can be brought to Europe by the Syrian ports.

It was immediately after the armistice that France and Great Britain began to negotiate. An accord was drawn up in March last year. A month later Rumania was brought into the purview of the Franco-British negotiations. Does it require much imagination, even for those who have not exact information, to understand how these oil bargains determined nearly all our Balkan and Eastern policy? Rumania made the most of her oil riches: hence certain obvious injustices towards other Balkan people. Hence even the starting-point of the secret agreement between M. Venizelos and Mr. Lloyd George. Mesopotamia determined the Syrian policy, determined the Persian

policy, determined our whole policy in Asia Minor. At San Remo one met a man who does not bulk largely in the public eye—Sir John Cadman—but who has had more to do with the exact character of the peace in the East than any other man. He is our oil expert. It is a curious commentary on the way history is made, that no hint of the Franco-British oil convention, which dominates all our doings in Asia Minor, which is the foundation on which peace treaties were built, was not publicly mentioned at San Remo. The fixing of the German indemnity was of immense importance, but the ratification of the oil convention, of which no one spoke, was equally important. M. Millerand and Mr. Lloyd George, when they put their signatures to this document, were bound to make their entire policy turn on this pivot. France receives a quarter of the Mesopotamia oil; she gives right of passage for this oil, and that of Persia, through her ports—for she is, she hopes, the mistress of this corner of the Mediterranean. The Rumanian transaction, concluded earlier, makes an equal division of interests between France and England. It is possible to take various views of these agreements; but it is not possible to avoid the conclusion that if we mean to act upon these lines, then the utmost tact is needed.

IV.

It is precisely that tact which—probably through ignorance of the situation—the Militarists who have an excessive voice in diplomacy, who are perpetually thwarting the delicate labours of the diplomatists, who are constantly committing us to stupid and disastrous hostilities, do not possess. They have a *simplistic* view of politics. They think that we can afford to stand up against everybody. We can't.

Why are we so blind to our interests? Force is useless; goodwill alone will save us. Even if Bolshevism were destroyed to-morrow, Russia would be able to do us tremendous irreparable harm in the Middle East. Whoever is responsible for delaying peace by a single day is guilty of high treason to the British Empire. That such unconscious traitors should enjoy public esteem is amazing.

There was an attempt to minimise the gravity of the situation. That Azerbaijan should be Bolshevised, that Georgia should make peace with Russia who declares the incontestable right of the little Republic to Batoum, are serious enough incidents as showing which way the wind of Bolshevism is blowing; but the Persian events are of a significance which can hardly be exaggerated. They form part of a gigantic plan which will assuredly be put into execution if our present relations continue with Russia. Turkey was a heavy enough burden on our back; under the weight of Russia we shall surely succumb. It would be going too far, perhaps, to say that there is a political concert between Russia and Turkey; but at any rate there is a parallelism of action. There is the Islamic revolt and the Bolshevik offensive. Turkish Nationalism and Russian Sovietism are too much at a time.

Sir Henry Wilson, the other day, spoke of twenty or thirty wars now going on. The madness of Militarism is appalling. We have won the Great War; but we are not content; we tempt Providence in all parts of the world. For we are interested in these twenty or thirty wars: we are to a large extent responsible for them. For my part I do not appreciate the difference between a big and a little war. Is it realised that it might have been better not to have won the Great War than to lose one of these minor conflicts? The consequences quite conceivably will be more serious. The whole British Empire might possibly collapse in ruins. I beg those who smile at such a warning to remember how we hold our world not by force but by prestige, by a reputation for fair-dealing. There are in India, for example, 300,000,000 inhabitants; there are never more than 100,000 soldiers. Scattered about Asia Minor are little packets of troops. Even in Mesopotamia there are less than 70,000 men. We are busy making enemies: would it not be better to occupy ourselves in making friends? Peace might have been made—a real peace—with Russia, above all, nearly two years ago if the British Foreign Office had then been listened to. It is the fatuous obstinacy of Militarism that has placed us in jeopardy.

For and Against the Anglo-Japanese Treaty.

Next month the existing Treaty between Great Britain and Japan, signed originally in 1905 and revised in 1911, expires. We are faced with the question of whether to renew the Treaty, to modify it, or to abandon it altogether. Powerful interests are strongly in favour of renewing it, but a large section of public opinion, especially in the self-governing Dominions, is resolutely opposed to its renewal. The case for continuing it is ably put in the following article by an old friend and admirer of Japan in this country, who fully recognises that many of the circumstances which originally made the Treaty desirable have altered during the war. On the other side, the opposition to the Treaty is vigorously expressed by the Prime Minister of Queensland. Apart from any question of race prejudice, the aggressive attitude of Japan towards the rights of China has to be considered as one of the crucial questions of world politics.



[Photo, Elliott & Fry.]

PROFESSOR J. H. LONGFORD.

Professor J. H. Longford is an Irishman who entered the British Consular Service in Japan in 1869, and served there for thirty-three years, travelling throughout the whole of the Japanese Empire. He held office successively as H.M. Consul, and Judge of H.M. Consular Courts at Tokio, Hiogo, Hakodate, Tainan, Tamsui, and Nagasaki. After he retired in 1902, he returned to England, and became professor of Japanese in the School of Oriental Studies at King's College, London, for thirteen years. He is the author of many volumes about the history and recent progress of Japan, and has written a number of special reports dealing principally with industrial questions in Japan which have been issued by the Foreign Office.



[Photo, Boys.]

HON. ERNEST G. THEODORE.

Ernest Granville Theodore, Prime Minister of Queensland, who is now paying his first visit to England on a financial mission as Treasurer of his State, may be regarded as expressing the sentiments, if not of the whole Australian people, at least of that important section which swears political allegiance to Labour. He has held ministerial office throughout the duration of the war, when his Government was the one Labour Administration to remain in power. As head of the Government of Queensland in Australia, which by reason of its geographical position most nearly approaches Japan, his views on the Alliance are of special interest. The party which he leads has a majority of two to one over all other political parties in his State.

The Case For the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

By PROFESSOR J. H. LONGFORD.

The question has been asked: "Should Great Britain renew her existing Treaty of Alliance with Japan?" The answer is "Yes," and again "Yes"—twelve times over, if necessary—emphatically and unequivocally. Experience of the recent past and anticipations of the near future counsel that course as vital in the interests of the British Empire and as one important step in establishing the peace of the world on a basis that will be secure for the next two or three generations.

It was on the 20th of January, 1902, that the first Treaty of Alliance was signed between Great Britain and Japan. It has since on two occasions been renewed, and its scope extended, the last occasion being July, 1911, when the Treaty now in existence was signed. Its duration was fixed for a period of ten years from that date, and under the terms of Article IV. either party to it is obliged to give a year's notice to the other of its intention either to renew or determine it. The date is therefore very near at hand when a decision will be necessary, and the question consequently merits most serious consideration. Nothing is wasted which can contribute, even in the smallest degree, to its elucidation.

It has to be admitted that there is a formidable element of opposition to the renewal of the Treaty, and that this opposition is strong among British residents in the Far East, who have long experience and very valuable vested interests in both China and Japan. It is alleged that Japan is yearly more and more exposing herself as an ambitious, aggressive and unscrupulous power; that the Japanese are the Germans of the East, with the German spirit of world mastery; that they are ruled, and all their external policy dictated, by a military caste, saturated with pride, not less arrogant than that of the pre-bellum Prussian Junkers; that no treaty will ever bind this class when it interferes with their ambition; that, at one stage of the Great War, they seriously threatened to convert the existing Treaty into a scrap of paper and throw in their lot with what they were then

convinced were the conquering Germans; that even the Civil Government committed a deliberate and shameless fraud when, with a pistol at China's head, when China was in a condition of helpless disorganisation and when European powers were absorbed in the early agonies of the Great War, they presented their merciless "Five Group Jukrandis," and affected to observe the terms of the Treaty by sending a garbled and incomplete account of the demands to their ally; that they have still more effectively shown their disregard of the most solemn obligations and their contemptuous indifference to European opinion and influence by the wholesale territorial acquisitions which they have already made and are now ruthlessly extending; that Great Britain, if formally allied to them, must share in the dishonour and odium of these acquisitions, though they are all injurious to her best interests; that the alliance may involve Great Britain in war with the United States; and lastly, that the circumstances under which the Treaty was originally made have entirely changed. Its main object was the provision of an effective bulwark against Russian Asiatic aggression, then in the full tide of its onward flow. Russia threatened India on the one side, and, on the other, Korea and China, and against those threats Great Britain and Japan mutually bound themselves to protect their respective interests in the East. Russia has ceased to exist and no renaissance now within human view will restore her to her pristine aggressiveness. The only power that can now threaten India is Japan herself, who is already sowing there the seeds of national discontent and is becoming more and more ready to proclaim and enforce the doctrine of "Asia for the Asiatics," with Japan "over all."

All these allegations may be true. For everyone of them there is some foundation, but even admitting that they are true to the core, they do not serve to constitute overpowering arguments against the renewal of the Treaty. Indeed, there is only one unanswerable

argument against it, and that is unwillingness on the part of Japan herself. Of that there is at present no sign. The most responsible members of her Government have, over and over again, publicly and emphatically declared that their foreign policy is unchanged and that the renewal of the Treaty is an integral part of it. The military may still turn with longing eyes to Germany, even though broken and defeated, but the military, great as may be their influence, are not all-powerful, and in this respect the Civil Government will exercise the final decision with the same far-seeing policy that has never failed them. "The Anglo-Japanese Alliance has formed the foundation of the Japanese diplomacy and the pivot of the peace of the East during the last eighteen years, and the Government are desirous of its renewal and ready to take measures for its maintenance." These are the words of the Foreign Minister in the Diet. No refusal need be feared from Japan, and Great Britain, if she so wills, can continue to keep her as an ally.

The chief objections that have been quoted are not unanswerable. (1) "Japan is ambitious, aggressive and unscrupulous—the Germany of the East." She has already absorbed Korea, Liao Tung, Formosa and Saghalin. She is now absorbing Manchuria, Mongolia, Shantung and Eastern Siberia. Her ambition—as old as the 16th century—even extends to the conquest of the great Empire of China. Assuming all this to be true, can Great Britain, the conqueror and Ruler of India, throw stones at her for what she has done or hopes to do? Can the United States, who have civilised a continent by the unhesitating extermination of the aboriginal population? Would it not be in the best interests of civilisation that the great material potentialities of China should be realised under an honest and efficient administration rather than permitted to run waste under the present corrupt and incapable Government? Japan has worked industrial marvels in Korea and Formosa. Would she not do the same in China? A peaceful and rich China would be a field for trade far too great for Japan to conserve to herself. There would be room for all in it, and no door could be so firmly closed as to

exclude entirely either Europe or the United States.

(2) "No Treaty will ever bind the military class. They will follow in this, as in all other matters, the example of their beloved Germany in Belgium, whenever it suits them." Well, they have hitherto faithfully observed their Treaty with Great Britain in every military detail. Why should they not continue to do so in the future? They came, without a day's hesitation, without a particle of ignoble huxtering, into the Great War, in fulfilment of their Treaty obligations, and nobly played their part in it, thereby relieving their ally of burthens that might have been crushing. The "Five Group Demands" incident admits of no defence, but it was not universally approved in Japan, and the repetition of such an instance of secret diplomacy is unlikely.

(3) "Russia being dead and her menace removed, the original reason for the alliance has ceased to exist." Russia is not dead but in a swoon. Her resuscitation is certain, and a military alliance between her and a restored Germany is a very possible factor in the future. Japan, for her own protection, might be forced to become a third party to it if not fortified against such an alliance by a Treaty with Great Britain, and possibly with the United States. Allied with Great Britain and the United States, she can defy the Eastern advance even of a united Germany and Russia. Not so, she must try to become their friend, and let them find an outlet through the Balkans to India.

(4) "Japan may seek to relieve the political unrest, which is daily increasing among her civil population, among whom socialism in its crudest form is rapidly spreading, by wantonly provoking a war with the United States." If Japan did start such a war she would be acting against all that modern history has taught us of her character. Neither military ambition nor domestic unrest were the sole causes of her wars with China and Russia, and on three modern occasions the Civil Government has firmly and successfully resisted the combined clamour, both of the military and of the proletariat, for war. Is it conceivable now that a Government which, in all its international relations, has shown itself eminently

patient, sober, and far-seeing, should ever be so insane, with the example of Germany's fall before it, as to challenge all the might of the United States? In Japan, the feeling now is not that she may be forced to call upon the aid of Great Britain in such a war, but that the latter may call on her.

The Japanese are an insular people, but no encircling seas limit, as they do with the British, their watchfulness of international politics or of the domestic conditions of other people. They now see that there is a dangerous spirit against Great Britain in the United States, which already exceeds in acrimony any that has existed since the days of the Alabama. Ireland is the great, though not the only, factor in its nurture. They closely follow events in Ireland, which are daily and fully telegraphed to their press, and they see the old story of misgovernment intensified with its unhappy reflex on American sentiment. They read Sir Edward Carson's speeches flinging defiance at the United States, and remember Ulster's share in the direct causes of the Great War. They ask how long will a powerful and high-spirited nation hesitate to pick up the gauntlet so offensively flung before them. Then, what would be their own position under a new Treaty? Are they to be dragged into a war with whose causes they have not a particle of sympathy? This is a contingency to which due consideration must be given before the alliance is renewed.

What are the positive advantages which are likely to ensue to Great Britain from the renewal? The acquisition of a powerful ally in a war of criminal insanity may at once be dismissed as fantastic. Japan would be an active ally in such a war no more than Great Britain would have been to her. Putting aside all questions of that war, Great Britain's gain from the Treaty will be far from insignificant. She can continue to be satisfied with the skeleton fleet that now displays her flag in the Eastern Seas, and with the attenuated garrisons that are sufficient for the policing of her great and wealthy colonies at Hong Kong and Singapore, secure in the thought that the preservation of every direct material interest that she has in the Far East—military, political and commercial—will be amply

guaranteed. The peace and security of her Australian dominions and the tranquillity of India will be equally free from a threatening cloud that otherwise will ever be shadowing them. Militarism may be curtailed both at home and abroad. Valuable markets will continue to be found, enormously developed by peace and good government, in China for the products of Manchester and Sheffield, and the freedom of the China Seas will be maintained.

If the renewal fails, Japan can still pursue her policy of annexation in China, unhampered by the obligation of previous reference to Great Britain, and what can be done to prevent her? What power on earth will undertake a war with her for the mere sake of securing commercial potentialities? Certainly not Great Britain, war worn, financially exhausted, with her army already scrapped and her navy in process of scrapping. Can she even send out to the Eastern Seas and Colonies the fleet and army which would be required for the effective protection of the interests which have so long been safeguarded by her Treaty with Japan? Would not such an action, after all these years, be a direct menace to Japan, provocative of new ill-will on her part, and angrily resented?

Japan has signified her acceptance of the League of Nations, but her acceptance is modified by one fact. She had not a particle of intention, and never has had, of national disarmament, of reducing, by one rifle or one ship, the great and highly efficient fighting machine which she now possesses. So far from that, she is at this moment devoting the most intense energy to its further development. Her army budget has been increased threefold. Her army during the war may be taken as having numbered $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of men. She is now taking measures which will in the future, not very remote, place at her disposal a fully trained army of 4½ millions, and as an index to her continued naval development it need only be stated that the four largest battleships in the world, each of 40,000 tons displacement, are now being built in her own dockyards, and they are intended to be ready for sea in 1922. What can Great Britain ever do against such a power, 12,000 miles away, strong not only in her

self, but in every possible defence that Nature can give her? If not the ally, she need not be the friend of Great Britain, for whom she has no sentimental affection more than for any other Western Power. The relations between the two are founded on material interests, and if those interests conflict, Japan, unhampered by Treaty restrictions, can take any steps which she thinks right to vindicate her own.

The first Treaty was the remote foundation for the alliance of the four Powers, which in 1914, in the words of the French Ambassador to Japan, "assured the safety and liberty of Europe and of the whole civilised world against the brutal aggression of Germany." Two of the Powers are to-day no longer calculable factors in Far Eastern politics. Russia is rent by civil war. France, exhausted

and bleeding at every pore, requires generations of peaceful recuperation. Great Britain and Japan remain. A third factor is needed to secure the future peace of the world. It is found in the United States. An alliance between the three surviving Great Powers, complete in its provisions, would contain in living reality all the advantages that are mere phantasms in the illusory League of Nations. None would dare to defy Ireland is the main obstacle to the union of Great Britain and the United States. While its unrest continues, the two can never be whole-hearted friends, and the new triple alliance must remain a vague vision of a happier future. But in the meanwhile, the first essential step may be taken and the alliance between the two Insular Empires of the East and West renewed to the safety and profit of both.

The Case Against the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

By the HON. ERNEST G. THEODORE.

Premier of Queensland.

It has been an accepted axiom of Colonial diplomacy that the Dominions shall not interfere in British foreign policy, which has hitherto been conducted from Whitehall. In many ways this system has had its advantages, but now that the Dominions have put off their swaddling clothes they are beginning to demand, in no uncertain manner, that their views shall be heard in all matters affecting their relationship with the Empire and international affairs generally. If Australia can be admitted to the League of Nations, surely she can reasonably claim to be heard on the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, which vitally affects her in many ways that are too little realised in this country.

The point of view of the Englishman and the Australian with regard to Japan is so dissimilar that it is almost impossible

for a person who has only resided in this country to appreciate the real significance of the Australian sentiment on this burning question.

Japan has a population of 55 millions, and Australia one of only 5 million people. Japan is over-crowded and hungry; Australia has empty spaces, capable of profitably settling millions of people—a rich prize to any covetous nation that may be looking for an outlet.

It takes the British race about eighty years to double its population by natural increase. The Japs do it in sixty. There is the whole crux of the question. If Japan is already overcrowded and is looking for an outlet, what will be the case in the course of a few more years when the present position will be greatly aggravated?

That a real menace to Australia from Japan does exist is no argument of the imagination, and the Land of the Southern Cross should accordingly be left unhampered by treaty obligations, be they never so alluring, particularly after her experience of Japan in the war.

The story of Japan's faithfulness to the Allies during hostilities has been praised from every platform in the country; but who has put the other side of the case, or told of the *quid pro quo* which she demanded: or worse still, of her ACTUAL ULTIMATUM to AUSTRALIA, while the war was still in progress? This is a side of the story which history will tell more fully than can be stated at the present time.

All alliances are, of course, based in the first instance on self-interest, but if they are to be effective they must also have the sanction of popular approval. Italy and Austria-Hungary afford a glaring example of what may happen if these essential conditions are lacking, and though it may be easy enough to obtain popular sanction in this country, the people of Australia, who are most vitally affected, will not be prepared for a renewal of the present Treaty except in a considerably modified form at least.

- Japan has been the Power to reap all the benefits from the present alliance. It will be remembered that after the war with China in 1894-5, Japan was warned off the Asiatic Continent by Russia, France and Germany. Japan had hardly withdrawn from Manchuria when Germany seized Kiao-Chau, Russia laid hands on Port Arthur as "compensation," and England satisfied herself with Weihai-Wei. In fact Japan appeared to be altogether in a bad way when first the alliance was mooted. Chamberlain was always favourable, and so in 1902, for the first time in history, an Asiatic Power was admitted into an alliance with a European Power on terms of equality. The result was an immense enhancement of the prestige of Japan, who, since that time, has continued to approach nearer to the coast of Australia. Thousands of Japanese have gone to the mines of New Caledonia, but though assurance has been given that they are peaceful artisans, they are also reservists, veterans of the

Manchurian War. New Caledonia is only two days' steam from the Coast of Queensland, sparsely populated, but with rich resources, and with a climate congenial to the Asiatic. And, rightly or wrongly, the Australian people have felt that the Japanese penetration of the Pacific Islands is a potential danger to the safety of their shores, a feeling that has not been removed by the Japanese mandate over certain of the Islands of the Pacific, nor by the rumours of Japan's fortification of those Islands.

The fact is that Japan possesses easy, comfortable stepping-stones from Tokio to Thursday Island, the Northern gateway to Queensland, and the Achilles heel of Australia.

If the Commonwealth cherishes one idea and emphasises one sentiment more than another, it is the policy of a White Australia, a policy which has become a national institution and the accepted slogan of the Australian people. All parties are united on this point. For racial, economic and industrial reasons Australia cannot tolerate a large immigration of cheap labour which would tend to lower the standard of living and produce a hybrid race. This would not be fair to the Australians, nor to the Japanese, nor, for that matter, to the world. Accordingly the immigration of coloured races into the country is prohibited, but under the alliance it is impossible to discriminate against Japanese nationals, and therefore anti-Asiatic legislation can only be made effective by a roundabout dictation test.

The democratic sentiment of Australia, too, has been outraged by the sense of injustice in Japan's treatment of China. Can Britain righteously renew a Treaty that admits of a policy of spoliation of a defenceless people like the Chinese?

And finally my recent visit to America has convinced me of the fact that a lot of the regrettable misunderstanding between this country and the United States is due to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The Treaty will never be understood by our cousins across the Atlantic, who, with a weather eye to Japan, have adopted the maxim of "trusting in God and keeping their powder dry."

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DOCTORS AND THE PUBLIC.

DO WE SUFFER FROM MEDICAL PRIESTCRAFT?

By REGINALD J. DINGLE

In a sceptical age the medicine-man has not escaped criticism. He could hardly expect it, with so many sick people to advertise his limitations. When miracles of healing are performed at unorthodox shrines, his case is made worse. It is a century and a half or thereabouts since Diderot wrote: "Le meilleur médecin est celui après lequel on court et qu'on ne trouve point." Byron, writing to Mr. Moore from Florence in 1817, attributed his recovery from a distressing catalogue of ailments to "the blessing of barley water, and refusing to see any physician." In our own day, Mr. Shaw has satirised the learned leeches. But these are all sophisticated folk and literary gents to boot, whom it is notorious that no prudent man would trust in practical affairs. The significant fact is that in our own time this rationalist attitude towards the medical priestcraft has spread to the multitude. There is heard a question of a sort not entirely unknown in other departments of human affairs: Whether the priests of medicine are not less concerned with the art of healing than with the maintenance of their own exclusive priesthood? The surgical achievements of Mr. H. A. Barker, and the attitude of the medical profession towards those achievements are notorious. This article is concerned with a parallel case in the realm of strictly medical treatment.

In the *Review of Reviews* for February, 1918, under the title "A Plea for Science in Medicine," there appeared some account of the work of Mr. Raphael Roche, of Chelsea, an unregistered practitioner, who has for a number of years been restoring to health persons belonging to the class known as "chronic incurables."

So much interest was displayed in the article, that further cases were published three months later with a remarkable letter from Lady Bertha Dawkins, Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen, who testified that, after having cured her of asthma of twenty years standing, Mr. Roche had cured her by internal medicines of a pain-

ful ganglion on the back of her wrist, for which orthodox medicine could suggest nothing but surgical treatment. "I consider," wrote Lady Bertha Dawkins, "that you are rendering a public service in calling attention to the fact that such things are possible, and I hope the medical authorities will inquire into it."

This rather pathetic "hope" was what induced Mr. Roche, after thirty-three years of patient work during which his name never appeared in print in connection with medicine to permit an article to be written about himself in *Truth* in 1912. It has not been the purpose of any of the previous articles that have appeared—nor is it in the least degree the purpose of this one—to give an advertisement to Mr. Roche. Indeed, when he did consent to an article about his work appearing in 1912, his name was not mentioned in it. He was "Mr. X," and "Mr. X" he would have remained but for one thing. While an article in which he was mentioned by name would have been set down as an advertisement by the ill-disposed and sceptical, the article, as it actually appeared, was declared to be a work of imagination. It became necessary to demonstrate that the healer existed. He has a name and a local habitation, though on that local habitation there is no brass-plate, red lamp, nor anything to indicate even to a Sherlock Holmes that anybody within it is engaged in the practice of medicine. The only reason for setting forth the facts I am giving here is that they are "a definite matter of urgent public importance," as they say in the House of Commons.

What are the reasons for urging that, in the public interest, the medical profession should take notice of Mr. Roche? They are quite simply that he is performing cures in cases which conventional medicine—allopathic and homœopathic—regards as incurable. I have had an opportunity of going over a large number of cases treated by Mr. Roche, of examining the testimony of the persons cured,

and checking it. The result of that examination is to confirm the antecedent probability that his claims have a solid basis. That antecedent probability was very strong. A man who, like the late Lord Roberts, "doesn't advertise," and who has a *clientèle* which a "regular" practitioner might envy, composed entirely of people who seek him out on the recommendation of others who have been cured, is, *prima facie*, no impostor. If a very considerable number of registered doctors, entitled to free treatment by the pick of their profession, are willing to pay Mr. Roche five guineas for a consultation, and write in the terms which first awakened my interest in this case, it is a fair conclusion that there is ground for enquiry.

The testing-ground for any medical theory must be among the chronic illnesses. In acute complaints the patient recovers or dies, and the effect of any medicaments must always be a matter of speculation. The complaints that exist for years, defying treatment, constitute the real problem in medicine. That there should be a large class of ailments, designated chronic—which means, in effect, incurable—is an indication of the wider area in which medicine has not succeeded. It is upon this that attention should be concentrated, it is here that new light from any quarter should be welcomed. The significance of Mr. Roche lies in the fact that, confining himself to these cases, and resolutely declining all who can say that they are deriving benefit from other treatment, he performs cures. It is a long list of cures that I have examined. I can give only a few of them.

Polypus uteri, of twelve or thirteen years standing, is a case the general practitioner, keen on results, would hardly welcome. I give the letter of Mrs. Chatterton, widow of a former Vice-Chancellor of Ireland.

"Dear Sir,—I had suffered from chronic internal displacement for twelve or thirteen years, for which I had been treated by specialists in London and Dublin by curetting and all kinds of instruments, getting no benefit.

"I put myself in the hands of Mr. R. Roche eleven years ago, and he succeeded in curing me in fourteen days with internal medicine alone.

"I have had no return of the trouble, and feel it my duty to make the facts public. I am able to walk as much as ten miles any day and enjoy every mile of it."

From several cases of chronic colitis I select one by a West-end dentist. "I went to Mr. Roche about two years ago," he writes, "suffering from chronic colitis. I had undergone various methods of treatment without avail, but under Mr. Roche's treatment my improvement was rapid, and I have never had a return of the colitis."

The assistant master of a public school writes to say that bleeding piles of a quarter of a century's standing were cured in six months. A case of tuberculosis of the knee joint, in which instant operation was recommended at St. George's Hospital, was cured within a month in 1906, and there has been no return. A bank manager gives a circumstantial account of a cure of a diverticulum on the œsophagus. In this horrible complaint a pouch forms into which food is diverted. The only method of dealing with it, known to ordinary medicine is surgical, and this case had been declared inoperable. Turning over a long list, including eczema, pyorrhea, Bright's disease, neuritis, rheumatism, neurasthenia, and an extraordinary cure of epilepsy, undertaken at the request of a legally qualified doctor, I come to a case of tubercular kidney disease. The story is unfolded in a series of letters, and the essential facts are these. The patient had one kidney removed and a pound of tubercular pus taken away. The other kidney was attacked, and a repetition of the operation impossible. The case was treated by Mr. Roche, and the patient now records himself not only cured, but able to touch his toes with his wrists, without bending his knees. For obvious reasons it is not possible to publish names in many of the cases in which they would be most striking. I have the letters in reply to my inquiries before me as I write, and the writers generally declare themselves willing to answer any questions.

I have brought to the examination of these cases as much critical intelligence as I can command, with a special attention to the possibility that we are faced with what are called "faith cures." I am

driven to reject that hypothesis for reasons which I think will appeal to most fair-minded enquirers. In the first place, Mr. Roche is justified in asking whether he is likely to inspire confidence where Harley Street and Wimpole Street have failed. But the supposition is discounted both by the nature of the diseases, and by the character of the patients. The vast preponderance of the diseases is not functional, but organic. To admit the possibility of their cure by suggestion would be to go a long way towards reducing the whole of medicine to psychotherapy. Nor does the general run of the witnesses appear to me to be ultra-susceptible. I find a large sprinkling of medical men among the grateful patients of this unregistered practitioner whom they are supposed to despise. "I should be greatly interested," writes one, "to know the active constituent, for the improvement is marvellous." There are literary men—including Mr. Bernard Shaw and Mr. Robert Hichens—among the correspondents. A jurist of international reputation, who should at least be able to weigh evidence, believes that Mr. Roche treated him successfully.

It will probably be said that these cures are ephemeral. A study of the evidence dispenses of this objection. One of the most remarkable cases quoted in this Review in 1918 was that of a cure of cancer recurring in the glands of the neck a year after operation on a cancerous tongue. The patient, a Lieutenant-Colonel, writes me under date May 11th. "Mr. Roche," he says, "cured me when orthodox medicine could offer me no further help, surgical or medical. I thought you would like to know that the result of the treatment still holds good; I have had no recurrence." This cure was effected in August, 1915.

"And the moral of that is ———?" as somebody says in "Alice." Well the moral is, not that Mr. Roche should be made an M.D. He declares caustically that he has not the slightest wish for official recognition as a guarantor of incurability—the light in which the medical profession not unnaturally appears to one who is principally engaged in dealing with its failures. The moral is that, when a man, in whatever way, is curing diseases which resist ordinary

treatment, he should not be quietly ignored because he has not academic degrees, or, even if he have them, because he does not subscribe to the conventional ideas. The case of Dr. Bell and his cancer treatment was a sufficient reminder that this qualification is not fanciful. What matters to the public is whether a man can cure disease, and if he can do so, there should be, in the medical profession, "a free play of the mind," as Matthew Arnold would have it, upon his contribution to the science of healing.

Some brief account may be given of Mr. Roche's outlook on medicine. It may be mainly right or mainly wrong; the present writer claims no competence to judge. The essential fact is whether he cures or not, and the layman may be as good a judge of that as anyone else. Mr. Roche is not a faith-healer or diet specialist or Professor of what is called nature-cure. He believes, with the Son of Sirach that "the most High hath created medicines out of the earth, and a wise man will not abhor them." His own description of himself is "specialist in specific drug action." If the homœopath should be less inclined to denounce him at sight than his allopathic rival, this is because Mr. Roche administers his drugs in imponderable amounts and applies the rule "*similia similibus curentur*," but in point of fact he differs *toto cælo* from both. He is concerned, in the first place, with the healing of diseased conditions by the specific action of drugs on the individual. Rejecting the materialism which is implicitly accepted by the general mass of medical theorists, he boldly embraces vitalism. Much that passes for medical study, Mr. Roche dismisses as irrelevant. A great deal that is loosely called medical treatment, he would describe as merely chemical. If the doctor puts alkaline fluids into a stomach because its contents are hyper-acid, he is doing what he might do in a test-tube. If he applies astringents to the mucous membrane of the throat, he is doing what may be done in the tanyard. Medical action as he understands it, is the stimulation of the vital force to reverse diseased conditions. To say that he had begun his studies *de novo*, rejecting the accumulated wisdom of the ages, would be to condemn him in the eyes of all who

have sufficient conservatism to keep sane. He does, however, depart from the ordinary classification of diseases. That the wise doctor should treat, not complaints, but patients, is a commonplace of conventional medical circles, but one doubts whether much more than lip service is paid to this important principle, and the doubt is reinforced when standard works like the "System of Medicine," edited by Sir Clifford Allbutt, say of many diseases: "no drug has yet been found for this condition." Mr. Roche has no drugs specific for complaints; they are specific for patients. The R.A.M.C. doctor who asked him for "a tip for rheumatism" went away sorrowful, I believe. His treatment springs from an examination of the totality of symptoms, not merely those to be classed as pathological. "Diagnosis," in the ordinary sense, he does not employ. That he has said the last word on medicine is in the very highest degree improbable. The present writer may be allowed to express his scepticism as to the possibility of medicine ever becoming so nearly an exact science as Mr. Roche believes it to be. "Give your decisions, not your reasons," is good worldly advice. Papal decisions *ex cathedra* bind the faithful as to their conclusions, but leave them forcibly free to hold their own opinions about the reasons by which they are supported. I have set down some of the points of Mr. Roche's theory, as I understand it, for the benefit of the curious. The essential fact to which I return is that he is curing people whom conventional medicine does not cure, and that if the medical profession were mainly concerned with its chief business it would take notice of him. Mr. Barker's case, and the appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury on his behalf, raise the question whether there should not be some method by which the bona-fide "irregular" practitioner might be recognised. The creation of a special body for this purpose might be worth consideration. In music, I believe, the Royal College began to give diplomas in spite of the opposition of the Royal Academy, and joint examinations by the two bodies are now held. It might be insisted, if it were thought proper, that the candidates for degrees outside the

existing qualifications should have the recognition of a certain number of legally qualified doctors. Neither Mr. Barker nor Mr. Roche would experience any difficulty in this regard. The essential thing is that a desire should be shown to help rather than to suppress the man who can show good results. Who can say that is the case at present?



De Notenhrazer

[Amsterdam]

A Milk Problem.

France: "How can I get the most milk out of this beast?"

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

THE NEW HOPE FOR RUSSIA.

Mr. Stephen Graham, who is among the best informed and most sympathetic of British writers on Russia, contributes to the *Contemporary Review* (June) a brilliant and hopeful account of the re-birth of Russia during the past two years. The Bolsheviks, he declares, have gained an immense military victory, one which will go down not only as the final success of one side in a civil war, but as a national triumph over British, American, French, Japanese and other foreign foes.

Whatever the rights or wrongs of Bolshevism and of the Allies, it is a crowning mercy that some final result in the field has been attained. Every Russian killed is a loss to humanity as a whole.

There has been no more terrible human catastrophe than the slaughter of this fine people going on without intermission for so long. There were two million dead in the war against Germany and Austria before ever the Revolution took place.

Thanks to the war and the Revolution, Russia has already become a second-class Power. Her people, what are left of them, are as good as any other people, but as a Power she has ceased to rank as first class.

The organised intelligence of the Russian people, says Mr. Graham, has perished in the revolution. The educated classes are ruined or destroyed. It will take time for the Russian people to reproduce what has been lost. The question is how to get educated able men and women to shoulder the vast administrative and commercial burdens of the nation.

With the victory of the Bolsheviks an end must come to the Russian services and to the propagandist bureaux. The Information Bureau was a type of war graft of which every one is now heartily tired, and we can bid it a long farewell and hope that the propagandists will find a decent and honest mode of earning a living elsewhere. It is not very hospitable but it is natural. I hope Chesham House will be cleared soon of those who do

not represent Russia, and that a properly accredited ambassador of the new government of Russia will in time be installed.

The military victory of the Bolsheviks is the first great relief. The failure of the propagandist bureaux in Paris, London, and New York, is the second. For now we can make a fresh start with Russia. Reconciliation, however, may involve us in a great number of inconvenient problems.

Peace with Soviet Russia may be a blow to all our international financial arrangements. The stability of our after-the-war finance depends greatly on the one-mindedness of all the Powers. A difference in point of view on the part of one of the great debtors or creditors is going to ruin the practical application of the point of view of the rest. Our weaker brothers in Europe would no doubt rejoice in a breakdown of all present financial arrangements. And such a breakdown is likely to take place if the repudiation by Soviet Russia of her war debts is allowed. If Russia, thanks to a Socialist Government, swings free of her colossal war debts, then it becomes highly profitable for a people to adopt that form of government, and we can confidently look forward to the popularity of such a régime in indemnity and debt-laden Germany. If Russia does not pay, it is hardly likely that Italy will pay, and if Italy does not pay and Germany cannot, why should France pay? And if all then fail to pay, obviously Great Britain will be too hard hit to pay the thousand million sterling which she owes to the United States of America.

The League of Nations seems likely to discuss financial sorrows for the next fifty years. Probably the only nation that could save the situation is the United States of America.

If America, the greatest creditor of us all, came forward and said: "We recognise we came into the war late and did not make the sacrifices which were made by the other nations. We know we cannot make up with money for what others lost in blood, but we have decided to renounce all our war debts, erase them entirely and not ask that they should be paid—on condition that Great Britain does the same and the rest of Europe

follows our example." If America said that she would obtain the moral leadership of the world, and save us all.

It is possibly too idealistic to expect the United States to make such a sacrifice. But the time has come for nations and individuals to renounce their interest in War Loan and Liberty Bonds. The burden of patriotism is becoming too difficult for the nations to bear.

It can be well understood how determined the Allies were to crush Bolshevik Russia and put up a Russian Government of subservient Russian functionaries ready to fall in with all existing financial arrangements and shoulder their part of the general burden. The recognition of the Russian Government and her principles may prove the beginning of a series of financial crashes throughout the world.

Almost all parties and all individuals in Russia, except for a few irreconcilables, are now of one mind. All desire to work together for the development of New Russia.

The same is true of most of the exiles and *émigrés*—they are ready to make a great sacrifice and be at one. There is only one Russian party worth while, and that is the pro-Russian party. Bolshevism, Menshivism, the Cadet Cause, Tsarism—what are these when Russia herself is bleeding to death? Many landowners who have been dispossessed of their traditional estates seek no longer to have them restored. If there is to be communal ownership of land throughout Russia let it be tried. If on the other hand the marauding peasants wish to obtain title to the land they have seized there are those who say—let the peasants have it—if the giving up of our land can help Russia, we are ready to see the peasants have it. The owners of large businesses are perhaps less idealistic in their outlook than the land-owners, but some of those also are ready to waive their losses and start again from the beginning. The difficulty now is to restrain Russians in America and England from returning to Russia whilst a price is on their heads and they are still liable to be thrown into prison or shot.

Credible witnesses from Russia now state that the Red Armies to-day are in no wise exclusively Red, but are made up of men of all shades of opinion. The alliance of the counter-revolutionaries, with foreigners has never been popular in Russia. It was not Lenin and Trotsky who vanquished Koltchak and Denikin and Yudenitch and the rest, but Russia herself. Such is the substance of the new hope for Russia. But it does not follow that the present leaders of Russia will remain leaders long, once a genuine peace has been established.

Many unacceptable and mediocre or brutal types will be displaced by men of greater ability and culture—by men more representative of Russia as a whole. For instance, it is obviously unnatural and a state of things which cannot last, that the most Christian nation in Europe should be dominated almost exclusively by Jews and Agnostics openly and professedly opposed to Christianity. Lenin says to Lansbury—"You, Lansbury, believe in Christianity. You believe that you can bring about in England a peaceful revolution. I do not believe that"—and he speaks as if a Christian were a very rare bird in his acquaintance. But the Russia which has been in Lenin's hand and the greater Russia which will come with peace is predominantly Christian, and no efforts on the part of the non-believer have detached the population from their religious beliefs. The persecution of the churches, the revenge movement pursued against the monks and the priests and the bishops, the propaganda of rationalism and "religion as poison for the people" alike have failed. The Bolshevik leaders of to-day have had to come to terms with the religious bodies in Russia, and to cease persecution.

With peace, education in Russia will be revived. Not since the days of slavery has so little work been done in school and university. The Co-operative Societies will have to undertake the re-building of Russia's trade. Since the rouble has been reduced in value to no more than printed paper, a new currency will have to be begun, derived as in an essay on political economy, directly from a system of barter.

As regards the old Russian Empire and all the constituent petty states that have been springing into being, Mr. Graham believes the autonomy of each will have to be recognised, but that Soviet institutions will conquer nearly all of them. They can be federated as a Russian group of nations.

The British group of nations stands where was once the old British Empire. There are the United States of America, autonomous and yet federated. In these it is possible to see a better promise for united humanity than in the League of Nations as at present conceived. Germany and the Teutonic states of the North will find their grouping. France and Italy and the Romance nations will also stand together. Thus we begin to see the constellations of humanity.

It will perhaps be found that Russia will have helped us in no small way to find one another and get nearer, both as individuals and nations.

FRANCE AND GERMANY.

THE FRENCH CLAIM TO REPARATION.

Two important articles which are published in *The Round Table* (June) set forth the present state of France and of Germany as seen by authoritative correspondents in both countries. France, says the French Correspondent, has been left by the war tragically short of men, money and means. Her trouble, however, is part of the great problem in Europe, and no nation can hope to come separately out of the chaos and misery which the war has left everywhere. He urges that France's left everywhere. He urges that the justice of France's claim to come first in the payment of the German indemnities was not properly realised in England until the San Remo Conference.

1,350,000 French soldiers were killed during the war, and 400,000 others have been permanently maimed or injured, and a further 200,000 were partially disabled. A statistical comparison shows that whereas America lost only one in every 2,000 of her population, Italy one in 79, and the British Empire one in 66, France lost one in every 28 of her people.

The question now is not who won the war, but whose wounds are the deepest? Agriculture, the greatest industry of France, has suffered most, because the small landowners and peasants had everywhere to bear a disproportionate part of the losses in the war. In every belligerent country skilled workmen had to be kept back to make munitions, and in this way their lives were spared. Great industrial countries like England and Germany gained by this, since they saved the men who were most needed after the war for the purposes of reconstruction. France, however, depends primarily upon agriculture for her prosperity, and her staple industry is consequently left short of labour. The resources of France are like a huge army which cannot be mobilised, or a ship which though it contains a rich cargo, cannot get under weigh for want of men and fuel.

For the revival of industries, again, cheap coal and iron are essential. Our deficit of coal is, however, at present between 45,000,000 and 50,000,000 tons, as compared with 24,000,000 tons before the war. For want of coal most of our industries, and among them

our metallurgical industries, are to-day producing only one-third of their normal capacity. German iron and steel works, on the other hand, are producing about two-thirds of theirs. For want of coal it is impossible to export steel. Even our internal needs cannot be met.

Cheap and rapid transport, though indispensable, is also not to be had, and our rolling stock is suffering from wear and tear; the German engines which were handed over need repairs, and the spare parts were retained by the Germans. Besides this, many of our railwaymen are demoralised, and there are frequent strikes.

A third and worse difficulty is the shortage of merchant shipping. We were unable to build ships during the war. . . . We know that England lost 7,759,000 tons gross as against 100,000 tons lost by us, but proportionately our losses were the higher of the two, being 34.52 per cent., as against 30.56 per cent., of the total shipping of the country. Japan and the United States, it must be remembered, have doubled, or more than doubled, their tonnage during the war, and Great Britain has facilities for building quickly, which we do not possess. Only 21 per cent. of our trade at present sails under our own flag, whereas Japan carries 46 per cent. of hers, and Great Britain more than 60 per cent. of hers.

Under such conditions the balance of trade is necessarily disastrous to France. The difference between imports and exports before the war was only a thousand million francs a year. In 1919 it became a thousand million francs a month. Inevitably credit has become disorganised, and inflation has become more dangerous than ever.

The situation is made full use of by mischief-makers. It is suggested in propaganda that we are financially blockaded by our Anglo-Saxon Allies, and "Blockade through Exchange" is one of the catchwords of cheap journalism.

During the war, and until January, 1919, France did all in her power, the writer asserts, to meet her financial difficulties. After the Armistice she did much less than she ought to have done, but since last Christmas enormous efforts have been made to make good the deficit. The outbreak of war had caught France in the midst of a formidable reorganisation of her public finances, and it was like having to change horses in

mid-stream. It should be enough for the Allies now to know that France has shouldered her debt in earnest. The balance of trade is already improving simultaneously with the increase in revenue and taxation.

CAN GERMANY PAY?

A scarcely less harrowing picture of economic ruin is drawn by the German Correspondent in the same number.

In the hey-day of Germany's power she was often accused of striving for World-Supremacy. In the hour of her direst misery she has become the corner-stone of Europe, and possibly of the entire system of modern economics all over the world. If she should give in under the pressure of the load which the war, the blockade, the revolution, the armistice and the peace have piled upon her, the tottering fabric of European civilisation might easily crumble to pieces.

It is the great merit of the organised German Labour Movement, he declares, that their most numerous representatives, the Majority Socialists, did not stand apart in the crisis of the revolution at the Armistice. They had not made the revolution, and in fact disliked it, but they joined with their Radical brethren in forming the first Republican Government of Germany.

They had come to the land of promise much earlier than they had ever expected to do. But its rivers of milk and honey had run dry. The blight of the disastrous war lay on it. The capital of the capitalists was mortgaged to the creditors of the nation, to the millions of small subscribers who had given their savings to the State. Production was ebbing, if not at a standstill. There was no longer a large unearned surplus which it was easy to nationalise; there were debts and starvation, a breakdown in transport, a huge dislocation of the labour market due to rapid demobilisation; there were no resources except paper money.

At a time when nothing but increased production could save Germany, the Socialist Government was compelled by the force of circumstances to diminish seriously Germany's production. After the war, a relaxation of the strain was bound to come, whatever government was in power. Majority Socialists, Democrats, and the Catholic Party, joined in a Coalition Government which has ever since existed, and which so far has been

supported by the overwhelming majority of the people. It was, and is, a Government strong in votes, but weak in action.

The Germany of to-day is an unarmed, easily frightened democracy, whose weapon of defence against any military attack is the general strike, a suicidal measure if it is used regularly. But there are dangerous Militarist elements in the country.

There are, moreover, numerous reactionary sets who are willing to use force if there is a real chance, who objected to the Kapp movement merely because it was unsuccessful. The revolution has deprived the ruling classes, especially in Prussia, of their privileged political position. They have always been in a minority, and they know only too well that they never will become a majority by constitutional means. They may win over in a large measure the large employers of labour who disapprove of the industrial disorganisation, for which, according to their views, the revolution is mainly responsible. They work upon the antagonism of the farmer, who is apt to look upon the town dwellers and the town dwellers' behaviour as a rabble of loafers. But it is not true that they will ever get a majority, certainly not as soon as they want it.

Other reactionary groups are less patient, and do not see the necessity for relying upon any process of evolution. They say that the old order was overturned by force, and consequently is best restored by force. But the mass of the people has most significantly declined all appeals to force, as was clearly shown during the "Kapp putsch."

There are some signs of recovery in German economic life, in spite of the intense wear and tear that German industries suffered during the war, but no such signs are yet visible in German finance. The enormous rise in prices is due partly to the inadequate supply of goods due to decreased production, and partly to the great issue of bank notes, which is unavoidable as long as the deficit in the Budget cannot be met. And the financial clauses of the Peace Treaty make the issue of new Treasury bills a permanent necessity.

The paying of the first 20,000,000,000 marks in gold is depriving Germany of her ships, her cables, her assets in the Allied countries and the assets due to her from her former allies. All this is private property,

and is the working capital of German business men and of German corporations. They have to be compensated by the government. A sum of 20,000,000 marks gold is worth at least 200,000,000,000 marks paper. It cannot be raised from taxation, it must be met by the contraction of a new debt, which will very nearly double the public debt. Each German man, woman or child, would then be responsible for a debt of at least 6,000 marks per head.

If Germany is to pay, and she has

entered a solemn obligation to do so, which she neither can or will set apart-- she must be made solvent.

She can only be made solvent if she can work at top speed. She can only do so if her people are fed, if her factories are started. Credit, not in cash, but in food or in raw materials, is what is wanted. She must be able to use her coal for herself and for the Allies. Her people must not be irritated continually, and her government must not be held up to ignominy.



[Simplicissimus]

The Milk-Profiteer.

[Mantel]

"There, there! Big profits call for little sacrifice!"

EUROPE'S DANCE OF DEATH.

"Standing, as I stand, in the capital of Europe—Paris—I sweep my eyes round from this centre and I see about me a world which dances and make merry in the midst of death and destruction and the menace of to-morrow." In these words Mr. Sisley Huddleston, a well-known contributor to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, begins a striking article on the world unrest after the war in the *Atlantic Monthly* (May), which has created a profound sensation in America, and has been widely quoted in the American Press. Mr. Huddleston paints his gloomy picture in lurid colours. He sees no signs of men sitting down in despair to think. He draws a mad crowd, racing over the cemeteries of Europe in a bacchanalian orgy, a new people, the victims of some primitive impulse that the war has freed. But he is not altogether a pessimist.

It is a gloomy picture which I paint; and at once I wish to make the proviso that it must not be taken to represent the whole truth. There is much that is sound in present-day society; and if, as in the Bible story, the whole city might be saved for a handful of righteous men, then there are certainly still enough healthy elements to save civilization. Let not this study of the post-war Europe prevent anyone from lending a helping hand: on the contrary, this sickness is such that we should tackle it in ourselves and in our neighbours, lest it complete its deadly work, and our world as we knew it collapse in rottenness.

Mr. Huddleston does not deny that there was much that was idealistic in the war. But he does not close his eyes to its realities. Some characters were made made by the war, but many were utterly ruined and demoralised. Out of the long habit of soldiering has arisen a heedlessness, an unconcern that has become a definitely materialistic philosophy. "If I were asked what is the most conspicuous trait of the modern man and woman in Europe, I should unhesitatingly reply—Egoism." Never, he adds, was Carlyle's image of a basket of serpents, each struggling to get its head above the rest, so expressively precise a picture of humanity as it is to-day.

Mr. Huddleston is oppressed with the cold materialism, the shameless profiteering of the working classes. They too shirk their part of the bargain with the community.

Let me relate a significant little fact which will show how the social sense has—inevitably—decayed. While conditions remain so uncertain, it is hard to expect people to remember that the future of their country depends upon the repopulation of their country. Social students in France long ago bewailed the egotism which was at the bottom of the falling birth-rate. To-day the evil is intensified. A people which deliberately refuses to bring children into the world is on the slippery slope. Only in half a dozen departments in France does the birth-rate exceed the death-rate; and it is estimated that, what with killed and disabled, the excessive mortality among the civilian population, the absence of husbands from home, and the reluctance to marry during the war, there are six or seven million fewer French people than there would normally have been.

That, as I say, is natural enough: it could now be remedied to some extent. But while there is an official propaganda in favour of larger families; while the refusal to procreate, the appalling frequency of abortions consciously brought about,—ask any hospital doctor or nurse: you will learn amazing things,—are giving great anxiety; while even the new President has been chosen partly because he has three children instead of being childless like so many of his predecessors; while there is, on the one hand, this serious effort to get to grips with the thing that will bring France down to the rank of a second-rate nation, there is, on the other hand, a propaganda in the music-halls in the opposite sense.

He paints a kaleidoscopic picture of every branch of the community. The same disease of egoism infects statesmen, the idle classes, the proletariat, and finally that offspring of the war, the new rich, whom he characterises as "the rottenness in the marrow of civilisation." It is so in Berlin, in London, and in Paris. Even in Vienna, where children are dying in the gutter, *nouveaux riches* are to be seen in ballrooms and glittering restaurants. Apart from this Mr. Huddleston makes a searching inquiry into the prevalence of actual lawlessness.

I find the following main reasons set out by an English writer to explain this crime wave, and I do not disagree:

(1) That many men who had criminal instincts, but also a horror of killing, before the war are now more or less devoid of that horror.

(2) That many men who had embarked on a career of crime before the war were liberated from prison during hostilities, and entered the army, and that these are now free again to resume their depredations against society.

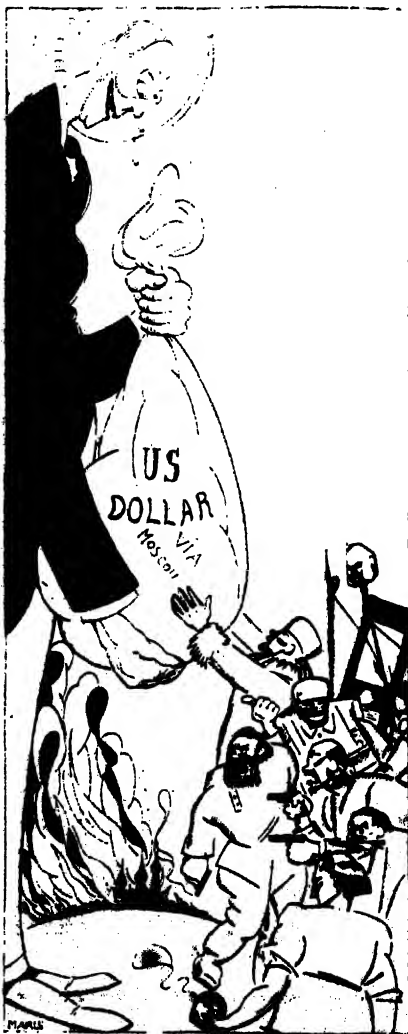
(3) That unemployment and the high cost of living have forced many men who would otherwise have been law abiding citizens into criminality.

(4) That the general feeling of unrest which is permeating all classes is responsible for much crime.

Mr. Huddleston deplores the cynical brutality and materialism of the present day, and bids us face the cold truth that war has dragged out the worst in man—even though there are still heroes left in the world.



Le Rire



P. P. A.

The Anglo-Saxon Bible.

Make friends with the Mammon of Unrighteousness.

(Paris)

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON UPSETS ALL CALCULATIONS.

When Mr. Borah, of Idaho, stood in the Senate in July, 1919, and announced that he would fight the League of Nations to the bitter end, his impassioned speech was greeted with amused tolerance." So writes an American Correspondent of *The Round Table* (June) in a comprehensive review of the present attitude of America towards European politics. Since March, however, the political prophets have become exceedingly cautious. It was widely believed that if the Republicans should gain the victory in the Presidential elections that is generally expected, a ratification of the Peace Treaty by a Republican President and Congress, with reservations similar to those sponsored by Senator Lodge, would be the probable outcome. But this anticipation rests upon the assumption that the forthcoming Presidential elections will be a contest between the two great parties.

The advent of Senator Hiram Johnson upon the scenes has, however, upset every calculation. He shares the irreconcilable views of Senator Borah.

Johnson is a Republican, but he is little loved by the leaders of his party: for it was his rebellious Progressivism which gave the State of California and victory to Wilson in 1916. His large frame, large features, and positive personality make a strong appeal to an electorate which likes to "look over the candidates and size them up." He is a man of strong convictions and vigorous language. He is outspoken in his dislike of other people than Americans, in his distrust of the motives of other nations, and in his unqualified antipathy towards Great Britain, Japan and the League of Nations.

Beneath his banner march the discontented. His criticisms on Great Britain have made him the "favourite son" of Irish-Americans. He has won the German-Americans by his uncompromising hostility toward the Treaty. He has swung the labouring classes to his support by tempestuous charges against capitalists and profiteers. Moreover, because he alone among public men stood out against the Allied policy of intervention in Russia and for the prompt withdrawal of American troops from that country, he is acclaimed to-day by thousands of citizens who privately questioned the expediency and the political morality of that strange and unproductive adventure.

He is, of course, the Commander-in-

Chief of those who oppose the League, but he is also supported by many men and women who have no strong sympathy with his political views, and no community of interest with any group in his varied following. They admire his courage in speech and in action, and believe with him that the day of the domination of party machines is done.

He will make his fight in the Republican Convention on the opposition to the League of Nations, and his astonishing success at the outset of his campaign shows that he will be a very prominent figure in the elections. The issue of the League has been raised, but not as between the Republican and Democratic Parties. The question of America's relationship to the League of Nations will be decided in June on the floor of the Chicago Convention, and the protagonists for and against the League will be Hiram Johnson and Herbert Hoover. Both men are Republicans and both come from California.

But so important is the sentimental factor in American elections that Johnson would promptly add that he himself is a "native son," whereas Hoover has been a Californian only since boyhood. Like Johnson, Hoover is not in favour with the Old Guard, the inner circle of the Republican machine. Their party objections to Hoover spring from a letter made public soon after Wilson's appeal for a Democratic Congress in 1918, in which Hoover seemed to support the President's request. The hostile attitude of Republican leaders toward both Johnson and Hoover, while based to some extent on these alleged violations of party faith, is perhaps more deeply founded on a fear that neither one of them would prove amenable to party discipline.

In a sense it is Hiram Johnson himself who has given a new strength to the agitation in favour of Mr. Hoover as President, which had more or less subsided of late. Mr. Johnson has declared his intention of "carving the Heart out of the League." Against this attitude, Mr. Hoover has replied that

"no greater mistake can be made than the assumption that our people have lost their national aspirations and idealism because

they have gone back to business. . . . Our people have an ideal of world service. This ideal cannot be ignored by the Party. Its living force will insist upon our joining in the organisation of the moral forces of the world to reduce armaments, check militarism, and relieve oppression. Failure to support the League of Nations with proper reservations would be a shock to the spiritual aspirations of the American people."

If Johnson should win, says the writer, it would spell the Treaty's defeat. If Hoover should win, it would mean a resounding victory for the League. If Wood should gain the nomination, it would indicate a reluctant willingness of

the party to accept international responsibility. What it would mean if the Old Guard's nominee should prevail cannot be estimated until their candidate is known.

American idealism is not yet destroyed. The question of America's participation in the League of Nations was not settled by the Senate's failure to ratify the Treaty. The people have wished to end the issue and forget it; but, like the ghost of a departed friend, it comes back to counsel with them. It will take serious counsel with that most sceptical of all bodies, the Republican Convention.

Those who are waiting for America's answer to the call of the world will have that answer this month.

CLEMENCEAU AND DESCHANEL.

Why has M. Clemenceau passed out of French politics? During the war he was unquestionably the idol of all France. When the Armistice was declared M. Clemenceau was hailed as the saviour of France before Foch. His immense popularity at once placed in his hands the making of peace. Then, in the full gaze of the mystified world he retired from political life.

The reasons why M. Clemenceau was rejected in favour of M. Deschanel are closely analysed in the *Quarterly Review* (April) by Mr. W. Morton Fullerton. In an article entitled "France after the war," he dismisses the wild hypotheses that sprang up in Paris and Germany. Mr. Fullerton repudiates the German theory that the defeat of M. Clemenceau spelt the revival of Caillautionism, implying a return to a policy of cordial understanding with Germany; together with the theory that the whole business was the result of a deep-laid plot concocted by Socialist-Radicals. Certain French organs ascribed the defeat to an alliance between the reactionary France and the Anti-Patriots of the *Internationale*, but

these receive similar treatment by Mr. Fullerton.

But not one of these reasons, nor yet all combined, carried sufficient weight to determine the decision of the National Assembly to ignore the generous pressure of French popular opinion in favour of M. Clemenceau. The real cause of his rejection was of quite a different order. And, from the standpoint of international relations, it is of extreme importance that that cause should be clearly understood. The election at Versailles has a definite political sense. That election was an unmistakable proof offered to the world that France is anxious and dissatisfied. She is dissatisfied and profoundly irritated, owing to the kind of Peace which has been offered her by the very man on whom she counted to establish her own notions of a sane solution of the problems raised by the World-War.

M. Clemenceau has been criticised in this country and in America, but not for failing to protect French interests.

France is aware, even if others have forgotten, that she has been the "couverture de civilisation" against a race of brigands. And she perceives with anguish that, what with a precipitate armistice and the firmness of the guarantees offered her against a repetition of her martyrdom of the last five years, she may have again to assume this sublime but sinister obligation before the world. Infinitely grateful to M. Clemenceau for having saved them from disaster in the crisis of the struggle, Frenchmen were pro-

foundly apprehensive lest the schemes and methods he had allowed to be adopted during the Peace Conference might wreck the future of their country. The French Congress feared that it might compromise the interests of France if, from sheer gratitude and sentiment, it were to lift Clemenceau to the pagoda of the Elysée as an idol to be worshipped.

A sense of disappointment pervaded France as the man whom she had fêted and honoured passed out of her life. In the war, he fought and won; but the peace making was too much for the same man. He was not the only idol to be broken at Versailles.

But the rejection of M. Clemenceau is no reason for the preference for M. Deschanel. That opens another question with new factors.

Like every other country France came out of the war in some indefinable way changed. The danger from the Left had been heightened. She needed a virile leader, a man with firmness and clear sight, one who would be keenly alive to his position as President, whose patriotism would be proof against compromise with Germany, and whose sane radicalism the bounds of compromise with the Socialists.

M. Deschanel was well grounded on an open-minded traditionalism, while M. Clemenceau was throwing sops to the Marxists. Such a man could satisfy the new France after the war.

A man of great talents whom party limits cannot hold, but who is also ambitious and not afraid of moral responsibility, so only he be sure that he is right; a man in whom education and training have engendered a certain aristocratic aloofness making him something altogether other than the hail-fellow-well-met type of the "Republic of Comrades," can hardly avoid the charge of dilettantism, even of lack of character.

But that charge has been on more than one occasion ably refuted.

When M. Deschanel's parliamentary colleagues lifted him to the Presidency, they testified their approval of his courageous and independent conduct in public affairs, and they recognised the "persevering unity and disinterestedness" of his career. But it was not merely to his attitude and method in matters touching on the social and economic problems of France that they gave their approval. It was not merely that they found singularly opportune the presence at the Elysée of a statesman with such a past just at the moment when Leninism was stalking

on the horizon, and when, within France herself, civil servants were preparing to organise, in conspiracy with the General Federation of Labour, a State within the State. But, as regards French foreign policy, M. Deschanel's position was equally well defined; that position had been equally original and courageous; and it was the certainty and security that the Congress felt in regard to this preoccupation that definitely fixed the choice of its members.

The choice between M. Clemenceau and M. Deschanel was a painful matter for France. But in many French hearts there was a half-stifled feeling that the idol had failed as a Peace-maker. The feeling was expressed briefly and nakedly by M. Deschanel: "Our hopes of 1918 have not been fully realised." France preferred to repose her trust in the author of that great speech delivered on March 1st in the historic theatre of Bordeaux, at a meeting to commemorate the protest of March 1st, 1871, against the German seizure of Alsace and Lorraine.

The *Serment de 1920*, "the Oath of Bordeaux," so solemnly sworn before the world, as the first public act of the President of the French Republic, is an event which will find its place in the chronicles of Europe. If this be "militarism," it is not only the militarism of Gambetta and of Clemenceau, but it is also the militarism of Washington and Lincoln. If M. Deschanel felt it useful and perhaps necessary to inaugurate his term of office with so vivid a ceremony, it was because, as he had said, "French hopes of 1918 have not been fully realised." Not a Frenchman but knew the reason why. And the point is this: though the Anglo-Saxon world may have been somewhat surprised by these and similar initiatives, discretion lies in realising that they are the profoundly conscious acts of a statesman, and exactly of the sort that had been expected of him. They were involved in the mandate that raised M. Deschanel to the Presidency. "For Germany every treaty, a more truce, a simple halt; every boundary only a provisional frontier; every annexation a preliminary to others." Who says this? It is M. Paul Deschanel in his book, "Gambetta," written during the war, and published in the late autumn of 1919. It is the same Deschanel who, inheriting a violent hatred of the Second Empire, inherited as well a profound distrust of the nationalistic policy of Napoleon III.

Mr. Fullerton makes it more easy for people to understand in this country all the complex motives that led to the overthrow of M. Clemenceau, without intruding upon what must necessarily remain in the background.

THE MANDATES FOR GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

Mandates for the protection, government and development of what was German East Africa have been promised to Great Britain, Belgium and Portugal. One-third of the population has been handed over to Belgium, Portugal is to have a small corner, and the rest is to come to this country. Each mandatory Power is to send in an annual report to the League of Nations. Is this arrangement likely to prove satisfactory?

The Bishop of Zanzibar, who, it may be recalled, wrote, during the war, one of the most powerful indictments of the German administration of the colony, thinks not. In a very outspoken article in the *Nineteenth Century* (June) on "Africa: and the blight of commercialism," he gives reasons for his opinion and urges a more thorough supervision by the League than that at present provided for. First of all, he says bluntly that the Portuguese as a "protector" of the people "will be far worse in every way than the German Government." As for the Belgians, their war record is against them.

The Belgian officers, for the most part, showed themselves unable to cope with the cruelty and rapacity of their African soldiers. Rape and looting were very common. The Belgian black soldier of the Congo is a hard taskmaster to his fellow-subject, and there is good cause to fear that he will not easily mend his ways. And, secondly, the Belgian officers were amazingly slack and inefficient in caring for their African carriers. I am told by eye-witnesses of quite scandalous failures to feed their porters, even when, by taking trouble, food could have been found. Deaths from starvation were far too frequent to be labelled "inevitable."

Finally he condemns—without specifying his reasons—the proposal to hand over the British part of the colony to Indians, so that they may educate themselves in the faculty of administration. "If this proposition be carried out, all that will remain to the Africans of the conquered territory will be the pledge made by President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and others. . . . Has Lord Robert Cecil no protest to make against this blatant injustice on the part of his infant League? Has America no promise of justice to East Africa? Who ever has a just claim to the conquered territory, surely the Africans themselves have!"

The Bishop propounds his solution. It is not self-determination; for that, he sees clearly, these African tribes are not fit. But he pleads for "a far different view of our responsibility for the peoples of tropical Africa."

Not only must mandatory Powers be bound by conditions and rules: their administrations must be subject to inspection by the League of Nations. And since, human nature being what it is, mandatory Powers will not readily accept such inspection while other colonies are not inspected, it seems evident that the inspection must be extended to the whole of tropical Africa. In fact, the League of Nations must do what its founders originally promised it would do: it must undertake to secure to the weak peoples of Africa adequate protection, and the wisest and best leading towards self-development in the remote (I think, very remote) future.

The only plan, at once just to the African tribes and honourable to all European Powers concerned, is to form a committee of the League for the protection of all African tribes, or at least all those south of the Soudan and north of the South African Union's boundaries. This committee would have no authority within the African territories. Each colony would be ruled by the Power whose flag had been hoisted within it. But the committee would send its inspectors into each colony, and forward to the Power concerned in each case the report of its inspectors. Failure to remedy wrongs pointed out by the report would be discussed between the Power concerned and the Supreme Council of the League. There would be no attempt at international rule of a colony. There would be no suggestion of divided counsels. Only the League would make real the protection promised to the African peoples.

That this suggestion will be acceptable to European colonists I do not pretend. None the less, I urge it. For in strict fact no body of men who are anxious to become rich can be, at all times, trusted to act justly towards those on whose labour their riches depend.

He suggests that the committee's scope should include Customs, Native Improvements, Land Laws, Labour and Liquor Laws, and Penal Codes. The difficulties in the way of such a committee are admitted. But "if an effective League is possible such a committee is also possible."

The latter part of the article is a review of general African conditions. The Bishop strongly discommends the clamour for haste in the industrial education of the native, as producing "a new type of African, a man who has put

aside his home ties, and acquired a veneer of civilisation with no moral or religious principle." There is danger in breaking the ties that bind an African to his family or clan.

The African is the best kind of communist. Private property exists, but not as of individual right. A man's family or clan have every conceivable claim upon him: and at marriage his wife enters his clan, or he enters hers, according as the tribal custom demands. The whole clan holds together. The village in certain matters acts together, and works together. Individualism as we know it does not exist.

Christianity, while emphasising the indi-

vidual relation with God, need not and, where due care is taken, does not break the social ties between the man and his family. But commercial life tends very much to snap them; the lust of possession developing individualism in a very marked degree. If then, we allow our present commercial practice to become normal in Africa we shall altogether smash the social life of the people.

The sex question is also touched on. And here the Bishop is frank to the point of saying that "in strict fact the 'colour' question has been solved in favour of the European's lust." This is a matter that would have to be faced by the proposed committee.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH JOURNALISM ?

A trenchant criticism of modern journalism is contained in an article on "The Profession of Journalism," by Sir Philip Gibbs, in *Blackfriars* (May), which is an admirable new monthly magazine, edited by the English Dominicans. During the past twenty-five years a new school of journalism has evolved, which seeks chiefly to gratify the public craving for sensation. It has sacrificed the literary qualities of the profession to a particular public, which is partly created by it, and is partly responsible for it. It no longer regards journalism as a profession, but as a business, in which men sell any material to the highest bidder. Mr. Kennedy Jones, one of the driving forces behind the "Northcliffe Press," devotes a good deal of space in his recent book "Fleet Street and Downing Street" to arguing that journalism has, in fact, become a business and not a profession. His point of view is strongly resented by Sir Philip Gibbs, who is one of a small band of idealists who are naturally against the degeneracy of the modern press. But he is forced to admit the "lamentable truth" of the contention.

Many of the old school of newspaper men were

miserably paid, dressed shabbily, took their meals in old-fashioned chop-houses at odd times, and were apt to get "fuddled" with a frequency that often brought them to the

gutter. The reporter of those old days was not above getting his news from the servants' hall, nor of accepting a drink in the butler's pantry! At the same time he was often a man of astonishing learning in strange, out-of-the-way realms of lore, and in spite of a coarseness of language due to a Rabelaisian sense of humour and an intimate familiarity with the sinks and stews of life, he often kept a little flame of idealism in his soul, and was faithful to traditions of truth in his own calling.

I saw the last of the old type of journalist who lingered as a rare and venerable bird. At his best he was a scholar and a gentleman who in many cases abandoned the social caste to which he belonged by birth and education in order to enjoy, with a certain cynical pleasure, the power which he wielded with his pen as a judge of the world's controversies, as a critic of ideas and actions, and as a dispenser of fame or infamy. By the conditions of his work, badly paid in comparison with other professions, with long hours, mostly at night, with irregular meals, and in the squalor of old Fleet Street offices, he tended to become a "Bohemian," as he loved to call himself. In his later years he was often a scruffy, dirty old gentleman, with a wide range of knowledge, and a certain intellectual arrogance which he shared with his cronies in clubs like "The Whitefriars," now most dignified, to which outsiders were seldom admitted or to which they came in a spirit of adventure.

Sir Philip Gibbs does not desire a return to the old conditions. He merely argues that what journalists have gained in status they have lost in prestige.

In many respects the modern newspaper is far in advance of its forerunner

of thirty years ago. Journalism to-day has wider interests than half a century ago. The journalist is a better man, with greater self-respect. How is it then that the public estimate of modern journalism is so low? The explanation, says Sir Philip, is in the development of the newspaper on commercial lines.

Nowadays the cost of production has increased enormously, and no daily paper can hold its own without immense capital and a great advertising revenue. *The Tribune* during its brief existence cost its proprietors something like £360,000, and died not because it was a bad paper, but because it was knocked out of existence by other papers with a greater power over the machinery of publicity, transport and circulation—elements which have very little to do with the intellectual merit of the reading matter. The Editor is therefore subordinate in importance to the Business Manager. The writing journalist is dependent upon the financial backing and success of his paper. There comes in the power of the Capitalist. Without an idea in his head beyond political interest or financial gain, he may acquire the controlling shares in a great journal, or form a group of fellow-capitalists to buy the power of its influence on behalf of a party or a leader. The paper loses its independence, and its free expression of opinion is limited to special pleading within the party lines.

To these causes Sir Philip Gibbs attributes the loss of public confidence in the Press. At one time readers could rely

on reports as being fair and accurate, and could take or leave the editorial comments.

Now they have perceived that by emphasizing some aspect of the day's news, by omitting vital details, by the arrangement of type giving prominence to one set of facts, while another is hidden away in small type or suppressed altogether, the history of the world is distorted as in a convex or a concave mirror according to the control of its news services, and is often by no means a faithful, complete, and truthful reflection of events. The military and civil censorship during the war revealed this to the public in a startling way—to a public which often knew the unpublished truth about air raids or other tragedies—and it will take years, perhaps, to win back public confidence, unless there is an immediate reform in the way of an absolutely "undoctored" press.

There is only one remedy to all this, and it lies with journalists themselves. They must not succumb to the temptation of insincerity; they must be above daily stunt performances. Sir Philip Gibbs sees a ray of hope in the "spirit of reform" in Fleet-street. In the end, the public admires and prefers the sincere writer, and since ultimately the business controller is there to give the public what it wants, that is half the battle. The blame in the last resort rests with the public, which gets the Press it deserves.

THE PEASANT REVOLT OF 1920.

The industrial revolution has not been confined to the towns. Side by side with the miners, dockers and railwaymen, in their march towards better things is the agricultural labourer. In 1914 he was in "the shackles of feudalism," to quote a description used by Mr. Lloyd George. As the Blue Book of the Board of Agriculture (1917-1918) said, his was the hardest worked, the lowest paid, worst fed and clothed, and the most badly housed of any class in the British community. He could not have existed at all in many cases except for the supplementary earnings of his wife, and they were both on the lowest rung of the social ladder. He had not even a union to defend his inter-

ests; and, in fact, scarcely enough money to pay the smallest contribution.

In 1914 the King's standard of wages set up in Norfolk was sixteen shillings a week. The attempt in some quarters to foster a trade union spirit was suppressed by the farmers and those wealthy landowners whom Disraeli dreamed of as the natural leaders of rural democracy. Lord Darnley, for example, refused his men the right to belong to a union, when they asked for a rise from 14/- to 15/- a week.

The causes of the remarkable revolution in the conditions of the agricultural labourer are analysed by Mr. F. E. Green in the *Fortnightly Review* (May). The

men, as a class, figured nobly in the war, but the transition to their present status has been recent. There are cases of men earning 18/- and 14/- a week in the autumn of 1916, though the price of food had risen 80 per cent.

During the years 1915 and 1916 the organisers of the two unions—the National Agricultural Labourers' Union and the Workers' Union—began extending their operations from a few Eastern and Southern counties to the Midlands and the West. Labour was getting scarce. In the words of a member of the House of Commons, "it was easier to fill the place of a Cabinet Minister than that of a skilled carter." Prices of all farm produce were rising in 1916 far in advance of the relative rise in wages. Whilst cereals were jumping up 250 per cent. in price, labour advanced only 30 or 40 per cent.

But what produced the great dramatic change in the attitude of the labourer towards trade unionism was the passing of the Corn Production Act, with its guaranteed prices to farmers and a minimum wage to labourers of 25s. a week. This became law on August 21st, 1917.

From the date of this Act can be traced the change in the fortunes of farm labourers. They were recognised for the first time in history as worthy of their hire. Meanwhile the Agricultural Wages Board got busy, and Norfolk was the first county to fix a minimum rate of 30/-.

- The creation of the Agricultural Wages Board immediately effected a revolution in the minds not only of labourers, but also in the minds of the farmers. Here was the Government practically ordering all farmers to join a trade union, as well as all labourers to join a trade union, so that each side should be adequately represented in the Agricultural Wages Board and the District Committees. The National Union of Farmers, like the agricultural labourers' unions, had been weak in number; now the farmers possess a membership of 100,000. The organisers on both sides seized the opportunity to get all the members of their craft into their respective trade unions.

Thus began the "awakening of Hodge," as it is picturesquely called by Mr. Green. The elaborate organisation in the industrial world inflamed a growing spark of unrest. The agricultural labourer demanded fair national minima. A silent revolution was started which has ended in his complete emancipation. His social consciousness could literally be seen to grow.

Month by month I mark a change in the mental attitude of the labourer. He is

acquiring more self-confidence, greater moral courage. Although one of the Board of Agriculture's investigators reports that "the old Sussex labourer attired in a smock frock who touches his hat to a stranger merely because he thinks him 'a gentleman' is growing very rare," and that a farmer said to him, "we are afraid of our men now; we dare not say anything to them," in rural areas where the labourers live in farm-tied cottages which belong to one man there is still the haunting fear of being turned out on to the roadside. The terrible shortage in cottages everywhere makes the fear a more tangible thing than it might otherwise appear to be. Even as late as a year ago I attended a meeting in such a village where nearly all the cottages are farm-tied, and the bailiff of the large landowner's farms sat near to me. When the organiser asked those who wished to join the union to hold up their hands not a single hand went up. Shortly after this, at another meeting at which the bailiff was not present, a branch of the union was formed, and the majority of the men in the village became members.

Trade Unionism has a firm grip now upon the agricultural labourers, and grateful for what they owe to it, they cling tenaciously to the Union which has liberated them. Since August, 1914, the total membership of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union has grown from 10,000 to 200,000. The Workers' Union has 100,000 rural workers to-day, compared with the approximate pre-war figure of 3,000.

No change in conditions could be more complete. Men, instead of working indefinitely for undefined hours, often with no extra pay, have their hours strictly defined; the Saturday half-holiday has been won, and overtime is paid for on week days at time and a quarter, and on Sundays at time and a half. Long-standing abuses have been removed and the minimum for England and Wales is shortly to be fixed at 42/-.

Hodge's political vision has, it should be remembered, no wide horizon with a glorious dawn. He sees for the most part no farther afield than a cottage of his own with perhaps a plot of land. Very little literature comes his way; and it is amazing considering his lack of opportunities, the strides he has recently made. Possibly the far-flung battle-line has provided him with a debating society in which he has gleaned ideas from the man from the town where always "the battle urges," as Meredith said.

The revolution began over wages; but it will not end there.

THE REVISION OF ANGLO-AMERICAN HISTORY.

During the World War the common cause of democracy *versus* autocracy drew English and Americans together as never before in history. A number of prejudices on both sides were removed, a number of misconceptions set right, the basis of a new and better relationship established. But since then the pendulum has swung slightly the other way, and it is clear that a good deal remains to be done before the fundamental causes of misunderstanding can be said to have been removed.

The first thing to be done is the revision of the ideas of Anglo-American history held by the respective nations. In this connection an article on "Some Historical Perspectives in Anglo-American Relations" by Mr. Matthew Page Arnold in *The Landmark* (the organ of the English-speaking Union) for June is timely and informative. After referring to the one-sided version of history that was for long taught in the American schools, and to the recent efforts by American historians to counteract the misconceptions created thereby, the writer lays his finger upon one very weak point in this otherwise admirable educational campaign. It is that although, in America, entire books have, of late, been written in criticism of the older misinterpretations of the Revolutionary struggle, little or nothing has been said of laying greater emphasis upon the vast importance of the discovery in 1496 of the North American Continent by John Cabot, through whose voyages of exploration English territorial claims to the New World were established. While Columbus has been lionized, Cabot has been almost wholly neglected.

Then the English-speaking child (on either side of the Atlantic) is told either of American beginnings as taking place at Jamestown in 1607 through the royal enterprise of James I., in which the participants had no character worthy of mention or of memory except one, Captain John Smith; or, if this undertaking be passed over without extended consideration as a thing of negative value, promoted by an unpopular monarch and carried on by a group of incapable castaways, the impression is imparted that true American colonization began with the

settlement of New England, which was based wholly upon the flight of a persecuted race from a mother country given over to bigotry and intolerance.

The result is that the child begins with the idea of an initial antagonism between the English-speaking people. The truth about these events proves that this impression is essentially incorrect. Captain John Smith belittled the English founders of Jamestown as "tiffy-taffety" incompetents, and his version was for a long time accepted. In point of actual fact, the settlement numbered among its daring spirits commanders in the English navy, captains in the army, and volunteers in the Netherlands, to whom were added scholars, who, on the soil of Virginia, founded the first American College, and wrote the first American literature in George Sandys' poetical translation of Ovid's "Metamorphoses," together with the statesmen who, in 1619, organized and took part in the proceedings of the first popular legislative assembly in the New World.

Mr. Arnold mentions among the alleged "incompetents" Captain Gabriel Archer, who, as early as 1609, suggested a Parliament in America; Captain John Martin, a sailor under Drake, and the most successful of the early Virginian planters; John Ratcliffe, Dr. Thomas Wootton, and Sir Christopher Newport. At home those interested in the colonization of Jamestown and Plymouth Rock included Sir Henry Hobart and Sir Francis Bacon, who together drew up the Great Charter of American Liberty in 1609 and 1612. Why then should the story of these beginnings have been left incomplete for so many years?

There are sundry reasons for this neglect. It has been natural to follow the easily accessible misrepresentations of John Smith and his associates or contemporaries, writing as the *officially licensed historians of an autocratic king* hostile to the democratic ideas of the founders of the first settlement, while the better part of the "popular" evidence was not gathered for publication until nearly three centuries later. Furthermore, the English promoters of American colonisation were, in large measure, compelled to disguise their real plans in the presence of a king and court that was dominated in domestic policy by Spanish autocracy, whose ambassador to

Great Britain feared the democracy of the English people, and warned the British king that the Virginia Company in London "would prove a seminary for a seditious parliament."

The result of Jamestown was to make possible the sailing of the *Mayflower*

thirteen years later. The romantic fame of Captain John Smith diminishes very considerably by this revision of an historical event; but the true story of the men who followed him gives a new significance to the English beginnings of American colonization.

WHOSE FAMOUS VICTORY?

When in 1914 the Russian armies allowed themselves to be enticed into the marshes of East Prussia and were decisively defeated by the Germans in the battle of Tannenberg, that people were told that in Hindenburg God had sent them a second Moltke. Hindenburg's genius had saved Germany. The joy bells were rung, and in due course the wooden idol was perpetrated in honour of the national hero. Latterly, Ludendorff's *Memoirs* put a different complexion on the legend of the battle. This General claimed that it was not Hindenburg but he who had devised the strategy that led to the defeat of Samsonoff. On the strength of his account, Hindenburg suffered an eclipse, and Ludendorff was hailed as Triumphant by at least that part of the German bourgeoisie who wished for the return of the old régime, and saw in him a prophet and leader.

But now there appears in the *Nineteenth Century* (May) an article by Mr. F. Sefton Delmar, on "Who won the battle of Tannenberg?", which indicates very plainly that it was neither Hindenburg nor Ludendorff who really conceived the plan of victory, but the comparatively obscure Lieut.-Colonel Hoffman, Deputy Chief of Staff to General von Prittwitz. This writer points out that when Ludendorff came on the scene on August 22nd the strategic decisions that led to Tannenberg had already been taken. Von Prittwitz's East Prussian campaign had been short and disastrous. He had failed to make any headway against the Russian centre, had suffered heavy losses, and had been driven back in the direction of Königsberg, pressed by the converging armies of Rennenkampf and Samsonoff.

In a fever of anxiety he had given orders for a retreat behind the Vistula, leaving the East Prussian harvests to their fate.

This was the desperate position on the night of August 19th.

At 10 p.m. Lieutenant-Colonel Hoffman, Deputy Chief of Staff, went to von Prittwitz and tried to convince him that a retreat behind the Vistula spelt disaster. He urged on his chief that the one hope left was to feign a retreat on Königsberg and turn south-east against Samsonoff with every available man and defeat him before *Rennenkampf* could come to his assistance. Von Prittwitz proved incapable of listening to strategic arguments of such audacity and his Chief of Staff, von Waldersee, was equally deaf to Hoffman's advice. Then it was that Hoffman, in the stress of dire necessity, suddenly made up his mind to denounce his Commander-in-Chief for incompetence. He telegraphed to von Moltke, telling him the real state of affairs, arguing against the plan of a retreat to the Vistula and expressing the belief that von Prittwitz was suffering from a nervous breakdown. The answer came back from von Moltke that same night suspending von Prittwitz from his command and giving Hoffman *carte blanche* to adopt such temporary measures as he thought fit.

Ludendorff, therefore, and Hindenburg found Hoffman acting as Commander-in-Chief, with a ready-made plan of operations. It was this plan, with one slight tactical modification, that was carried out. But no credit was given to Hoffman. Ludendorff's *Memoirs* mention neither him nor Prittwitz. Mr. Delmer bluntly accuses Ludendorff of having suppressed those names, lest some fraction of the limelight should be diverted from his own share in the actual battle, and with having given a misleading account of the whole position. The charge is certainly not inconsistent with what one knows of that worthy's vainglorious character.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

For Germany May was a month of many rumours. The *Deutsche Tageszeitung* with its stories of imminent Bolshevik revolts, the Independent *Freiheit* with its detailed accounts of nationalist and militarist uprisings near at hand, and the Governmental Socialist *Vorwärts* with its accounts of projected risings by both Right and Left, in collaboration more often than not—all these reports combined to keep German opinion in a continual state of extreme tension. But the month passed without its being necessary to record any outward sign of widespread disturbance, and the conclusion was not unreasonably drawn that what had been written in the various newspapers referred to and in other organs of opinion of similar political colour was all part of the election campaign. For on May 21st the National Assembly was dissolved on the completion of its two principal tasks, the passing of the Constitution and the signature of the Peace Treaty. What will assemble after June 6th, as a result of the elections to be held on that date, will be the normal Reichstag of the German Republic. It will be well to reserve comment on the composition of that body until the results are definitely known, but it may be remarked that German public opinion in general appeared during the month to anticipate a certain gain of seats to the bourgeois parties, even to the German Nationalists and the so-called German People's Party or National Liberals, but not sufficient to upset the coalition system of government.

The San Remo and Hythe Conferences were followed in the German Press and in German organs of opinions with extraordinary attention. The projected meetings at Spa with German delegates present were also widely discussed and gave rise to certain debates on the question of Germany's present financial position. Typical of moderate democratic opinion was an article that appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* for May 14th. It should be remembered that this paper's

financial criticisms generally have high authority:

Taking everything together, the total payments which the German people will have to make for public purposes during 1920 will amount to 75-80 milliards. . . . Now for the credit side of the account. The estimated income of the whole country for 1920 will be something like the following:—

Share of direct taxes	4.4 milliards
Interest from the Imperial	
war-tax	2.25 milliards
Profit-tax	3.1 milliards
Coal-tax	4.5 milliards
Tobacco-tax	1.0 milliard
Customs and export-taxes	3.5 milliards
Railway, bank and stamp	
tax	2.0 milliards
Direct and indirect duties	1.0 milliard
That amounts altogether to 22 milliards of marks.	

It is clear, the *Frankfurter* continues, that the deficit must be met by further taxation, and it then proceeds to show how heavily taxed the German people are in comparison with other nations:

Tax per head (in francs, as given recently in the French Chamber):

France	453 francs
England	526 "
America	272 "
Italy	228 "
Germany	700 marks

The only appropriate comment—which is not made by the *Frankfurter*—is that the German people must at last be seeing what, in a literal sense, a bad business the war must have been for them.

Another article dealing with Spa, to which attention should be drawn, is that appearing in the Democratic *Hilfe* for May 13th. The writer connects the Conference with the German elections and with German party movements generally:

It is Germany's unhappy fate that while the German Chancellor faces the enemy (this was written before the postponement of the Spa Conference, but there is a general application of the remarks) German parties will be watching for opportunities of putting him in the wrong. . . . However Spa may pass off, Millerand's purposes will be fulfilled by the parties of the Right, and in a contrary sense, by the Independents. e

There follows a condemnation of the election tactics of Herr Helfferich, of Count Westarp, of the Right, and of Crispian, of the extreme Left.

Apart from the almost all-absorbing question of German relations with France and Great Britain, there was in Germany during May a great deal of interest shown in other phases of foreign policy and affairs. The first place was naturally occupied by the Polish offensive against the Bolsheviks and the recognition of the independence of the Ukraine which was its political concomitant. Of the numerous articles on this subject in the May numbers of the leading German reviews we would single out two in *Deutsche Politik* for the 21st, the first by Dr. von Massow, a well-known German publicist and authority on Eastern affairs, who deals with Poland generally, and the second by Dr. Axel Schmidt, who devotes his attention to the question of the personality of the Polish leader, Marshal Pilsudski, and that of the Ukrainian chief, General Petliura. Dr. Massow is particularly interesting in his remarks on the future relations between Poland and Germany, one of the most vital questions, it may be remarked, with which Europe is faced:

The attitude of the Germans in Poland will be a deciding factor in every respect. In spite of the serious wrong done by our Government against our countrymen delivered over to Poland (i.e. the Germans left behind in Polish territory), we can rely on the unity and firmness of the Germans in Poland.

Then follows advice as the procedure to be adopted in regard to the measures alleged to be taken against these Germans by the Polish authorities. Dr. Massow recommends a sharper protest by the German Government on the occasion of every restriction laid upon the Polish Germans, and warns the German people that this is far better tactics than the continual harping on the alleged injustice of the conditions under which Germany was forced to hand over her predominantly Polish-speaking districts to the new Republic of Poland. In other words there is likely to be, especially from the German Right, for whom Dr. Massow chiefly speaks, a revival of anti-Polish activity, taking advantage of every agitation expected to be raised by the German inhabitants of Poland.

Dr. Axel Schmidt's judgment on the Polish-Ukrainian *entente* is as follows:

The Polish-Ukrainian Alliance is only an episode and it is not inconceivable that both Pilsudski and Petliura will both of them fail to survive politically. Both will nevertheless have the feeling of having acted in the interests of their respective countries, Pilsudski because by splitting Russia into its two natural halves, Moscow or Great Russia and the Ukraine, he has freed Poland from the enormous pressure in the east, Petliura because without the aid of Poland neither the recognition of the Entente nor the liberation of the country from Bolshevism would have been possible.

Other important articles on foreign affairs in the May reviews were those respectively of Dr. Max Kaufmann, in the eastern review, *Neue Orient*, on "Turkey before the Peace," a concise survey of well-known facts, Paul Rohrbach, in *Die Hilfe* for May 27th, on "The Polish Attack on Soviet Russia," by Pawao Jugowitch, in the *Neue Zeit* for May 14th, on "Yugo-Slav Politics," and by Dr. Piech, in the *Deutsche Politik* for May 7th, on "The Foreign Policy of the Austrian Republic." This last deals with the political import of Dr. Renner's visits to Prague and Rome respectively, and comes to the rather unexpected conclusion that the Austrian Chancellor is the greatest opponent of the adherence of Austria to Germany. The concluding sentences of Dr. Rohrbach's article may be taken as a good specimen of the whole:

We will not take into account the Japanese in the Far East, who in a military sense in a prescribed time could themselves alone finish off the Moscow Bolsheviks. But, leaving Japan aside, we would consider that there is a weakness in the offensive operations against Soviet Russia, particularly in view of the relation of the number of Polish-Ukrainian troops to the great length of the line, to the serious tension between the Poles and Ukrainians and to the unsatisfactory state of the means of transport on the side also of the offensive army. It is in consequence likely that the operations will pursue a protracted course, and should that prove to be so the Bolsheviks will be able to entertain some hope of holding out. Economically, however, so far as means of transport and labour organisation in general are concerned, conditions in Soviet Russia have reached such a pitch that, even without an attack from without, the end can not be far off. Three things only keep the insecure and decaying framework of Sovietism in existence—the lack of a sharp, short attack from without,

the terror exercised from above and the indescribable apathy of the masses below.

The principal articles in the literary reviews of the month were an interesting comparison between Falkenhayn and Ludendorff by Professor Hans Delbrück in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, an article by Ernst Hiehl on "Religious Tendencies of the Present Day," in the *Neue Rundschau*, and an account of the life and work of Mrs. Humphry Ward, by Marie von Bunsen, in the *Literarische Echo*.

FRANCE.

Above all other domestic topics, the struggle between the Government and the *Confédération générale du travail* occupied public attention during the month of May. There can be no doubt that the great strike has been a fiasco. Neither can the attempt of the C.G.T. to conduct a dignified retreat be regarded as wholly successful. The miners in the Nord and the Pas de Calais went back to work without waiting for their Federation Secretary to propose that they should do so. Almost simultaneously the dockers and seamen at Marseilles decided to resume without waiting for the official mandate. At the time of writing only the railwaymen maintain a sort of resistance; and from the first their attempt was rendered hopeless by the success of the volunteer association which the Government had in readiness to take their place.

There have been stormy scenes in the French Chamber. M. Millerand was taken to task by the Socialists for having refused to accept the Railwaymen's Federation's offer to negotiate, and for the numerous arrests of revolutionary suspects. M. Cachin, the Socialist leader, stated that there had been over 4,000 dismissals, arbitrary and illegal arrests, and illegal perquisition—to be countered by a vigorous denial from the Premier. M. Millerand was taunted with having entered political life in the first instance by means of workmen's votes, and then having betrayed his trust. The Government's reply was that they had had to take exceptional measures because this was an exceptional strike. It had begun, declared the Minister of the Interior, with

an intrigue of the extremists against the leaders of the C.G.T.; it had ended with a blow aimed directly at the Government and the life of the country. It was in every sense a revolutionary movement.

This aspect of the quarrel is dealt with voluminously by the political writers in the reviews. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 15) M. Poincaré makes it the first subject of his "Chronique de la Quinzaine." He points out that the strike leaders, in declaring that the movement was directed, not against the nation, but against the Government for not having taken steps to reduce the high cost of living, did not seem to see that by holding up work at the docks, stopping the running of trains, and suspending the getting of coal they were doing their best to render living even more expensive and difficult. Their action would give Germany a fine excuse to say as regards the deliveries of coal: "I am not obliged to repair the injury you do to yourself." A reasoned argument to the effect that though a minority may have the right to prevail, it must do so by persuasion and not by force, and that the interests of the state are paramount, ends with a congratulatory tribute to M. Millerand for having accomplished the difficult task entrusted to him. The "Chronique Politique" of M. Bernard de Lacombe in *Le Correspondant* (May 10th) is more emphatically denunciatory of the C.G.T. He points out that the Government had in hand a scheme for the re-organisation of the railways, and demands to know how nationalisation could help or hasten reforms already agreed upon in principle. But nationalisation is only "a word thrown into the air." The real object of the strikers was, by creating general chaos, to seize power. He refers scornfully to the efforts of the C.G.T. to negotiate with the Government, so as to save its face and to be able to represent to the simple that, if the strike collapsed, it would be thanks to its intervention. He denies that the C.G.T. had any more right to give advice on the nationalisation of public services than it had to dictate an amnesty for the Black Sea mutineers.

As regards foreign affairs, the excitement has cooled very considerably. The hostility of the French press to the other members of the Entente, particularly to

the British Government, largely evaporated after San Remo. Lyaenae hastened the process. Spa, postponed till nearly the end of June, was sufficiently far off not to excite fevered speculation. But isolated notes of querulousness made themselves heard in some of the weightier May reviews. M. de Lacombe (*Le Correspondant*, May 10th) challenges Mr. Lloyd George to name those "influential personages" in France who "openly advocated the annexation of the Rhine territories and the coal district." He knows of nobody who has proposed conquest or annexation in which there are Frenchmen who "would have considered it equitable if the frontiers of 1790 or 1814 had been restored to France." Again, he sees no reason for discussing the indemnity question at Spa. Why not leave it to the Reparations Commission, endowed by the Treaty with sufficiently vast powers? As to the invitation to the German delegates to come to Spa:

Up to now the Great Powers have rather too much forgotten the existence of Europe, forgotten that they were not the only ones, and the result has been that although we have envisaged an English policy, an Italian policy, a French policy, and even an American policy, a Japanese policy, we have not yet got a policy truly European. Assuming it is necessary to have this, what measures should we take to get it in what concerns Germany, Poland, Denmark, Belgium, Tscheco-Slovakia, and all the neighbours of the Fatherland, who have the right to live and develop their resources, they have all to speak their word. We have called them powers with limited interests: is it a "limited interest" for them to be assured of peace? . . . The German Chancellor is invited to come to Spa. Let him come. But also let there come the representatives of the States, little and big, for whom "the European policy in regard to Germany" is a matter of life or death, and who, for purposes of discussion, are as well situated as those sheltered behind the ocean or the channel.

One may remark that even an unconscious approach, such as this, to the concept of a League of Nations is better than none at all. M. de Lacombe ends an interesting article with a grumble at the inadequate French share in the spoils from the Turkish Treaty and a warning—which unfortunately looks like having been well justified—as to the danger of a rapprochement between the Mahommedan elements and the Bolsheviks.

M. Poincaré, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 15th), returns once more to

the invitation of the Germans to Spa, and reiterates his convictions, particularly as regards the indemnity. He maintains that the acceptance of a fixed sum, payable in a certain number of annual instalments, will really amount to a revision of the Treaty; and that if, for example, there are to be 30 instalments of three milliards of marks, it would only mean an annual subscription of sixty-one francs (gold) per head in Germany, which would be a lower tax than that imposed on Frenchmen for the redemption of their debt. He claims that the "necessary and reasonable facilities" for the execution of the Treaty, which were asked for by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau in June, 1919, have already been given, and instances the French acceptance of the German offer to undertake the restoration of the devastated regions. Now that he is free from the official responsibilities of the Reparations Commission, we may expect further and even franker expressions of his views from M. Poincaré.

The article "Le Lendemain," by M. Georges Guy-Grand in the *Mercur de France* (May 10th), shows a less circumscribed outlook. This writer, while admitting the perils of the present situation, is much more hopeful both for France and the world. He believes that the "League of Nations, in spite of the attacks which it is suffering from the combined egoisms of classes and peoples, will finish by regulating international affairs by law, in the same way that the national law regulates to-day the affairs of citizens." M. Ernest Lavisse, on the contrary, in the *Revue de Paris* (May 1st) pens "Sentiments à l'égard de l'Allemagne," that breathe the spirit of an undying hatred of that country. Somewhere between these two standpoints one may discover the average French opinion and feeling.

The Presidential election in the United States (*Le Correspondant*, May 10th), Irish Politics from 1914 to 1920 (*Revue de Paris*, May 1st), and a severe criticism of "The Economic Consequences of the War," by M. Raphael-Georges Lévy, appearing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 10th) under the title "A Just Peace," are other articles worth noting. In literary matters, M. André Chevrillon writes

on "The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 15th), and M. R. Pichard du Page deals with Pierre Loti as Musician in *Le Correspondant* (May 15th).

ITALY.

At the end of April and the first week of May the principal topic of discussion in Italy was the San Remo Conference. In general there was satisfaction at the influence considered to have been exercised there by Signor Nitti, whose policy of attempted conciliation with both Germany and Russia appeared to secure the approval of the vast majority of the Italian people. The Turkish Treaty, too, so far as it decided on the retention of the Sultan at Constantinople and the participation of Italy in the control of the Straits, was not judged unfavourably. It was when one came to the discussion of the terms of this Treaty in detail, and noted the large concessions proposed to be made to the Greeks, that Italian Press sentiment showed distinct dissatisfaction. On this point and others that arose during the Conference the following comment of the *Corriere della Sera* for April 28th may be taken as representative of the bulk of moderate Italian opinion:

The creation in the Near East of a weak, hypertrophied Greece may spell danger. The Eastern settlement reached at San Remo is a mere sketch. It remains to be seen whether the League of Nations will have authority enough to restore certain Russian and Bulgarian rights too casually ignored, to consolidate the Turkish state in Anatolia and to assist the Arabian world on its road to complete independence.

The clearest result is the new character given to relations with Germany.

At Spa, in May (the date was subsequently altered to June 21st), the men of Germany and the men of the Entente will meet for the first time on terms of equality. When Germany utters her first proposals as to reparations the crisis will become acute. England and Italy will have to act as mediators between France and Germany, to ensure that the latter does not escape the penalty she deserves and that the former does not involve the whole of Europe in her madness for revenge.

The thought expressed in the last sentence, that Italy is destined to be the mediator and peacemaker between the nations lately at war, will be found to

be constantly recurring, and there is no doubt that it is exercising a considerable influence on Italian political psychology.

The Nationalist review, *Vita Italiana* for May 15th may be consulted for a favourable opinion on the San Remo Conference. In a leading article entitled "La politica sterile di San Remo," the matter, from the Nationalist point of view, is summed up as follows:

Some months ago Signor Nitti made a great discovery—he discovered the so-called "Nitti-San Remo" policy. This is something intended to obscure his own personal tendency to make concessions when it came to matters of national aspirations. He launched his discovery at London, where the astute British Premier made clever use of it to curb the extremism of French policy without in any way yielding an inch to those great imperialist aspirations which animate British diplomacy. Signor Nitti thought he had achieved a success, particularly because the two popular parties in the Chamber—the Socialists and the Catholics—praised the inclination which the Premier showed towards concessions which were, shall we say, of an humanitarian and Christian nature. It thus came about that at San Remo Signor Nitti followed European policy; while Lloyd George followed English policy and Millerand French.

The association of the Socialist and Catholic or Popular Parties respectively in this article must be considered prophetic, since though agreeing in many respects they had not associated until the middle of May, when the Popular Party, which had promised only a vague support to the Nitti Government at the time of its reconstruction last March, crossed over to the Socialist opposition and so caused the downfall of the Nitti Cabinet. The immediate reason for this desertion was the refusal of Signor Nitti to allow the necessary time for a discussion of the industrial situation, the handling of which by the Government had displeased both the Socialists and the Popular Party. This latter was also watching for a chance of forcing its programme on the Government, in particular its demand for proportional representation and universal suffrage, and for recognition of the Catholic trade unions. The vote—majority of 89—against Signor Nitti was followed by his resignation, and then came several days of attempts at new Cabinet formations. The Catholic leader, Count Meda, and the Reformist Minister, Signor Bonomi, were both requested to

endeavour to form a government, and the latter made the attempt, but gave up. Finally Signor Nitti was recalled by the King and asked, for the second time, to attempt a reconstruction. This time he was able to obtain the support of the Popular Party, two of whose members agreed to accept portfolios. Thus, with the help also of the Giolittians, was a working majority assured for the time being.

It may be mentioned that the number of the *Vita Italiana*, to which reference

has just been made, contained two important articles on the Popular Party, which played such an essential part in the overthrow of the Nitti Government and in its re-building. The first of these is an account of the second Party Congress, at which the moderate element gained such a decisive victory over the extremists, while the second is a study of the political ideas of the Popular Party's leader, the priest Don Sturzo, whose extraordinary organising ability has in little over a year brought the party to the dominating position it at present enjoys.



BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

ARE WE THREATENED WITH RACE SUICIDE ?

PROBLEMS OF POPULATION AND PARENT-HOOD. (Chapman & Hall. 25s. net.)

No thesis of economic science is more plainly demonstrable in fact than the theory expounded by a dimly minded clergyman named Malthus in the early part of the last century, which showed that, within any limited geographical area, population multiplies itself under normal conditions faster than the means of subsistence can be increased.

For the greater part of the last century politics in this country were overshadowed by this nightmare of over-population. Poverty and disease were alike explained in terms of it as inevitable consequences of a natural law. Yet the population went on increasing. And the remarkable paradox has resulted that as Great Britain became more and more "over populated," its material greatness increased proportionately. On the face of it, one would imagine that the situation was thoroughly satisfactory.

But two different schools of critics have been insistently raising cries of alarm, for exactly opposite reasons. Those who take what must be described, without any derogatory implication, as an insular view of our social and economic system have been clamouring continually against the overcrowding of this country and the urgent need of emigration in order to restore a stable equilibrium between the number of the country's inhabitants and the amount of food that can be grown in the country itself. They point out, and with complete justice, that in the event of another war, or even of serious industrial unrest, the country would run out of food within a very short time and would be ravaged by famine.

On the other hand, we hear the urgent appeals of publicists of almost every political school, who are raising a wild alarm at the steady decline in the birth-rate during recent years, and warn

us that if it is not somehow arrested the country will before many years are out have committed race suicide, and its population will dwindle year after year from the unwillingness of all classes to have children.

Matters have indeed reached a serious pass when they result in the publication of this enormous volume, containing an exhaustive and elaborate survey of the problems of population, signed by some forty of our most prominent public men and women. They are all thoroughly alarmed at the present tendency towards a decline of the population and their report is an urgent entreaty to all classes, and particularly to women, to realise, and act upon, the necessity of maintaining the normal rate of increase in the population. The facts have been sufficiently well known for some time even before the war began. The war has, of course, resulted in a still more marked decline in the population, and even the more encouraging statistics of births and marriages since the end of the war fall far short of the necessary revival in the birth rate. Briefly stated, we are threatened by the peril of race extinction because the present generation of more or less young men and women are not only anxious to avoid having children but have become generally acquainted with the medical methods by which marital relationships can be sterilised. In France this artificial prevention of conception has been practised habitually by all classes for close on a century, but in Great Britain the use of contraceptives has only become common within the past thirty or forty years.

The effect of the spread of this sophisticated knowledge has been immediately noticeable in the yearly statistics of births and marriages. It has brought about the result that in the middle classes, and to an increasing extent among the working classes also, families

are becoming smaller than they used to be. While the rate of marriages has not declined, the number of children to each marriage has decreased until the average number of children in many classes of the community is only two. In the face of such an epidemic as those which occurred during and after the war, it is obvious that the population must dwindle if the majority of families do not include more children than will merely take the places of their parents as time passes. Yet this is exactly the condition that exists already, and is becoming more and more characteristic of modern social life in this country.

To any purely theoretical student of economics the Malthusian theory must appear irrefutable. Even the war, when it was taking its steady toll of casualties on the battlefields, did not seem likely to cause any wholesale extermination of the white races. Great Britain, with a population of forty-five millions, might surely be considered capable of recovering from the loss of less than three-quarters of a million men of military age. But it was not war itself so much as the aftermath of war, in the shape of disease and famine, that has decimated the population of Europe. Even in this country the influenza epidemic caused far more deaths than occurred on all the battlefronts combined, and in Central Europe the poorer classes have been dying like flies for the past two years, while the children who have survived have their constitutions irreparably undermined. War is, in fact, little more than a symptom of the forces of destruction that can wipe great nations off the map.

When the Roman Catholic Patriarch of Babylon was in London a few months ago he made a statement in a public lecture that might well be written on the front page of every text-book of political economy. About four centuries ago his predecessor held jurisdiction over forty millions of souls in the Near East: to-day, in the same vast territory, his flock has dwindled to less than half a million. Even in that case, where the extermination was directly due to a deliberate policy of massacre and persecution by the Turks, many of the causes which are to-day menacing our own future played a leading part. The destruction of all

property and security of tenure led to starvation on every side, but the same conditions could not be prevented from arising in this country if a social revolution were to break out. Above all, the most potent factor in the decline of any race is despair. It may be the despair that follows from persecution or it may be no more than the loss of all moral courage and faith that comes in every materialistic age.

The preservation of the race must be ultimately a matter of national education. If a people once ceases to believe genuinely in any future life, there is everything to be said in favour of preventing children from being born into the world. If we come to resent our own presence in this life, we are not likely to wish to burden ourselves with the responsibilities of a new generation who will in their turn ask us why we brought them here at all. In a generation that has begun to doubt of any future existence, the prolonged and intense sufferings of the war can only inculcate a feeling of pessimism that reinforces the natural disinclination to be burdened with children. That simple explanation is evidently borne out by the comparative statistics of different religions in the Census returns. It is not because Jews and Roman Catholics are told by their priests that family limitation by artificial methods is wrong in itself that they rear the largest families in the State; it is because they preserve, through the vitality of their religions, an unshaken faith in the value and the ultimate purpose of human life.

The Birth-Rate Commission do not, it is true, justify their conclusions on those grounds. But, apart from the religious inspiration, it is not easy to find any adequately convincing motive to persuade a reluctant generation to enlarge their responsibilities. The voluminous and extremely interesting evidence contained in this book only serves to show how intensely complicated life has become, and how difficult it is for the working classes even to earn their living for themselves. It is pointed out, for instance, that Mr. Fisher's Education Act must tend to discourage parenthood still further by withdrawing the earning capacity of children from their families until a later

age. The only material remedy would appear to consist in a further extension of State subsidies, in the shape of mothers' pensions. But such a policy inevitably increases the already intolerable burden of taxation.

Emigration, in order to redistribute population more judiciously throughout the habitable parts of the world, alone offers an escape from the insufferable complications of life which make parenthood a curse instead of a blessing. The Birth-Rate Commission, in their final appeal for an increase in the average size of families, fall back upon a line of imperialistic argument which has somehow lost its old power to inspire confidence. If the British race are to maintain their position in the world, they argue, we must arouse ourselves and renew the spirit of the pioneers. "But such appeals have never availed unaided. Imperial Rome supplemented them with every sort of bribe, and with penalties for those who had small families. Napoleon tried with no better success to infuse his own inspiration of world ascendancy into France. Politics are, in the last resort, a sterile factor in a nation's life. If we are to avert race suicide—and the danger is very real and imminent—it can only be by restoring to the mass of the people, through a religious revival or some other means, a real sense that human life is after all worth while.

Gambetta. By Paul Deschanel (Heinemann. 15/- net).

The translation of this very vivid biography serves two useful purposes. In the first place it clarifies and extends our knowledge of the man; and in the second it reveals, in no small degree, not only the literary gift of the President of the French Republic, but something of the sympathies and enthusiasms that lie behind the well polished exterior that he presents to the world. To some people it may seem strange that the personality of Gambetta should appeal so strongly to M. Deschanel. One could hardly imagine two more different types of men: the one so impulsive and, to many of his contemporaries, so uncertain, the other so essentially well ordered and judicial, in temperament. Yet it is a commonplace that every Frenchman who is a true

patriot loves another of the same kind, and M. Deschanel's conviction of the purity of Gambetta's patriotism was quite sufficient motive to impel him, with all the fervour at his command, to indite this convincing proof of it.

There are those who see in the Gambetta who played so important a part in the stormy French politics that followed the establishment of the Republic a different person from the organiser of the Army of the Loire. Nobody has grudged him the credit of the latter achievement. It failed in its object of raising the siege of Paris and driving the Germans back, and the prolongation of the struggle involved by this creation of "the Grand Army of the Republic" failed to procure any mitigation of the Peace terms. But M. Deschanel's record shows pretty conclusively that it did not make these terms any harder. Moreover, it taught Bismarck that he had to deal with a nation, not merely with a professional army; and, best of all, it woke the national consciousness of France, and restored the self-respect shattered at Sedan. This result was gained, almost entirely owing to the electrifying influence of Gambetta. It was he who, flying from beleaguered Paris to Tours in a balloon, at the imminent risk of death from German bullets, first fired the patriotic imagination that produced, as if by a miracle, in a few weeks squadrons and cadres of untrained troops prepared to die in the war *à outrance*; and it was he who spurred the Delegation of Tours to that feverish effort of organisation resulting in the creation of a field force that at least caused anxiety and misgiving at Berlin. He was not himself a military leader, and the generals he appointed proved unable to cope with the difficulties of the military situation, controlled as this was from first to last by the exigencies of Paris; but in spite of failures, and in spite of Paris, Gambetta would beyond a doubt have gone on with the war—even after Bazaine's surrender at Metz. The incredible armistice signed by Paris, which betrayed the army of his own creation, left him broken-hearted.

All this was very well-known at the time. Gambetta, accordingly, was hailed as the Republican apostle of war *à outrance*. His later actions caused much questioning both of the quality of

his republicanism and his anti-German sentiments. The "equalitarian" Republicans, who were not yet emancipated from the ideas of 1789, recoiled from his programme of a strong executive for the Parliamentary government that he desired to set up. The necessary corollary to a strong executive—a strong army—was regarded as militarism, and its advocate denounced as aiming at a dictatorship. The truth is that Gambetta envisaged the French Republic as it now is—an ordered Republic possessing through its republican institutions the power of a sovereign state. His opponents—even after the example of the Commune—pictured a much more individualistic state than he saw was possible in the then condition of Europe and of France. And while he was accused by the Left of leanings towards the Army, he was somewhat contradictorily taunted by the Monarchists with having abandoned his "war à outrance" policy—contradictorily because they had previously denounced him as the prophet of war and revenge. When, on the eve of the Congress of Berlin, Gambetta was disposed to favour the idea of a personal interview with Bismarck, the contention that he proposed to write off Alsace and Lorraine as a loss, and to seek reconciliation with the "monster," received some apparent justification. The Russo-Turkish War was drawing to a close, and Bismarck had announced the Congress to the Reichstag in a speech of studied moderation that delighted Gambetta. "The radiant dawn of right is beginning to peep forth in his soul," he wrote, somewhat unguardedly, to a "confidant." The Phrase was eagerly seized upon. Gambetta was suspected at the time of aiming at the presidency of the Chamber, and to be seeking the pacifist vote. The epithet "opportunist" was hurled at his head.

In one sense he was an opportunist. But he was emphatically not that kind that sacrifices national welfare to the dream of personal power. The whole of Gambetta's record goes to prove that he never aimed at office for the sake of office. He might himself have been President of the Republic when he supported the candidature of Jules Grévy. The

ministry that he at last consented to form came very near the end of his life. His attitude towards Bismarck was throughout consistent and direct. The national welfare, in his opinion, demanded that "we must either fight or make terms." He had fought with all his strength in 1870; but after the Peace he realised that fighting was no longer possible for France. So he became "opportunist" in the sense that he strove to seize every opportunity for re-establishing France as a power among the nations. In Bismarck's tentative approaches he thought he saw his chance of obtaining some revision of the Treaty of Frankfurt, as the price of France's observing a benevolent neutrality towards German schemes of expansion. He did not know that Bismarck, while uttering general phrases which might be applied to the case of Alsace-Lorraine, had firmly made up his mind that nothing but the Mediterranean should be discussed, as between France and Germany at the Congress. Gambetta may be blamed for this failure of perception. But it must be remembered that he was deceived only by a man who succeeded in deceiving a continent. The book incorporates several letters and speeches hitherto unpublished. The most valuable of the letters are those written by Gambetta to Arthur Ranc, one of his best friends, who "did outpost duty for Gambetta in the lines of the Extreme Left." This correspondence completely disproves any imputation of wavering on Gambetta's part in his anti-German sentiments. With other letters, it shows also his wonderful prevision of the European politics to come. He foresaw the results of Austria being drawn within the Prussian orbit, and the "appalling menace" of the Hohenzollern dynasty was as plain to him in the 'seventies as it was to his successors in 1914. He realised the ultimate inevitability of an alliance between France, England and Russia, and forecasted a welding together of the Slav races. His early death robbed France of one of her most unswerving patriots. Possibly it also robbed Europe of a statesman whose "moral and legal mind" and real political vision might have averted some of the worst consequences of the unfortunate Treaty of Versailles.

Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

Social and Political.

The Taint in Politics. (Grant Richards, 7/6 net).

A vigorous diatribe against our political system by an anonymous author. Most of the weaknesses of modern party politics were exposed by Messrs. Belloc and Cecil Chesterton in their book on "The Party System"; the present writer elaborates them and brings the illustrations up to date. He also goes back to the beginnings of political corruption—which he discovers to be as old as politics itself—and traces interestingly the progress of the "taint" from the age of Machiavelli, arguing that our modern corruption is just as bad as, though less direct than, the older forms. The trouble about the book is that while it shows very plainly that much is amiss, it does not propose any definite plan of reform. But, as an indictment, it is trenchant and well substantiated, and coming at the end of a disastrous eighteen months of attempted reconstruction, not untimely in its reminders of political ineptitude.

Amritsar, and our duty to India. By B. G. Horniman (Fisher Unwin, 8/- net).

Mr. Horniman was one of the leaders of the Indian Passive Resistance Movement against the Rowlatt Acts, and writes with knowledge of the events that led up to the Amritsar tragedy. But he is a partizan, and one must therefore accept with reserve his forcible indictment of the Indian Government—until at any rate one obtains the further information that is earnestly desired. It is indeed impossible that the matter of the Amritsar shootings should be allowed to drop. Mr. Horniman traces the disturbances in the first place to the Defence of India Act, and secondly to the Rowlatt Bill, passed to consolidate the powers obtained under the former measure; and he adduces certain evidence as to the recruiting methods sanctioned by the authorities which produces unpleasant doubts as to the capacity of our Indian administrators. As for General Dyer's particular exploit, the official report of that General's evidence before the Hunter Committee startled the British public more than anything in this book is likely to do. The book, however, gives the Indian side of the case graphically enough.

A Guildsman's Interpretation of History. By Arthur J. Pentty (Allen and Unwin, 12/6 net).

Mr. Pentty, who had already established his claim to be taken seriously as a constructive thinker on social subjects, makes in his book the most elaborate defence he has yet put forward of the middle ages. The villain of the piece in his review of history is the Roman Civil Law, the codex of which he describes as "the bible of the devil." His prescription for our solid ills is "back to the middle ages." The general argument will be familiar to those who know Cobbett's virile "History of the Reformation," and have studied their Chesterton and Belloc. Not the least valuable part of Mr. Pentty's book is his analysis and refutation of the materialist interpretation of history which is the basis of Marxian and inspires the Bolshevik theory of government.

Industry and Economics.

Chaos and Order in Industry. By G. D. H. Cole (Methuen, 7/6 net).

Once again Mr. Cole lashes out at the Government's handling of the industrial community, and urges his proposals for nationalisation on Guild principles. He surveys the various vital industries comprehensively, and the many schemes of joint control that have been put forward in connection with these. Coal and the railways are the matters of most immediate interest discussed in this book, but there are significant chapters on the Co-operative Movement—whose relations with Labour have recently undergone a startling development—and on the Building Guild scheme at Manchester. The writer's point of view is argued with customary courage and lucidity. The Trade Union Memorandum presented at the National Industrial Conference in February of last year, and the Miners' Bill for the nationalisation of the mines, are given as appendices.

The Real Wealth of Nations. By John S. Hecht (Harrap, 15/- net.)

An alternative title to this book might be "How to obtain the maximum production." Mr. Herbert answers the question by propounding a new theory of economics that, whatever else one may say of it, is at least

clear and courageous. He would do away with Free Trade and institute Protection—not, however, the Protection of the Tariff Reformers or of the flat rate, but a Protection graded according to the national value of industries. Competition, again, should be replaced by co-operation, but it would be the producers who would be encouraged to co-operate, not the middlemen. With Protection, and the saving of waste in industry effected by producers' combines, profits would be assured, and this would leave the door open for profit-sharing schemes that would content the workers. Mr. Hecht tilts at most of the cherished articles of our economic faith—the notion that excess of exports over imports spells national prosperity, our belief in the importance of credit, and our reverence for "trade." His panacea is a compromise between the State Socialism of Mr. Sidney Webb and the individualist school.

War Books.

Germany in Distinction. By Percy Brown (Melrose, 6/- net).

Many people will have already read the "messages" sent from Germany by the enterprising correspondent who is the author of this book. Mr. Brown was in the first place a war correspondent. In his zeal to furnish information to his paper, he had the misfortune to be collared by the Germans on the Swiss-German frontier, and up to the time of the Revolution endured a dreary time in German prison camps. At the Revolution he was liberated, and promptly set about the task of watching events and interviewing sundry important personages. Self, Ebert, Ludendorff and Noske were among his victims. He was in Berlin, Kiel and Amerongen; met Captain Fryatt on the eve of his death; exchanged amusing passages with Tribitsch Lincoln; and has much to say on the Monarchist and Spartacist movements. A brightly written record, and a not unkindly estimate of the individual German.

Was Switzerland Pro-German? By Sutton Croft (Hazell, Watson and Viney).

The fact that this book is being distributed by the Nouvelle Société Helvétique, "on behalf of The Office Suisse du Tourisme, Zurich," suggests that the Swiss Touring Industry is apprehensive that English people will not visit that country on account of a feeling that Switzerland's sympathies during the war were with Germany. We believe that fear to be quite unfounded. Nevertheless, the volume gives a very satisfactory explanation of Switzerland's "neutrality," and is useful in reminding us of her more than cordial treatment of British soldiers interned there. The distinction to be drawn between the "German-Swiss" and the German in Switzerland is well brought out, and the attitude of the former clearly defined and defended.

Four Months in Italy in War-Time. By Beatrice Thompson (The Bodley Head, 5/- net).

The author's experience was in a war hospital in Florence. There she was in contact with various types of the Italian soldier, and in the course of her ministrations to their needs, had good opportunities of observing their characters. She found them child-like, lovable, interesting, and most other things one would expect. Some accused their officers of Prussian methods. Others praised them. In this there is nothing that is very exciting or new or peculiar to Italy. Again, though the book is commendably short, a good deal of the preliminary travelling adventures might profitably have been curtailed or omitted. But the glimpses of hospital life are interesting.

A Prisoner in Turkey. By John Still (The Bodley Head, 7/6 net).

Mr. John Still was taken prisoner in Gallipoli, and after being detained a short time at Constantinople was sent with other officers to a camp at Angora, in Asia Minor. There he underwent two and a half years' captivity. His rank saved him from some of the cruel treatment meted out to the rank and file, but he suffered sufficiently from dirt, vermin and general discomfort. The abysmal beastliness of his captors was to him a severer trial than it might otherwise have been, since he was in very poor health. He observed both Turks and Armenians shrewdly, and his record of prison life is exceptionally well done.

Fiction.

Growth of the Soil. By Knut Hamsun (Gyldendal, 9/- net).

Mr. Knut Hamsun is up to the present hardly known to the English public, and the new firm of Scandinavian publishers (new, that is, to this country, for they are famous in their own) are very heartily to be thanked for introducing him to us in such a beautiful example of his work so well translated. *Growth of the Soil* is, we are convinced, a big novel—big in the sense that *The Brothers Karamazov* or *David Copperfield*, or *The Egoist* or *Madame Bovary* or *Père Goriot* is big, big in the sense that it is likely to appeal to many different races at many different times. This, of course, is hazardous prophecy, and our only excuse for it is that we believe it to be true, and that we want people to read it. The only quite modern novel that we know of that comes near to it in size of achievement is M. Marcel Proust's *Du Côté de chez Swann*, and *à l'ombre de jeunes filles en fleurs* (which is, of course, one novel as yet unfinished), and no two books could easily be more dissimilar than they are.

On the face of it, Mr. Knut Hamsun's novel is a plain straightforward story. He shows us a man going out into the wilds to make

himself a home. And the whole story is occupied in telling us of his slow and sure success in his struggle with nature. We learn how his first one-roomed hut develops into a farmstead with outbuildings; how the latest machinery in abundance; how his first stock of two goats develops into great flocks and herds; how the untilled forest land is cleared and ploughed into fertile soil. In addition to this, we learn his family life from the time when the strong independent Inger (with a hair lip) first comes over the mountains to him, till we see them as the prosperous man and wife who have suffered and learnt their lesson at the end of the book. The canvas, it would seem, is not a big one. Civilization, as we know it, the town life of Europe, seems scarcely to exist. And yet as we read we feel that this life that Mr. Hamsun is showing us is life itself. The simple psychology of his characters, their attitude to one another through good and ill, their acceptance of the rebuffs and the caresses of fortune, above all their growing trust in one another throughout the years of toil and passion and momentary revolt—all these Mr. Hamsun can make us feel so acutely that by the time we put his book down we know his two characters as we only know a few men and women in the course of our lives. The writing too, both in the numberless small scenes of peasant life, and in the bigger moments of personal struggle, is so understanding, so genuinely deep that we are sure that our estimate of the book's value is not far overrated.

New novels of lasting value have been very rare of late. Here at least is one.

The Great Leviathan. By D. A. Barker (The Bodley Head, 7/- net).

Tom Seton is a young man who, after a rather tragic childhood passed in Guernsey and London, sets out to reform the world. He holds strong views about the injustice of the marriage tie, and when his cousin Mary decides to throw in her lot with his, their union is of the free variety. Mary, however, cannot sustain the reproach cast upon her by "The Great Leviathan," Society, and in the end she leaves him to become the lawful wife of a Cambridge don. The character of the hero—a difficult person—is very cleverly portrayed, and the story, without being sensational, holds one to the end. Certainly this is one of the best "first novels" recently produced.

Madelaine of the Desert. By Arthur Weigall (Fisher Unwin, 7/- net).

There is plenty of movement in Mr. Weigall's story, and his heroine should satisfy the most exigent of romantically minded readers. Born and brought up in a Port Said brothel, she has not much chance of self-regeneration until she meets Robin Beechcroft, the explorer, and marries him. Then she assimilates knowledge of the social complex very rapidly, becomes an enthusiastic supporter of the Labour movement, and

develops a very direct and personal religious creed. The story turns on the struggle between her free views and those of her husband's conventional circle in England; and she goes through a painful experience. But all ends happily.

John Bull, Junior. By F. Wren Child (Methuen, 7/- net).

The child who plunges straight, as it were, from a carefully secluded home life into the maelstrom of a British Public School is not entirely a new character in fiction. Neither is the head master with an appalling ignorance of boy nature, nor the usher with a secret. Nevertheless with these materials Mr. Child has constructed a very readable story of school life, its shocks, hardships and dilemmas. Brant, the hero, having suffered the tortures rendered necessary by school customs and codes, and having passed through the equally necessary periods of misunderstanding at the hands of a rather unusually unsympathetic set of masters, finally emerges as "the most popular Captain St. Lucian's had ever known."


Books on Spiritualism.

From the Known to the Unknown. By J. W. Newcombe (James Clarke, 3/- net).

An attempt to suggest the infinite possibilities of existence both here and hereafter. Mr. Newcombe is a business man who has found time to work out his ideas in speculative philosophy and to state them with some persuasiveness. He is not altogether original in extending the doctrine of evolution from this world to others unknown, but he does contrive successfully to harmonise this scientific theory with a profound belief in a God of the entire universe, whose laws operate as regards humanity in precisely the same way in other worlds as in this. His sketch of a future life, though drawn from a different standpoint from current spiritist conceptions, tacitly admits the possible truth of the spiritualistic theory.

The Dawn of Hope. By the Hand of Edith A. Leale. With Forewords by the Rev. G. Vale Owen, Rev. F. J. Paine and Rev. Arthur Chambers (Kegan Paul, 5/- net).

This Letters contained in this volume, purporting to have been received through clairaudience by Mrs. Leale from her young son who was killed in the war, give an extraordinarily vivid picture of a future state which differs very materially from the next world as portrayed by Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. At the same time, if one accepts the theory of higher and lower states to which spirits are called according to their earth record, it is not an irreconcilable picture. But we share the author's misgivings as to its scientific value, and the beatific vision it conjures adheres too narrowly to the merely mortal concept of the Christian Church's faith to be entirely convincing.



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Is Spiritualism Based on Fraud? By Joseph McCabe (Watts, 3/- net).

Mr. McCabe was Sir A. Conan Doyle's opponent in a famous debate on Spiritualism at the Queen's Hall last spring. This book is an elaborated re-statement of his case. He ranges over the various classes of fraud perpetrated by mediums in the past, and vigorously attacks the several prominent men of to-day who have identified themselves with the Spiritualist cause. Mr. McCabe's "exposures" are brightly expressed, and the non-believer will get some fun out of his humour. At the same time, by holding up fraudulent mediums and "nervous spinsters, neuropathic clergymen and even quite sober-looking professional men" to ridicule, he really accomplishes no more than what Mr. Maskelyne has already done. His book will please those who think with him, without seriously disturbing those to whom the possibility of communication with the dead is a living faith.

A Theory of the Mechanism of Survival. By W. Whateley Smith (Kegan Paul, 5/- net).

Mr. Smith suggests that the mathematical hypothesis of a fourth dimension in space can be applied to psychical science with the result of establishing the much-desired scientific bridge between the physical world and that commonly referred to as the astral plane. He examines the evidence, spiritistic and purely scientific, in favour of the theory of survival after death, and points out numerous recorded manifestations which his theory would help to explain. His exposition is lucid and courageous, though necessarily only the framework of a theme that is likely to arouse animated discussion. Serious students of psychics will welcome this book for the light it throws on obscure places and for the straightforwardness with which it is written.

Miscellaneous.

England. The Blue Guides. Edited by Findlay Muirhead (Macmillan and Hachette, 16/- net).

This is the second volume of the "Blue Guides," and in itself a sufficient answer to the gloomy prophets who foretold that German thoroughness in guide book compilation could never be surpassed or supplanted. The information is contained in some 800 pages. There are 75 admirably prepared and printed maps and plans, and an excellent "Introduction to the study of English Monuments" by Professor Baldwin Brown. Possibly the optimism shown in giving "normal" figures for the charges involved in touring recalls rather too vividly Mr. Chamberlain's cheerful hopes of a "normal" budget at no distant date; but the Editor's

initial warning as to this matter should be enough to save any wide-awake traveller from unpleasant disillusion. The terse descriptions of artistic treasures and architectural monuments could hardly be bettered.

John Thomson of Duddingston. By Robert W. Napier (Oliver and Boyd, 31/6 net).

A very handsomely produced and illustrated quarto volume of about 500 pages, containing an excellent biography of the Scottish landscape painter and minister, and a somewhat lengthy discussion of landscape art in general. A full list of works is given in an appendix. Thomson was the friend of Raeburn and the acquaintance of Turner, and his work enjoyed an extraordinary vogue in Scotland, where he painted typical scenery in the "grand manner" popular at the time. His ministry, first at Dally and then at Duddingston, was uneventful enough not to interfere with the zealous pursuit of his beloved art.

Magic. A Play for Children. By Pourquoi Pas (S. Allen Warner, 1/-).

A playlet published as propaganda for the Save the Children Fund. Mr. Chesterton's title, verses by somebody else, and incidents from real life (if it can be called that) in the famine-stricken areas, are made use of; fairies, and an English household who with the magic of the fairies are able to summon an international tea party, are the sub-structure of a plot which seeks to discover the sort of distress that exists in various countries. Little need be said about the literary merit of a work for which none is claimed. The play contains nothing that would overtax the ingenuity of a children's cast, and is strictly non-political.

National Education in India. By Lajpat Rai (Allen and Unwin, 6/- net).

Mr. Lajpat Rai is well known in this country as one of the most vigorous and uncompromising of the Indian Nationalists, but his views on Indian education clearly show that he is quite open to take a leaf out of the British book. This much is proved by his very warm appreciation of Mr. Fisher's pamphlet on Educational Reform, which he quotes *in extenso*. But he would supplement the British programme by the teaching of patriotism à la Français, and by a wide-spread system of "vocational" education on liberal lines. He is not greatly concerned with religious teaching; the religions of India, including Christianity—or at any rate the Christianity taught there—are regarded by him as "the negation of life," and opposed to both intellectual and national progress. The book stresses the importance of material progress rather too much, but it evidences alert and logical thinking, and is free from political prejudices.

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[JULY, 1920

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, July 8th, 1920.

An Embarrassed Government.

Home politics during the past month have been for the most part almost stagnant. The House of Commons has spent successive weary days on the Home Rule Bill, from which nobody expects any very definite outcome. The expected emergence of some definite Party delimitation to take the place of the present chaotic condition has been for some reason delayed. A little while ago there was a very general feeling that we were on the eve of important political developments. The process has been arrested. Fusion has been brought no nearer, but still remains on the political horizon. For the time, the internal quarrels of the Liberal Party, if they are not exactly suspended, are without active manifestation, and during the greater part of the month there has been a political calm, which, according to some observers, can only be regarded as the prelude to a storm. Even in the industrial world there has been a hanging fire. This, however, does not mean that the Government is without its embarrassments. The uneasiness in the country which has flamed up at intervals has become particularly evident again in the last few weeks. The centre of all these discontents is always the pressure of economic circumstances, and they always take the form of a demand for greater economy in the policy and administration of the Government. Successive white papers, some of them the products of departments explaining or

announcing their demands for more money, others the comments of committees on the work of those departments, have provided fuel for the flame of popular discontent, and ammunition to the critics of the Government. One of the most striking of these was the report of the Committee on the Transport Ministry. This body, not only made a searching investigation, but had the good luck to find one of those "words that stick" which count for so much in the wear and tear of political controversy, and the formation of public opinion. Its description of the Transport Ministry scheme as "grandiose"—the inspiration, it is said, of Sir Frederick Banbury—will not soon be forgotten. "Grandiose" is a word of which we have heard a great deal in recent controversy, and shall yet hear more. This is the principal embarrassment with which the Government is faced, and many good observers believe that even the complication of foreign policy and the failure to deal successfully with the Irish situation will prove less menacing to its stability than its unsuccessful discharge of the primary duty of a wise guardianship of the public purse. That duty, of course, is one which rests in large measure upon the House of Commons, and there is a very general feeling that that assembly has been none too successful in discharging it. The House of Lords, however, has virtually censured the Government by demanding against the expostulations of the Lord Chancellor, a check upon wasteful ministries.

**Mr.
Chamberlain's
Critics.**

In a situation where finance counts for so much, it is inevitable that the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be a rather troubled one. During the past month the movement against Mr. Chamberlain has gathered momentum, until "Chamberlain Must Go"—modified, in the less dignified prints to "Austen Must Go"—has become the slogan of certain financial interests. To some extent the Chancellor has brought this on himself. Those who have devoted themselves to full-page advertisements against his policy have had no difficulty in compiling somewhat damaging parallels from his speeches on different occasions. The Excess Profits Duty, when it was first introduced, encountered opposition, and the Chancellor consented to a committee to investigate the possibility of a tax on war wealth. The proposal of a general capital levy he had himself turned down in very emphatic terms, but he did not feel any objection in principle to a tax on excessive wealth made during the war. The committee's investigations left a good many people with the opinion that this means of raising revenue, which had a very strong body of public sentiment behind it, was quite practicable. There seems no reason to doubt that Mr. Chamberlain himself shared this view. The opposition, however, to this proposal was found to be much more violent than that roused by the original Excess Profits Duty. There was a period of uncertainty, and then it was announced that the scheme had been thrown overboard. This aroused violent controversy in some quarters, and was hailed with immediate feelings of relief, in others. Unfortunately, however, it did not secure peace for the Chancellor. With this out of the way, he had to return to his original proposal. Hence another outcry. The central fact of the situation is that Mr. Chamberlain has to raise the money, and that this will necessarily be a painful operation for those who have to provide it. In the attempt to escape from the dilemma, the financial interests have been stimulated to join the economy campaign. A very striking speech by Mr. McKenna was put from the point of view of high finance, the case which appeals

very strongly to the mass of people who are suffering under the incubus of high prices. In the middle of the political calm the Government accordingly found itself threatened with a serious storm of financial controversy.

**Other
Threatened
Ministers.**

As head of the "Grandiose Ministry" Sir Eric Geddes could hardly expect a quiet life. The debate on the Ministry of Transport vote found the House stirred to some extent out of its customary docility. The Minister in a two hours' speech had failed to persuade members in any quarter that this expensive department with its horde of experts and officials was worth the money paid for it. Mr. Asquith made a very damaging criticism, and the Government thought it worth while to defer the actual vote for a week, the White Paper giving the Government's railway policy to appear in the meantime. Piquancy was given to the debate by a lively attack by Sir Eric Geddes on Mr. Runciman, whom he accused of having made a disadvantageous bargain with the Underground Railway, from the evil effects of which the business acumen of the new department had saved the country. It came out in subsequent debate that the other party to this agreement, so bad for the country, was Lord Ashfield, who, as Sir Albert Stanley, was President of the Board of Trade in the present Government. The revelation on the adjourned discussion that the more satisfactory agreement secured by Sir Eric Geddes would become operative only after the passing of the Bill to raise the fares on the Underground altered the complexion of the matter, in spite of Sir Eric Geddes's assurance that the one was not dependent upon the other. Yet a third minister whose name has been much mentioned in connection with the instability of the Government is Mr. Montagu. Ever since the first report on the Amritsar disturbances there has been evidence of an approaching contest between the militarists and Liberal opinion. Mr. Montagu by his note on the incident offended the friends of General Dyer and of military rule generally to the extent that he encouraged Liberal and Labour opinion. The sudden postponement of a

debate on the whole affair in order that the matter might be further considered by the Army Council was generally interpreted as a retaliatory move by the War Office, and the possibility of a contest in which Mr. Montagu might find it inconsistent with his dignity to remain in the Government was recognised in many quarters, but the position was relieved when the Army Council was found to have confirmed the censure on General Dyer. It so happens that the three threatened ministers have friends in Liberal rather than Conservative quarters. Even Mr. Chamberlain has at the moment alienated Conservative opinion. Sir Eric Geddes, whose reputation as a super-man has worn somewhat thin, still finds admirers among the doctrinaire socialists as the possible executor of a large scheme on Fabian lines, while Mr. Montagu has the support of advanced Liberals in his stand against the Military. The result of this coincidence of events is to accentuate the difficulty of the Prime Minister in keeping matters properly adjusted as between the two wings of his Coalition.

Two Bye-Elections.

After the cluster of bye-elections, amounting almost to a general election, which we had a little while ago, there has not been much electoral excitement in the constituencies. The two contests that have taken place have not gone well for the Government. The Louth result, declared on the 16th June, was a very heavy blow. In a straight fight between Coalition Unionist and Independent Liberal, a Government majority of 1,496 at the General Election was converted into a minority of 2,505. The disaster of a waterspout which overtook this constituency on the eve of the polling made the election abnormal, and created some difficulty in deciding what precise significance was to be attached to the result. The poll was, however, not so small as might have been expected. Sixty-two per cent. of the electors voted and there is no reason to suppose that one side was more affected than the other by the abnormality of the circumstances. The Coalition candidate, Mr. Turnor, was a strong one, with a special knowledge of the agricultural problem, and if he was

new to the constituency, so was his successful opponent, Mr. Winttingham. This was the ninth seat lost to the Government in the eighteen months which had elapsed since the General Election. The only other result declared was at Nelson and Colne Valley, where Labour retained the seat by approximately the same majority as before. The feature of this result was the poor show made by the Independent Liberal, Mr. Russell Rea, who was a bad third. The electoral prospects of Independent Liberalism are still not bright. In spite of the growing dissatisfaction with the Coalition, and a strong distrust of the ill-defined and variable policy of the Labour Party, the "Wee Frees" have failed to strike the popular imagination. Mr. Asquith's return to the House of Commons has not had quite the effect there that the more optimistic members of the party anticipated, though the ex-Premier has made some striking speeches and—in the adjourned debate on the Ministry of Transport vote—one very brilliant one. Most of the militant work in the House has been done by Captain Wedgwood Benn, a brilliant sharp-shooter on the Opposition Front Bench, who has been able to register several hits and several misses at question time, and Commander Kenworthy, a free lance who has laid himself out with considerable success to be a nuisance to the Government, and has found his work all the easier for having a particularly thick skin. So far as the position inside and outside the House, it may be said that the dissatisfaction with the Government becomes accentuated without the emergence of any clear indication where the country is to look at the moment for an alternative.

Ecclesiastical Conferences

In the ecclesiastical world there has been a great deal of activity. The Anglo-Catholic Congress in London was a novel assembly which registered the great progress made by the High Anglican movement since its stormy beginnings. Though the two English Archbishops took no part in the proceedings, there was an impressive array of bishops, and when followed by a thousand priests they marched behind a huge crucifix through Holborn to High Mass in

the historic church of St. Alban's, they passed among a public which appeared to be entirely friendly if not completely sympathetic. The feature of the Conference was that ritual, which necessarily played a somewhat disproportionate part in the infancy of Anglo-Catholicism, was subordinated to more vital matters. The tone of the services and meetings was in a real sense evangelical, and the discussions were on such important and practical matters as Christian union, the relations between the Church and Labour, Marriage and Divorce. The Bishop of London had a great ovation when he appeared unexpectedly at a meeting at the Albert Hall, and gave the audience his blessing. There was an impressive scene at the same gathering, when the whole audience rose at the invitation of Bishop Gore to assert its resistance to increased facilities for divorce, and its destestation of practices destructive of the true character of marriage. The national assembly of the Church of England, the organ of the larger measure of self-government, secured to the Church by the Enabling Act, met in London at the same time. Its composition was notable both for its omission and its exclusions, some of the best known personalities in various schools of Church thought having failed to get elected to it. Its tone was business-like, and it promises well for the future of the Church of England with its enlarged powers. But the greatest of the ecclesiastical functions of the month has been the Lambeth Conference. Archbishops and Bishops from many parts of the world came together to make an impressive demonstration of the strength of the Anglican witness. Leaders of non-episcopal denominations expressed their hearty goodwill to this great gathering, which devoted itself in an appropriate spirit of lofty and disciplined earnestness to the consideration of such great questions as the bases of Christian fellowship and the proper attitude of the Christian Church towards the many expressions of the modern spirit in science, politics and religion. A frequently expressed feeling among those who attended was that Anglicanism might make itself the instrument of a movement towards an ultimate synthesis of all forms of Christian thought and worship.

If no very striking actual achievement was in the circumstances possible, those who are eagerly watching the religious world, for indication of movement towards the removal of our unhappy divisions feel that the meetings of the past month and the spirit they have everywhere evoked are full of hope.

Labour in Conference. of the Labour Party to supplant the Government, and the Conference

at Scarborough was the most ambitious which the Party has yet held. The evidence of growth contained in the annual report was certainly remarkable. The Labour Party, which at the beginning of the century numbered less than half a million members, has now a membership of about three and three-quarter millions. The bulk of this membership is, of course, made up of Trade Unionists, and the general line of criticism of the Party has been that in spite of its pretensions it is in reality little more than a political expression of Trade Unionism. It was probably a consciousness of this complaint which led the Party to devote, as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald estimates it, five-sixths of its time to considering international affairs. Much of the discussion on these was very interesting. Labour delegations have been travelling abroad and they have brought back interesting facts as a basis for discussion. At the same time a good many people feel that this recently acquired and fragmentary information can hardly take the place of a comprehensive grasp of foreign policy, and that it is on this side that the Labour movement remains weakest. The existence of a great deal of dissatisfaction inside the movement with its Parliamentary representatives was evidenced by the appearance on the paper of several resolutions, but at Scarborough a wise discretion prevented the delegates from belabouring their own friends too severely in public, and they contented themselves with plain hints that the Labour members must not take on outside jobs, and that a more live and militant policy will be expected in the future. One element in this may well be a more regular attendance at the House of Commons, where Labour

has not been at all well represented in the present Parliament, and where the most thorough and useful knowledge of the business of practical politics is to be picked up. There were no startling departures in the matter of policy at the Conference, and no great surprises, though the decision on the drink question was contrary to the general expectation. The supporters of State Ownership of the drink trade had organised very thoroughly, and, anticipating the imprimatur of the conference on their labours, they intended to bring special pressure to bear on the Prime Minister in support of a policy to which it is believed that he is not ill disposed. It was found, however, that the supporters of Local Option, reinforced by Mr. Philip Snowden's eloquence, were stronger than was anticipated, and although a Prohibitionist resolution was defeated, they carried the day. Many of the real controversies within the movement were kept under, and the proceedings give an impression of unity of spirit and aim which, perhaps, is not entirely in accordance with the actual facts. One of the most important matters considered, though it does not loom largely in the public eye, was that of finance. In deciding to fight seats everywhere, the Party has taken on a very ambitious task, and one which is obviously beyond its compass without an increase of the existing rate of subscription. A committee was appointed to deal with finance, and this and other matters of machinery are potential sources of difficulty within the movement in the future. Meanwhile, a rather significant fact is the withdrawal of the Labour candidate at the South Norfolk bye-election. The reason given for this was the probable nearness of a general election, and the inadvisability of dissipating the Party's funds on contests at present.

The Industrial Situation.

In the industrial world the position remains what it has been for a long time, different forces working against one another. The hasty decision of the railwaymen to refuse to handle munitions in Ireland was followed by an interview with the Prime Minister, some very plain talking on behalf of the Government, and evidences

of greater caution among the Trade Unionists. There was a clear disinclination among the different sections of Trade Unionism to take the responsibility for decision, and they all began to play a delaying action. The leaders of the men, particularly those who are in Parliament, are evidently awake to the fact that some check must be put not only upon the use of the industrial weapon for political purposes, but upon the continued demands for higher wages. This is particularly the case in the railway industry. Mr. Thomas is said to recognise that the successful working of the railway under any system will demand a sympathetic appreciation by the workmen of the difficulties of these times. The new scheme of the Ministry of Transport, while avoiding nationalisation, provides for a large measure of Government control, the elimination of competition, and the dividing of the country up into railway areas. This, of course, does not satisfy those socialists who will be content with nothing short of national ownership, but opinion in other circles, while strongly critical of the extravagance of the Transport Ministry, and doubtful of its reason for existence, is not unfriendly to the scheme. It is rather otherwise with the Board of Trade policy for the Coal Mines, which may be defined roughly as the Sankey scheme with nationalisation taken out. This appears to satisfy nobody, though the force of the opposition both of Labour and the owners is weakened by their failure to put forward any alternative which has a better chance of general acceptance. The crux of the whole matter in both cases will be the attitude of the workmen in the industry towards the schemes that are adopted.

Chaos in Ireland.

It would be strange indeed if the month had passed without serious disturbance in Ireland.

To deal first with the Irish Bill now going through Parliament, it cannot be said that the discussions gain in reality as they proceed. What interest there was in the measure disappeared with the *non-possibilities* of the Government to the efforts of a few Coalition members to make the measure more adventurous and vital. These

attempts have had a considerable measure of young Unionist support, but the feeling has grown that the Government is not free to depart very far from lines laid down by Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Party. One of the most dramatic moments in the discussions came late one night when a Unionist member, Earl Winterton, attacked the Government fiercely for not meaning business by its scheme. He declared that it did not intend it ever to become operative, and announced himself willing to wager that the measure would never get through Parliament, or if it did, would never be put into effect in Ireland. This represents a growing body of opinion, and has been responsible for a listlessness about the later stages of the Committee discussion. Nothing more will be heard of the Bill this side of the Autumn recess, and nobody feels sufficiently sure what will happen in Ireland during the coming winter to give speculations on its future course any particular value. Meanwhile, a private attempt to find a solution of the problem was made, without any great expectation of success, one imagines, in the House of Lords by Lord Monteaigle, who introduced a Bill to give Dominion Home Rule to Ireland. The measure was rather severely handled by the Lord Chancellor, who described it as containing many grave and most objectionable proposals, and the Upper House refused it a second reading without a division. The Labour Party's contribution to the Irish question is not a unanimous one, nor a particularly clear one. There was a sharp division of opinion at the Scarborough Conference, some of the delegates accusing the Party of being sympathetic to Sinn Fein. Meanwhile, in Ireland itself, a most distressing state of affairs continues to exist. Something like civil war broke out in Derry, where fighting and rioting by day and night necessarily led to a number of casualties, and martial law has had to be enforced. Some measure of success has lain with the Sinn Fein forces. Three British officers with a fishing party on the Blackwater were taken by surprise. One of them was wounded in trying to escape, and another, General Lucas, in command of the garrison of Fermoy, was "captured" and taken to a Sinn Fein prison. There has been some shooting of police-

men, and, by way of reprisal for the kidnapping of General Lucas, soldiers at Fermoy broke loose and did great havoc to property. The curfew order, with some modification, has been kept in force, and troops have been poured at intervals into the country to deal with the grave situation. The railway system has, of course, been dislocated.

The Spa Conference.

As far as the general international situation is concerned, it cannot be said that the world has been brought appreciably nearer to a state of peace and settlement. Large areas of Europe are still very perturbed, and among the participants in the late war there remain differences of aim and of sentiment which are highly menacing for the future. On the eve of the latest of the Peace Conferences — that at Spa — the meetings of the inter-allied premiers and their military representatives at Brussels presented to the world an unedifying spectacle of quarrels among the victors over the division of the spoils. The British influence was, as usual, thrown into the scale on the side of moderation, but France, as ever, was committed to extreme demands. The Italian representatives, faced with revolutionary disturbances on a large scale at home, were bound to make a protest against the amount allotted to them by the existing arrangements. The Belgians thought that their extraordinarily quick recuperation from the ravages of war had been allowed to operate unfairly for the reduction of their allowance. Time and again the scale was altered, and the Allies went to Spa with a patched-up scheme hastily arranged in order to present some show of unity of programme where there could hardly be any effective pretence of unity of spirit. They went to meet a Germany whose temper was uncertain. The general elections, which ought to have produced a settlement in the country, have done nothing of the kind. They have created more problems than they have answered, and nobody is prepared to assess with any pretence to exactitude the relative strength of the forces on the Left and on the Right that menace the stability of government in the Father-

land. On the eve of the Conference, Germany submitted to the Allies a statement drawn up by a number of economic authorities directed to prove the impracticability of the terms imposed by the victors. A large body of opinion in Great Britain holds that the idea of a long term indemnity is impracticable, must defeat itself, and by leaving the Germans with no hope of amelioration of their lot in this generation, even by patient industry, must result in the Allies losing that spoil which they have divided among themselves in anticipation. France, on the other hand, sees little else than her undoubted wrongs, and the equally indisputable disinclination of a large body of the German people to fulfil the Treaty of Versailles in the letter or the spirit. The temper on both sides was not favourable at the opening of the Spa Conference towards any substantial advance in the direction of a satisfactory and a lasting peace. Before this issue appears, there will be an opportunity of forming an opinion how the deliberations of a conference, opened under such unpromising auspices, are likely to affect the international situation.

Flouting the League.

Further East, problems accumulate. All that was said by clear-sighted observers on the prospects of the mad adventure into which Poland, drunk with a too strong draught of the spirit of nationalism, allowed herself to be led had been justified by events. After a little temporary success, the Poles have received the inevitable reverses, and having defied the authority of the Versailles Treaty in a pathetic belief that they could trust to their own right arm, they have had to present themselves at Spa in the capacity of suppliants. The record of the Allies in the matter of the Polish attack on the Bolsheviks is not entirely clear, for not only did they fail to assert their collective authority, or to hand over to the League of Nations the means of dealing with a matter which eminently came within its scope, but it transpired that in the early stages of their offensive the Poles were able to make use of arms and stores supplied from this country. This has been the cause of a

great deal of dissatisfaction and unrest here, and more than any other event since the Armistice has demonstrated how little of effective authority there is in post-war Europe, how near we are drifting to mere anarchy and chaos. The natural authority to deal with this matter was, of course, the League of Nations, and on this subject the House of Commons has had one of the most instructive debates on foreign affairs which have taken place since the Armistice. It revealed, in the speech of Lord Robert Cecil and others, how passionate a demand exists among its friends that the League should be made an operative power, and its covenant something more than a valueless scrap of paper. Unfortunately, the discussion intensified the impression that while the Government pays lip service to the ideal of a League of Nations, it does not exist as a controlling motive, and the real attitude of those in authority is not essentially different from that of the large number of members in the present House of Commons who greet all talk of a League of Nations with a sneer, or else insist on relegating it to the region of beautiful and impracticable ideals, and put their present faith in national security, interpreted in the terms of the old diplomacy whose issue so recently soaked Europe in blood. Mr. Balfour, deprecating excessive enthusiasm, was filling an accustomed and not uncongenial rôle, and he could give the enthusiasts for the League no more substantial comfort than an assurance that when the present chaotic condition of the world has been resolved, it may be possible for the League of Nations to fulfil its functions. By what process we are to emerge from the chaos as a result of continuing precisely those international rivalries and unrestricted national ambitions which produced it, was not apparent from his speech. Unfortunately, on the very eve of this discussion the House of Commons had considered the Nauru Island Agreement Bill, which threw a very disquieting light on the actual working of the mandate system. This is an Island, rich in phosphates, for which we are mandatory under the League of Nations. The proposed agreement was defended as good business. The Leader of the Liberal opposition and a number of Unionist members, attacking it on idealistic

grounds, found no responsive echo on the Treasury Bench.

The Russian Problem.

That something must be done to restore a real Concert, whatever name be given to it, is the strengthened impression of serious men and women in all countries. Europe cannot be built up on a basis of perpetuated hatreds and sterile revenge. Nor, it is increasingly realised, can we treat Russia as negligible on the map of Europe. The question of Bolshevism has not diminished in complexity during the past month. There has been a further mass of conflicting evidence. The Labour deputations to Russia have returned with reports which differ somewhat in the emphasis of their criticisms of Soviet rule but are united in their recognition that it certainly would not do for this country. M. Krassin's visit, which offered some prospect of success, and was to some extent a triumph for common sense and political realism, has so far proved disappointing. M. Krassin has returned to Russia, and it is said to be doubtful whether Lenin will allow him to come back again. Since, however, something clearly must be done, it is from every point of view to be hoped that the breakdown will not be permanent. The cause of the hitch was apparently a difference as to the extent to which political recognition should be accorded to the Soviet Government. In this matter it is possible that Mr. Lloyd George was not strong enough to resist certain unenlightened pressure at home, while the Russians on their side may well be under the impression that there is more sympathy with Bolshevik opinions in this country than actually exists. It will be necessary for European Imperialists and Bolsheviks alike to come to a recognition of their mutual needs, and to get on with business. From the beginning the Russian situation has been mishandled and confused, and nothing has more contributed to this than the knowledge that, despite all disclaimers, there has not been unanimity or anything approaching it within the British Government. Mr. Lloyd George, with some fluctuations, has looked in a Liberal direction, and been alive to the practical necessities of the situation.

His War Minister, Mr. Churchill, has never cleared his mind of the idea that Bolshevism could be beaten by force of arms, and that the call of the moment was to some kind of spectacular campaign on behalf of civilisation against the Red menace. That Mr. Churchill, under the strong compulsion of this idea, has not always been ingenuous in his treatment of the House of Commons had long been suspected, but something of a sensation was none the less created when the Labour delegation to Russia brought back a document handed to it by the Bolsheviks, and giving the account by General Golovin, a Czarist officer, of an interview which he had with Mr. Churchill. According to this, the British War Minister, with a cynicism worthy of Bismarck, spoke of the necessity of hoodwinking the British working-classes, described the supposed evacuation of Archangel as virtually a piece of camouflage, and even admitted that he was working under the orders of Admiral Koltchak. This disclosure not only confirmed suspicions which had long been entertained, but was clearly not incompatible with the military events of the period. Mr. Churchill's repudiation of the interview was, of course, inevitable, but he did not succeed in removing from the public mind the impression that there was a good deal in it.

Doctors in Conference.

With the Ministry of Health now active, and it may be added somewhat expensive working, the annual conference of the British Medical Association at Cambridge this year has had more than usual interest for the public. The relations between the doctors and the community are occupying an increasing share of public attention, and some discussions and decisions of the first importance took place. No epoch-making discoveries were announced. The presidential address of Sir Clifford Allbutt was a scholarly and impressive piece of oratory, the most vivacious passage in which was devoted to a very scathing treatment of the new ideas of psycho-analysis. Sir Clifford not only ridiculed the more fantastic of the pretensions of the experimentalists in this department, but entered

a serious warning against the dangers implicit in the treatment. Most public attention was attracted by discussion of the rights of the profession to preserve secrecy on all matters brought before practitioners by their patients. Though the discussion was on the general question, it turned very largely upon the particular instance of venereal disease. The opinion of the meeting after a two days' discussion was clearly in favour of maintaining the doctor's right not to tell, and even if possible of giving it a statutory sanction which does not at present exist, but it was also evident that the majority of doctors recognise that the problem is a very complicated one, only to be decided in the last resort with a full regard to all the circumstances of any particular case. In addition to a number of minor matters concerning the position of doctors under the Insurance Act, the Conference considered the ambitious scheme contained in the interim report of the Consultative Committee to the Ministry of Health, over which Lord Dawson of Penn presided. On this there was by no means unanimity of opinion, and the several divisions of the British Medical Association are to give it their special consideration. The committee of medical men in Parliament, of which Captain Elliott is the Secretary, is now perhaps better organised and more active than at any period of its history, and a number of matters were specifically referred to it by the Cambridge Conference. Among them was a resolution calling the attention of the Government to the dangers of unqualified practice in medicine and surgery. The outcome of this will probably be the bringing to bear on the Ministry of Health of pressure in the direction of suppressing or restricting the activities of unregistered medicos. This would be a far-reaching matter, involving the practice of men like Mr. Barker, Mr. Raphael Roche, and a host of lesser known practitioners. A league has already been formed to resist encroachments on the existing liberty of medical nonconformists.

dence that it would mean serious trouble. When Mr. Lloyd George, throwing over his own clear declarations, announced that it had been decided to leave the Turk in Constantinople, one of the arguments repeatedly advanced in support of this disastrous decision was that to give expression to the sentiments of civilised Europe would mean another war, for which we were not prepared. This was bad psychology, and contradicted the clear lesson of history, which is that the one certain mistake in dealing with the Turk is to show anything that can plausibly be interpreted as weakness. The failure of the Allies in this regard has been overtaken by a swift Nemesis. Difficulties with the Ottoman empire developed immediately, and it was found that war was necessary to force the terms of the Treaty upon the Turk. There was the usual period of indecision and obscure bargaining in which "the rich and renowned lands of Thrace," which Mr. Lloyd George had eloquently described as the homeland of the Turkish race, were suggested as the reward to the Greeks for fighting the Turks. A mandate was given to Greece to undertake military operations against Turkey and Bulgaria. British forces have been assisting, and at the time of writing the operations are going well. It is plain, however, that the Allies have stored up trouble for themselves. There is reason to anticipate trouble from the Turkish Government, and a possible increase of the followers of Mustapha Kemal. It is doubtful, too, precisely, what the ideas and objective of M. Venezelos are. Greatly as he is respected in this country, there are many people who look with misgivings upon the present temper of the Greek people. Their view of what they are entitled to in the way of territory has always been peculiarly their own, but as much may be said of any of the Balkan states. At present this quarter of the world appears to present nothing but problems.

Trouble with Turkey. Students of the attitude of the Allies towards the Turkish question have from the beginning prophesied with a somewhat mournful confi-

American Politics. Meanwhile a sorely troubled world has to grapple with its problems without the active help of the great American Continent, which is still torn by

political dissensions, and all the hectic activity leading up to the choice of a President. Outsiders find it extremely difficult to discover a clear line of demarcation between the Republican and the Democratic parties, a difficulty shared by the Americans themselves. The contest has, indeed, become largely a personal one around President Wilson. Two planks which might have figured in the programmes, have been definitely laid aside. There is to be no contest between "wets" and "dries," and attempts to secure a declaration in favour of an Irish Republic have failed. The Republican Convention early in June was as usual a vigorous affair and resulted in the rather surprising choice of Mr. Harding. This selection of a colourless candidate was a demonstration of the strength of the machine, but it somewhat altered the situation, for whereas previously the selection of a Republican candidate had come to be regarded as amounting virtually to the selection of the President, the chances of the Democrat were now considered to be greatly improved, and it was thought that a candidate of really national reputation—Mr. Hoover's name was freely mentioned—might give them an opportunity of a further lease of power. The Democratic Convention, when it met, proved distinctly lively, and there were quite early scenes on the questions of Prohibition and Ireland, with results already mentioned. The probabilities, after many rumours and alarms, were Mr. William McAdoo, President Wilson's son-in-law, Governor Cox of Ohio, and the Attorney General, Mr. Mitchell Palmer. Mr. McAdoo was caustically christened "the Crown Prince" by his opponents, and a great deal was said about the President who sent a message to the Convention. President Wilson's personal influence with the Democrats, which has been a complicating issue in American politics, ever since the Armistice, is still very strong, and there was continual talk of the possibility that the Convention would issue a dramatic recall to the President. When twenty-two ballots had failed to give, not only the required two-thirds majority, but even a bare priority to any of the three

competing candidates, attention was turned more than ever to the possibility of a dark horse candidate. The name of Mr. Davis, the United States Ambassador in London was freely mentioned, and that of Mr. Justice Brandies of the United States Supreme Court, who was attending the Zionist Congress in England, was also introduced. It was not until the 43rd ballot had been taken that Mr. Cox secured the necessary two-thirds majority, Mr. McAdoo running up 158 votes in arrears. The Democratic nominee has been three times Governor of Ohio. Born on a farm, he has had a varied career, and may fairly be considered a self-made man. He has owned two newspapers, his journalistic career beginning with newspaper reporting. His personality has asserted itself during his governorship, and he has to his credit a considerable legislative achievement, including a model workmen's compensation law and a child labour law. Of the two candidates, therefore, the Democratic nominee appears to be the more impressive personality.

Mr. A function of particular interest to readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS was the unveiling on the Embankment of the bronze plaque memorial to Mr. W. T. Stead, subscribed for by British and American journalists. In spite of torrential rain, a goodly company assembled to pay a tribute to the memory of this great publicist, who founded this review thirty years ago. The Editor of *The Times*, Mr. Wickham Stead, was to have performed the ceremony, but he had been called away, and his place was taken by Mr. J. A. Spender, Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*. In his brief speech, and in the speeches which were made later under cover, worthy tribute was paid to Mr. Stead's memory, his devotion to truth and high ideals in journalism and public life, and the skill which made him not only a high-minded, but also a successful journalist. Among those who braved the weather to associate themselves with the tribute was Mr. John Burns, one of Mr. Stead's most sincere admirers. The memorial, the work of Sir George Frampton, is in every way worthy of the man it celebrates.

Diary of Current Events

FOR JUNE.

June 1.—The Bishop of St. Asaph was enthroned at St. Asaph as the first Archbishop of Wales. The Prime Minister and Prince Arthur of Connaught were present.

Improved pay and conditions for professional firemen are recommended by a Home Office Committee.

The Pope has issued an encyclical removing the ban on Catholic Monarchs visiting Rome.

June 2.—The King was one of the most successful exhibitors at the Royal Counties Agricultural Societies' Show held at Reading.

The Derby was won at Epsom by Spion Kop, owned by Captain G. Loder, trained by Gilpin, and ridden by the French jockey, O'Neill; Archaic was second, and Orpheus third.

The Ministry of Transport has appointed a committee to inquire into the question of the purchase of inland waterways by the State.

Several fierce attacks on police barracks have been made without success in Ireland.

Mr. Thomas Hardy, on his 80th birthday, received messages of congratulation from the King, the Lord Mayor of London, the University of Cambridge, and many others.

June 3.—The King celebrated the 55th anniversary of his birthday at Buckingham Palace.

Mr. Lloyd George stated in Parliament that negotiations with M. Krassin were preliminary to the general discussions of the Allies with the Soviet Government.

The control of coal distribution has been abolished and the consumer can order coal of any amount from any merchant.

The Government has decided to appoint an Imperial Shipping Committee to devise a scheme to improve communications between all parts of the Empire.

It was announced that trained men may enlist in the new Territorial Army for a period of one year instead of three.

Miss Bonar Law was married to Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes.

The Bolsheviks were defeated before Kieff.

June 4.—The King's Birthday honour list is headed by Prince Albert, Duke of York. There are 19 new baronets and more than 50 knights.

Proposals for the Abolition of the Irish and Welsh Guards Regiments are under consideration.

Increases of pay for Railwaymen have been awarded by the National Wages Board.

A discovery of oil in Upper Savoy, between Geneva and Chamounix is reported.

The Hungarian Peace Treaty was signed at the Grand Trianon.

A note from the Reparations Commission at Paris to the Vienna Government sets forth a complete plan for the rehabilitation of Austria, and concedes priority to reconstruction credits over reparation payments.

June 5.—There would be 750,000 motor vehicles on the roads of Great Britain by the end of June, said Sir Henry Maybury at Blackpool.

Sixteen small craft were sunk in the Mersey as a result of the lock gates bursting.

Further Polish successes are announced.

A postponement of the Spa Conference to July 5th or 6th is announced.

June 6.—Toplis, the man wanted for shooting a motor driver, was shot dead at Penrith by the Cumberland police.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, at Battersea, said that the wages advance conceded by the National Board was the maximum amount obtainable.

The Berlin elections for the Reichstag passed off quietly.

June 7.—In order to encourage the use of alcohol mixtures as motor fuel the Empire Motor Fuels Committee are about to release several thousand gallons of power-alcohol weekly for experimental purposes.

Standard suits of tweed at about £5 each will be ready by September.

The British Garrison has withdrawn from Resht to avoid petty incidents with the Bolsheviks at Enzeli.

The United States Supreme Court has declared constitutional both the Federal Prohibition Amendment and the accompanying Volstead Enforcement Bill.

June 8.—The Directors of the Commercial Union Assurance Company allotted £165,000 for the endowment of bio-chemistry at Cambridge.

The German Food Controller has been in London and attended conferences at the Ministry of Food.

Sweden has demanded an official explanation of the arrest by Finland of the Aaland Island leaders who were recently demanding reunion with the Mother Country.

- The date for the Spa Conference was fixed for July 5th.
- June 9.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the anonymous gift of £15,000 four per cent. National War Bonds for cancellation in reduction of the National Debt.
- An increased rate of 4½d. in the £ will be required in London to pay the new scale of salaries of elementary school teachers.
- Lord Rothermere offered £20,000 to the University of Oxford for the endowment of a Professorship of American History in memory of his son who was killed in the war.
- The Nitti Cabinet resigned owing to the determination of some constitutional groups to pass to the Opposition.
- June 10.—The King and Queen held their first Court since 1914 at Buckingham Palace.
- Proposals for the numbering of main roads and a new system of sign posts have been approved by the Ministry of Transport.
- Severe fighting is proceeding along the Polish front.
- June 11.—Details of the offer of £1,205,000 by the Rockefeller Foundation to the University College Hospital for medical research and education were given at a meeting in London.
- The Republican Convention in Chicago having adopted the platform on which it will fight the presidential election, proceeded to the nomination of a candidate, which it was decided should be completed at a single session.
- Germany's demand for an extension of time in which to reply to the Slesvig Treaty has been agreed to.
- Mr. Tolley beat Mr. Gardiner on the 37th green in the final round of the Amateur Golf Championship at Muirfield.
- June 12.—The Bishop of Hereford has been translated to Durham, and is to be succeeded by Dr. Linton Smith.
- The King and Queen attended the Ascot races.
- Herr Müller, the German ex-Chancellor, has failed to form a Cabinet.
- Senator Warren G. Hastings, of Ohio, was chosen by the Republican National Convention as its Presidential Candidate on the tenth ballot, and the choice for Vice-President fell upon Gov. Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts.
- June 13.—Dr. Jowett, of Westminster Chapel, exchanged pulpits with Dr. Stuart Holden, of St. Paul's, Portman Square.
- The Reds have re-taken Kieff.
- Essad Pasha, one time ruler of Albania, was assassinated in the streets of Paris.
- June 14.—Attempts to settle the dispute in Ireland on the transport of munitions by negotiations between the N.U.R. and the N.W. Railway Company were unsuccessful.
- Further encounters between British and Arabs in the Mosul district of Mesopotamia are reported.
- Lord Forster has been appointed to succeed Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson as Governor-General of Australia.
- The forthcoming sugar crop of Mauritius, estimated at 203,000 tons, has been bought for this country.
- June 15.—Attention was called to the waste of public money at the Army Ordnance Depot at Chilwell, near Nottingham.
- The Select Committee on National Expenditure describes the Ministry of Transport as a grandiose structure with a large and expensive staff, and recommends the saving of £70,000 on the salary list of £416,000.
- The Association of Wireless Telegraphists declared a strike of marine wireless operators in support of their minimum wage claim.
- All British surplus ammunition in France has been sold by the Disposals Board to Messrs. F. N. Pickett and Son, engineers of Wimereux, for over £2,000,000.
- June 16.—The N.U.R. Executive conferred at Bristol with representatives from all parts of Ireland on the munitions question and the general Irish situation.
- The Chancellor of the Exchequer foreshadowed legislation to make 50 per cent. of the proceeds of war savings certificates available for loans to local authorities after October 1st.
- The Louth by-election resulted in the loss of the seat to the Coalition. Mr. Wintringham (Ind. Lib.) having defeated Mr. C. H. Turner (Co. U.) by 2,305 votes.
- Kutchik Khan's Soviet Republic of Persia, at Resht, has issued an announcement of the "abolition of monarchy" against the continued
- ... Troops.
- The American Federation of Labour at a Montreal Conference refused to approve a resolution calling on the United States to open trade relations with Soviet Russia.
- The opening meeting was held at the Hague of an International Commission of Jurists in order to elaborate a plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice.
- The Council of the League of Nations which met in London under the chairmanship of Lord Curzon heard reports on Persia's communications with the Soviet Government, the proposed Mission of Inquiry in Russia, and plans for repatriation of prisoners still in late enemy countries.
- June 17.—Dr. D'Arcy, Archbishop of Dublin has been elected Primate of All Ireland.
- M. Krassin had an interview with the Permanent Committee of the Supreme Economic Council.
- A Royal Warrant just issued authorizes the formation of a new Army Educational Corps.
- The Report of the Select Committee on National Expenditure dealing with the Ministry of Transport has been issued as a White Paper.

- Great Britain has agreed to allow over 9,000 tons of wheat to be sold to Germany.
- Turkish Nationalists have attacked British troops at Ismid, on the Sea of Marmora.
- June 18.—The Prime Minister received a deputation of Railwaymen, and Mr. Thomas said it was the Government's intention, in the event of further refusal on the part of Irish transport workers, to close the Irish railways.
- Sir Eric Geddes, Minister of Transport, replied to some of the charges of extravagance made against his department.
- Members of Nursing services are in future to be eligible for the Victoria Cross.
- Forest fires in Scotland have affected altogether 8,000 acres.
- M. Lefèvre, French War Minister, said that officers in the French Army will receive an increase of pay and the size of the Army will depend on the attitude of Germany.
- June 19.—Five men were killed and many wounded in street fighting in London-derry.
- Food prices in this country on June 1st this year, according to official figures, stood at the index figure of 255, compared with 100 in July, 1914.
- The White Star liner Olympic, burning oil fuel and refitted after her war duties, arrived at Southampton from Belfast to resume her place in the North Atlantic service.
- June 20.—At Malta all available warships have been ordered to Turkish waters. The 2nd Battalion Essex Regiment is also being sent from Malta to Crete.
- More encounters between Turkish Nationalists and the British have occurred on the Ismid peninsula.
- At a Conference at Hythe between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand the question of the Greek offer to undertake an expedition against Turkey was discussed.
- June 21.—Colonel House arrived in England from the United States for a month's stay.
- The Chancellor of the Exchequer has issued a statement showing that £13,490,707 was distributed last year by the Government for relief and reconstruction purposes among various foreign countries.
- The Motor Legislation Committee, of which Sir W. Joynson-Hicks is Chairman, have issued a statement in favour of a flat rate duty on petrol of 4½d. per gallon.
- The discussions at Hythe were transferred to Boulogne, when decisions were reached on the Note to be sent to Germany on disarmament and also on the question of the payment of the German indemnity.
- June 22.—In his presidential address at the annual conference of the Labour Party, Mr. W. Hutchinson said that the railway strike and the struggle for the nationalization of the mines had revealed the weakness of Labour.
- An emergency distribution of £250,000 is to be made from the King Edward's Hospital Fund to meet the pressing needs of London Hospitals.
- Miss Mary Pickford and Mr. Douglas Fairbanks visited the Theatrical Garden Party at Chelsea, and were the centre of a remarkable popular demonstration.
- The Ministry of Labour states that 13,000 officers and 191,000 ex-Service men are still unemployed.
- The Bolsheviks have begun another offensive against the northern sector of the Polish front. The concentration of Red forces continues.
- The Boulogne Conference ended, the results being regarded as generally satisfactory. The proposal was discussed of taking over the German Customs in the event of Germany's defaulting in her indemnity payments.
- June 23.—The Labour Party Conference at Scarborough decided to request the Prime Minister to receive a deputation on the questions of peace with Soviet Russia and the White Terror in Hungary. A motion in favour of direct action was heavily defeated.
- The Prince of Wales' birthday. Messages of congratulation were sent to his Royal Highness in Australia.
- Alexandra Day celebrated in London.
- A reign of terror has been set up by the Reds in the Tartar Republic of Azerbaijan.
- The Allies are to transfer all their rights in Slesvig to the Danish authorities immediately.
- An allied Note was delivered to the German delegates in Paris stating that the German Army must be reduced to 100,000 men.
- June 24.—The Labour Party Conference passed a resolution, after considerable opposition calling for an election by proportional representation of a Constituent Assembly for all Ireland and the withdrawal of British troops.
- The power given to the Government in the Agriculture Bill to insist on improvement in the method of cultivation, in order to secure increased food production, was deleted by Standing Committee.
- The 700th anniversary of the laying of the foundation of Salisbury Cathedral was celebrated.
- The Water Power Resources Committee, in their second interim report, recommend State aid in the development of water power schemes, and also the establishment of a Water Commission to control the allocation of the water supply for all purposes.
- The Greek offensive against the Turkish Nationalists has begun.
- Signor Giolitti, the new Italian Prime Minister, made his statement of policy in the Chamber of Deputies.
- June 25.—A proposal to affiliate to the Third (Moscow) International was heavily defeated at the Labour Conference at Scarborough.

The Advisory Committee on Civil Aviation in a report to the Air Ministry recommended that, in order to develop civil aviation, the State should give direct assistance, limited to £250,000 in the next two years, to transport companies operating on approved routes.

Greece announces the complete capture of the 13th Turkish Army Corps and the capture of Alasabehr, a town 70 miles east of Smyrna. The Turk casualties amounted to nearly 8,000, and the Greeks captured much war material.

The Turkish Delegations refuse to accept the terms relating to Thrace and Smyrna, object to the clauses in regard to the control of the Straits, and make other reservations. The Grand Vizier has telegraphed pointing out the bad effect produced by Nationalist attacks at Ismid, but this message is unlikely to have any effect.

The Hague has been agreed upon as the seat of the Permanent Court of International Justice to be created under the League of Nations.

June 26.—Lord French at Belfast appealed to the leaders of Sinn Fein to state what they wanted.

Brigadier-General Lucas has been captured by Sinn Feiners while on a fishing trip in County Cork. Col. Danford and Col. Tyrrell were taken with him, but the former was wounded in an attempt to escape, and Col. Tyrrell was released to look after him.

The representative body of the British Medical Association passed a resolution deprecating the voluntary disclosure of professional secrets without the patient's consent.

June 27.—Hospital Sunday. Collections were made all over the country.

The Greek campaign against the Turkish Nationalists, which is making rapid progress, forestalled an offensive for which Mustapha Kemal was concentrating troops against the Greeks.

Further food riots have occurred in various German towns. The disturbances are being magnified to impress the Entente with a view to the retention by Germany of a large army.

The Persian Prime Minister threatens to resign on financial grounds and because of the difficulty of coping with the Bolsheviks in the absence of financial support from Great Britain.

The Jurists' Advisory Committee, sitting at The Hague, have recommended that the Court be open to all States whether members of the League or not.

June 28.—The Dean of Westminster has issued an appeal for £250,000 for the preservation of Westminster Abbey. The King heads the list of subscribers with a gift of £1,000.

At a meeting of the Committee inquiring into the need for Labour Exchanges, Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P., and Lord Asquith urged that unemployment should be dealt with by the industrial organizations.

Direct correspondence between British and German firms is now permitted on conditions, but all suggestions for payment must be made through the official offices.

At the meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Commerce, the President announced a programme and outlined its attitude towards the execution of the Peace Treaty.

At a conference held in Paris under the presidency of M. Millerand, delegates of Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Belgium to the International Chamber of Commerce Congress reviewed the economic situation in their respective countries.

June 29.—In addition to the donations of the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales has sent a cheque for £300 to the Dean of Westminster's Fund for the repair of Westminster Abbey. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have subscribed £10,000, and Viscount and Viscountess Northcliffe £5,000.

According to a White Paper the National Debt on March 31st was £7,881,893,000 and the National Assets— including war assets of £2,881,600,000— £12,763,493,000.

A Parliamentary Paper gives an outline of the Government's proposals for the future organization of the railways.

Greek troops have been landed on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles.

The League of Nations has requested the Supreme Council to inform it of the decisions that may be reached at Spa, so as to afford a basis for the Brussels Financial Conference.

June 30.—The first session of the National Assembly of the Church of England was held.

M. Krassin left London for Russia to consult the Soviet Government.

The decision to increase the Army Reserve and the terms on which men may re-enlist or re-engage have been published in an Army Order.

The Nelson and Colne by-election resulted in the return of Mr. R. Graham, the Labour candidate.

British troops have occupied Lapsaki on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles, opposite the town of Gallipoli.

Italian Labour has declared against a general strike, in consequence of Government assurances about the war in Albania.

OBITUARY.

June 13.—VERY REV. SIR JOHN HERKLESS, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of St. Andrew's University.

ESSAD PASHA, one time ruler of Albania, assassinated in the streets of Paris.

June 16.—MADAME REJANE, the celebrated French actress.

June 18.—LORD COXENS-HARDY, formerly Master of the Rolls.

June 22.—M. ADOLPHE CARNOT, scientist and inventor, age 82.

June 26.—COUNTESS OF DUDLEY.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us."—*BURNS.*



Le Rire

Friendly Advice.

[Paris]

France: "Beware of indigestion, John. I don't mean to pay the doctor."



[Daily Express]

[London]

The Mespotter and his Clay.

[Evening News]

[London]

The Melting "Pot."

"Double, double, toil and trouble,
Fire burn and cauldron bubble!"



[Westminster Gazette]

Winston Wants More!

[London]



The Bulletin

[Sydney]

The Lost Dove of Peace.

Nah: "What's become of that—bird?"



The Bulletin

The Toss.

[Sydney]

Publicists predict that the future struggle for world supremacy will be between the white races and Asia.



Kladderadatsch

[Berlin]

The Village Showman.

Russin: "Just step in, Ladies and Gentlemen! Here you will see the fabulous treasures of Russia—all handmade by the great Bolshevik artist!"

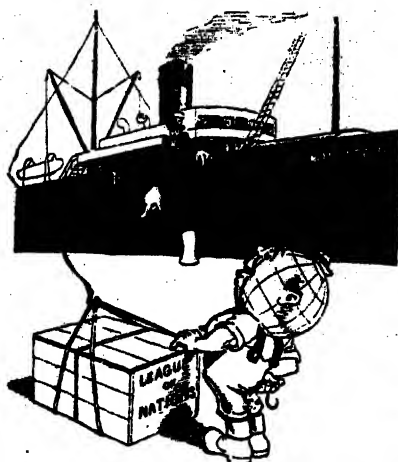


Wahre Jacob

[Stuttgart]

The Polish Bear-Tamer in Distress.

"I do believe the brute will not let me thrash him!"



[The Bulletin]

[Sydney]

Two Throws of the Dice.

Uncle Sam: "You don't put them thar goods on this ship!"

The World: "But your skipper's already signed for them."

Uncle Sam: "We don't take any notice of the goldarn skipper."

The World: "Well, what do you have a skipper for? So's you can get two chances, eh,—his and your own?"



[Kladderatsch]

[Berlin]

The War Balance Sheet of the firm of "John Bull and Sons."

"Business as Usual."

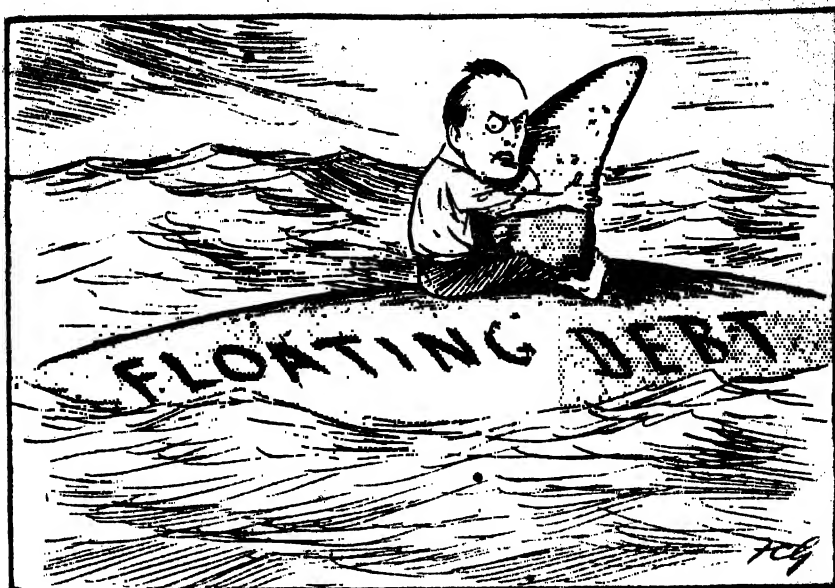


[Le Rire]

Kraasin, the Soviet's Traveller.

[Paris]

"Representing the Moscow Co-operatives, I have come to this place with the permission of the English authorities, and if any one of you requires matches, take my Moujik matches, marked Lenin and Trotsky. With these one can set fire to Europe."



[Westminster Gazette]

Floating.

[London]



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton U.S.A.]

"Hey, you, Villa, you're stealing my stuff!"



[Kladderndatech]

[Berlin]

The Election Bowl.

A good mixture, please, since you have to drink the stuff!



[Simplicissimus]

The "Deutschland."
Where is the gallant helmsman
To steer a good ship home?

[Munich.]



[Newspaper Enterprise Association] [Cleveland, O., U.S.A.]

Feeling his Oats.

[New York World]

[New York]

Wanted for President of U.S.A.



[Detroit News]

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

The kind of Universal Training this Country needs.



[Simpsonianism]

[Munich]

A Clear Division.

It is prophesied that at the next Election only an Extreme Right and an Extreme Left will remain.



[Le Rire]

British Smoke.

[Paris]

My dear Millerand! You can have all the soup . . . excuse me if I keep the solids."



[L'Asino]

Giolitti Revives?

[Rome]

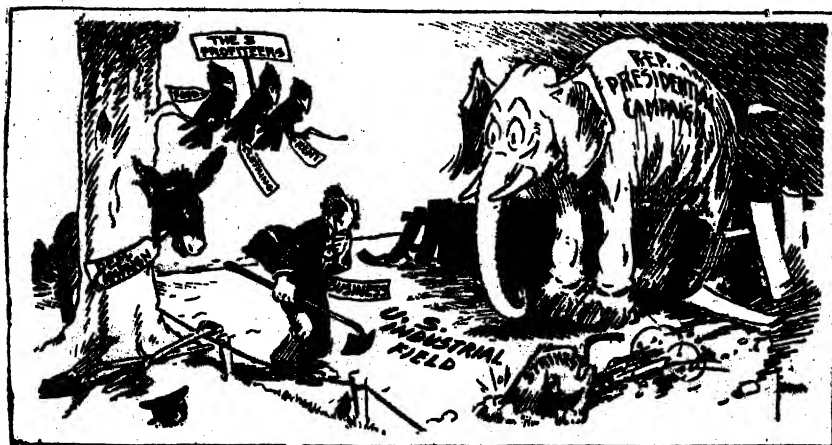


[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

The French President's Accident.

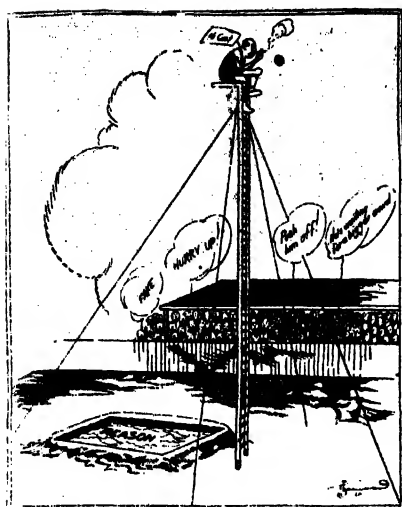
"Sir, are you really seriously upset? You are still President—even in pyjamas!"



[Chicago News]

Gardening under difficulties.

[Chicago, U.S.A.]



[Detroit News]

Prices.

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

Will he ever jump?



[Le Rire]

[Paris]

***The Great Principles of Reconstruction.**

When building does not go on, *everything* goes. And then! the ground is ready for building the City of the Future.



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Shattered.



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

The Black Terror in German Territory.

(After "The Gorilla," by Frémiet)

*De Notenmaker*

[Amsterdam]

Michael in the Quicksand.

Michael: "How can I get out of this misery?"

*The Bulletin***Tired.**

[Sydney]

Grandmama: "Now I'll read you some more about the dear Prince of Wales."

Her Darling: "Oh, give us a rest, Gran."

*Kladderadatsch*

[Berlin]

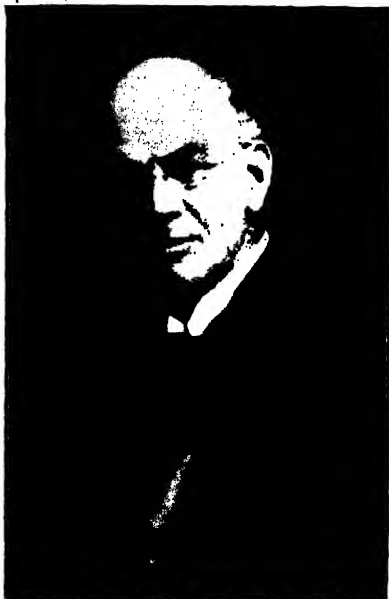
Unhappy John Bull.

John Bull: "Curse it! This Irish Stew tastes infernal!"



For and Against a State Medical Service.

Last month the Medical Consultative Council of the Ministry of Health issued an *Interim Report* advocating the adoption of a comprehensive scheme for co-ordinating and rendering more efficient the existing medical services of the country. The scheme is based on a medical service starting in the home and continuing through primary and secondary health centres to the great hospitals; and it is being studied by the public and the doctors with the greatest interest. But so far as the latter are concerned, a considerable difference of opinion has revealed itself and the scheme's general character has raised once more in an acute form the question whether the profession should not be nationalised once and for all. This issue is discussed in the following articles by two medical men who have taken a deep interest in the problem which, in view of the unsatisfactory statistics of the national health and the financial chaos that has overtaken our present hospital administration, is of vital importance.



(Photo, Elliott & Fry.)

MR. CHARLES PARKER, F.R.C.S.

Mr. Charles A. Parker, the well-known surgeon, was a student (afterwards House Surgeon) of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Edinburgh University, and has specialised in diseases of the throat and nose. He is Consulting Surgeon to the Throat Hospital in Golden Square. As a result of his administrative experience he has become a keen advocate of a State Medical Service, and would make it much more thorough-going than the scheme propounded by the Medical Consultative Council. He regards the matter from a national rather than a professional standpoint. Mr. Parker has contributed many articles on his own subjects to the medical journals, and is the author of at least two important works on Nose and Throat diseases and their treatment.



(Photo, Vandyk.)

DR. A. WELPLY.

Dr. Welply is an Irishman. He is a prize-man of Queen's College, Cork, where he took his degree as Doctor of Medicine in 1904. For some time he was in general practice in North London, but he is now General Secretary of the Medico-Political Union, a growing body of medical men which took its rise in the controversy arising out of the Insurance Act, and aims at organising the profession more or less on Trade Union lines. Dr. Welply has for some time been responsible for the editorial conduct of its organ, *The Medical World*. Though he holds what may be regarded as advanced political opinions, he does not favour a central state authority for the medical services.

The Case For a State Medical Service.

By CHARLES A. PARKER, F.R.C.S., Ed.

There can be no doubt that the health of the community generally and of each citizen individually is a question of the utmost importance to the welfare of the country, and fortunately this is a matter greatly within our own control. Much disease could be prevented and a great number of premature deaths could be avoided by a properly organised medical service. Every day lost to production through illness and every year lost by early death means so much less wealth for distribution or for setting aside as capital. Sickness and death, therefore, are a direct loss to the nation.

During the last fifty years or so the Public Health Service has done much to preserve health and prevent disease in the community generally, but until comparatively recently there has been but little concerted action in the fight against disease in individuals. There is now an ever-increasing tendency for the State to shoulder this responsibility, but unfortunately in a disjointed and spasmodic way. In the past, health as health has not been the primary end in view, but it has been secondary to some other public undertaking. Under the Board of Education, for instance, health has been secondary to the capacity for learning: inspection and treatment have been carried out *not* for the purpose of building up a healthy generation, but in order that public money may not be wasted in vain efforts to teach defective children. Under the Factory Laws health has been secondary to industry, and there has been no attempt to prevent disease in the factories or workshops or to attack it in its early stages for health's sake. The Poor Law directly encourages ill-health by refusing help until want and privation have sown the seeds of disease. In result, questions of health have been dealt with disjointedly by many and varied government departments: there has been no concerted action for obtaining a healthy and vigorous nation.

The new Ministry of Health has made a beginning towards co-ordinating the health services at the centre with health as its primary aim, but its efforts will be of little value unless at the same time

the numerous overlapping services which now exist at the periphery are also co-ordinated, and a new ideal be adopted. The Interim Report of the Ministry's Consultative Council on Medical and Allied Services, if adopted, would undoubtedly do much to abolish the present anomalies and bring all the existing piecemeal services into one comprehensive scheme. The ground plan of the scheme is excellent, being based on a co-ordinated medical service starting in the home and continuing through primary and secondary health centres to the great hospitals of University towns, so arranged that all sufferers could obtain, as occasion required, the advice of specialists and the benefits of institutional treatment and of modern diagnostic and curative methods, together with the help of nurses, midwives and other auxiliary services. These suggestions are on the lines of those long urged by advocates of a State Medical Service, and, further, the methods of management and direction of the service are the same, namely central control and local administration, with full representation of the medical profession both centrally and locally. There are, however, two important points at issue between those who framed the Report and those who would welcome a complete State Service, namely, whether or not the benefits of the public medical service should be free and open to all without charge and whether or not the medical officers of the service should be permitted to engage in private practice. Advocates of a State Service would have it free and open to all and would make such doctors as joined the service whole-time salaried officers. The framers of the Report on the other hand would charge for the benefits of the service, and would perpetuate the present system of competitive private practice and combine it with part-time work for the public service. They dismiss in a few lines the idea of a whole-time State salaried service by saying that it "would tend, by its machinery, to discourage initiative, to diminish the sense of responsibility, and to encourage mediocrity." Such a statement pre-judges the efficacy of the machine before

It has even been invented. Realising these dangers, human wisdom is surely capable of devising a scheme by which they can be prevented, if otherwise a complete State Service is likely to be beneficial. Anyway it is worth taking some risk to be rid of the present competitive struggle amongst practitioners for patients, which cuts right across any whole-hearted co-operation, or team work, such as is recommended in the Report. In dreading the results of a change of system, existing evils are liable to be overlooked. If it be asked whether the competitive system of private practice amongst doctors with payments for services rendered has been successful in building up a healthy nation and in preventing disease, the answer must undoubtedly be in the negative. Infant mortality varies from 41 per 1,000 in well-to-do districts to 375 in some slum areas, whilst the average is about 115. Of the children who live to reach school age one in six, or about a million children in England and Wales, are found on medical inspection to be physically or mentally defective. Medical examination of recruits revealed the fact that only 37 per cent. were fit for duties in the trenches. There are always with us some 150,000 people suffering from tuberculosis, resulting in from 70,000 to 75,000 deaths every year. Venereal diseases are widely prevalent, filling hospitals and asylums, and probably accounting for more incapacity and deaths than even tuberculosis. In large cities, such as Glasgow, 50 per cent. of the children suffer from rickets; summer diarrhoea, measles, whooping cough and other infectious diseases enormously increase the death-rate and often leave those who recover in some way maimed and incapacitated. These figures show that the health of the country is not as it should be or might be, and that the present system of medical services is inefficient in preventing disease and in arresting it in its early stages. The most striking figures, however, are those relating to inspection of school children and the medical examination of recruits, for they reveal a vast amount of undetected disease: for some reason the sufferers and the medical practitioners have failed to come together, and disease has consequently become established without any

organised effort to prevent it. Apparently some barrier or barriers exist which hinder a patient from readily seeking medical help whilst his illness is still curable. The chief barrier between doctor and patient is undoubtedly the financial one, though the inquisitorial methods of Poor Law Relieving Officers and of some hospitals also act as a great deterrent amongst the poorer folk. How often amongst all classes of the community, except perhaps the really rich, is the seeking of advice postponed because of the expense, with often fatal results! And this is why advocates of a State Service would make it free and open to all. Patients would then be able to seek help in the very earliest stages of illness, indeed they should be encouraged to do so; and with no question of direct payment for services rendered medical officers would be in a position to give, and even to offer, their services before disease had become established. Further they could watch over contacts in infectious cases, they could prevent disease in individuals, preserve health, and teach the principles of healthy living, all of which is impossible under any system of private practice, which necessitates a doctor awaiting the call of the patient, who may be far advanced in illness, and possibly a danger to others, before he makes up his mind to spend money on medical assistance. The Report does nothing to remove this financial barrier, indeed it rather increases it, for not only is the present system of private practice with payment by the sick for services rendered to be perpetuated, but it is recommended that a standard charge should be made in the public wards of the health centres, and for other curative services. This charge is not to include medical attendance which would be paid for either by the patient or through some method of insurance or by the Health Authority. To many patients such methods would raise an almost impassable barrier: they would rather die, they will say, than apply to the Local Health Authority for medical aid; they will refuse to have their claims to public help sifted by a public official. Those who can pay, but with difficulty, will seek such help as a last resort rather than in the first instance. The only satisfactory method is to treat all alike by giving all

a right to the best that science can offer both in the home and in the hospital.

There are other reasons for making the medical services free and open to all. As already pointed out, the health of each individual is of national importance, and disease occurring in individuals is a national danger. Hence it is economically sound for the nation collectively to undertake the preservation of health and the prevention of disease in individuals. Modern methods of diagnosis and treatment are becoming so elaborate and costly that the great majority of people are quite unable to provide them for themselves individually, but it is possible to secure them to all collectively. The importance of institutional treatment is becoming more and more recognised, but under existing circumstances it is only available to the very rich, who can obtain it in private nursing-homes, and to the necessitous poor who gain admittance to the voluntary hospitals. Between these two extremes are millions of folk who cannot afford the former and who are ineligible for the latter: they have to make shift in their own homes and forego many of the benefits which modern science can offer. The increase of medical knowledge has rendered specialisation necessary, and instances often occur in which the opinion and help of two, three or more specialists are useful in the diagnosis and treatment of the case. Here again it is practically only the very rich and the necessitous poor to whom these services are as a rule available. To the majority they are denied. All these difficulties can be overcome by the organisation of a fully staffed, well-equipped Public Medical Service, free and open to all comers. Every barrier between patients and expert medical advice must be swept away, if a high standard of health in the community is to be maintained.

The method by which doctors should be remunerated is perhaps of less importance than making the benefits of a public medical service free to all: nevertheless many difficulties would be overcome and many advantages would result from staffing the service with whole-time salaried medical officers. Under existing circumstances medical practitioners naturally flock to where money is, and

leave industrial neighbourhoods under staffed. Hampstead, where there is little illness, has one doctor to every 476 of the population; whilst Bermondsey, where the sickness rate is high, has but one doctor to every 4,065 persons. In the future medical service, unless the medical officers are whole-time and salaried, those in Bermondsey receiving as much as or even more than those in Hampstead, this evil will be perpetuated. Again, co-operation is absolutely essential to the efficiency of a public medical service, but cannot be completely realised as long as doctors are competing against each other for patients and their fees and for capitation grants. With a part-time service combined with competitive private practice, there are bound to be divided interests between public and private work, making punctual attendance to public duties difficult and often detrimental to private practice. A whole-time salaried service would make it easier for practitioners to give unfettered advice in all matters concerning the health of the community and to attack every social evil standing in the way of a healthy nation without prejudicing their financial position. It would make reasonable hours of work, periods of leisure and a regular annual holiday possible for every practitioner; it would enable every doctor to have "study leave" for, say, three months every third year in order to visit centres of learning at home or abroad, and bring his knowledge up-to-date; it would give them leisure and peace of mind for pathological and research work, so strongly advocated in the Report. It is difficult to see how these advantages can be secured under any part-time competitive system.

It is not suggested that private practice should be entirely abolished. For many years there are sure to be some patients who would prefer not to take advantage of the public medical service, even if it were open to them without charge; and there are sure to be some practitioners who would prefer not to join the service: the latter could cater for the former. It is suggested that in order to secure a really efficient public service the medical officers joining it should give it the whole of their time and interest. It is not suggested that all medical officers should be

rewarded alike and thus have all ambition stamped out. It is suggested that there should be a ladder to climb, with junior positions at the bottom carrying salaries of £300 or £400 a year and with senior positions at the top with salaries of £3,000 or £4,000 a year, and that between the bottom and the top there should be many grades with increasing salaries. Promotion should be partly by length of service, but chiefly by merit.

In such a service there would be no

discouragement of initiative, no diminished sense of responsibility and no encouragement of mediocrity. There would be sufficient pecuniary incentive to work, if indeed such an incentive is needed in a learned profession like medicine; but competition for patients and their fees would give place to competition for the advancement of knowledge and for the discovery of new methods of prevention, relief and cure.

The Case Against a State Medical Service.

By A. WELPLY, M.D.

There are, I suppose, few human institutions so wholly and absolutely bad as not to contain at least the germ of something good to recommend them, but the idea of a State Medical Service is one that I am convinced is so utterly subversive of the best interests of the public that I am unable to find anything whatever to recommend it.

It is quite arguable that the National Health Insurance is a State Service, but it is only a "part-time" one, which is a very different thing from what we are now discussing. The best feature of the Insurance Service is that it has, up to the present, preserved the principle of "free choice," that is to say that the patient has entire freedom to place his or her name on the list of the doctor he or she prefers, but with a "whole-time" service this would be practically impossible. No man, even a doctor, can reasonably be expected to be "on tap" every day, all day, and all night. Neither the nervous nor the muscular systems, and above all the heart, are capable of such a strain. It therefore results that the duties of the State Service would have to be divided up so that each man would have a separate and certain daily spell of duty and no more, just as the watches are divided on board ship. Again the districts must perforce be divided into particular areas, and no medical man would be allowed to perform a single duty that would carry him over the boundary of his allotted area; he would become like

the policeman who refuses to interfere in a highway robbery because it is taking place in a comrade's district—it isn't his beat! How then would it be possible for a patient living in a certain district to retain the services of a trusted medical adviser when higher authority had sternly restricted his energies to the next area or even one further off? True, the patient might remove into the district, rejoicing in the presence of the coveted doctor, but that doctor would be liable to be moved elsewhere by his superiors, and the last state of that patient would be worse than the first. Supposing all these difficulties overcome, and the patient theoretically able to claim the attendance of his favourite doctor in his own district, that doctor might be allocated under the State scheme to a class of work in which clinical (bedside) duties had no place. If known to be a good worker with the microscope, he might be nominated for bacteriological work, or he might have a gift for pathology (the naked eye study of disease); in either case he would be relegated to indoor work in a laboratory without ever treating a living person. The patient would then have to console himself by "freely" choosing a doctor in his own district whom he had never seen, who did not "understand his case," and who might turn out to be personally objectionable. Still, this would be labelled "free choice," as the doctor was selected by the patient.

It is the natural wish of every patient

to see the doctor he or she is used to and has confidence in, but in the working of any whole-time service not only may the patient be deprived of the advice of the doctor preferred, but it is quite likely that he or she, after making a confidant of one particular doctor, may have the next time to be contented with a total stranger who is "on duty" for his resting colleague, and at the next consultation, with still another.

Imagine the feelings of a woman who after some reluctance has unburdened her mind of the most intimate private details of her case, and then has to go through the same ordeal with a stranger whose manner and appearance may to her mind anything but justify the confidence she is perforce placing in him. These proceedings are not calculated to breed confidence, still less to inspire the patient with that hope of improvement, that will to live, which our modern science teaches us is not to be despised, especially as in many cases it is more than half the battle in the successful treatment of disease. All this will be lost with a Whole Time State Medical Service. The patient will become merely "a case," a meaningless name, to be entered on a card index and listed on a record with notes of the diagnosis progress, and treatment detailed in a "Clinical Report," the whole to be finally scrutinised, and the headings extracted for inclusion in vast statistical tables by non-medical clerks to whom all the most intimate and delicate details must be thrown open. How can all this be said to square with professional secrecy?

Any medical man who served during the war in the combatant or any other department of the Army will remember how much valuable time was wasted in filling up innumerable forms, registers and records (mostly in triplicate), most of them unintelligible when completed, and all for no object that was apparent to any reasonable human being. Panel doctors have become inured to this sort of thing, but I venture to say that the clerical work involved in any whole-time State Medical Service will be calculated to make the average Quartermaster-Sergeant turn green with envy.

In ordinary private practice, a doctor's income depends on the size of the

practice, so many patients or families, so many monthly, half-quarterly, or quarterly cheques as the case may be. Consequently the last thing that he wants to see happen is that a patient be dissatisfied. His virtues will be discussed at every five o'clock tea table among a circle of his patients and their friends, and we may rest assured that his shortcomings will not be denied an even wider advertisement. With a whole-time service the doctor runs no risk of losing the patient who, as already seen, must take him or leave him; his clientèle is as fixed as his salary, so what need he care how all the gossips of the place abuse him?

There is a very subtle thing known as Psychology. It means, as most people know, although many use the term without realising what it really does mean, the analysis of the stages of the human mind—the sorting and classification of its moods and tenses. To win the entire confidence of a patient, to acquire with regard to him that unique position, that is held neither by the father-confessor nor the family solicitor, but embracing the best qualities of each, with, in addition, something greater than either can be—this is to know the psychology of a patient. Often this correlation is acquired sub-consciously by each party, but it is there none the less, and it is this invaluable, unpurchasable affinity which the mechanical commercial association of a Whole Time State Service will utterly destroy. To sum up, the patient stands to lose all round.

But if the patient stands to lose, what of the taxpayer, the milch cow of every scheme of social reform? We have had ample proof during the last few years that Governments cannot run a business economically. When we reflect upon the army of officials necessitated by a complicated piece of machinery such as a Whole Time Medical Service is bound to be, it is obvious that the expenses of administration will put economy out of the question. There is another most important point, affected by finance. Human nature being constituted as it is, if a man is paid a certain fixed salary for performing particular duties, it is only the ultra-conscientious one who will go out of his way to do any more than is necessary,

whilst a more careless man whose conscience is not aggressive, and is unlikely to keep him awake at night by reminding him of the day's lapses from the path of duty, will content himself by performing the irreducible minimum of work. I do not for a moment say that these alternatives are certain or any more than possibilities—there are not many medical men who habitually shirk their work, but there are some, just as there are parsons and men in every walk of life who see just how little they can do for their money and take care to do no more.

The doctor in a Whole Time Service will have no stimulus to rise out of the groove of mediocrity. Competition will have disappeared, and however keen he may have been about his work, he will grow careless on seeing his brother practitioner, who is satisfied with doing half as much work, drawing the same salary as himself. One of the best whet-stones to a man's intelligence in the case we are considering—his self-culture in the art and mystery he practises,—is responsibility, but this is the very thing that a doctor under a Whole Time Service will try to divest himself of. He will get no more pay however much responsibility he assumes. That military art of passing things on—the "passed to you" game—will be adopted readily and will have the effect of choking every line of progress. Throughout the world the spur to advancement is self-interest. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the non-medical public that doctors are no more in practice "for their health" than other professional men. They are seldom possessed of much, if any, private means, and although there have been numbered among them wealthy men who have been in the fortunate position of practising their art for its own sake, the average doctor has to consider the winning of his bread and butter. This being so, the position of many men who are conscious of talent which lack of means alone prevents them from exercising and developing would under such a service be a hard one. Officially they would all be reduced to one dead level, and as genius would be not only unrewarded but unwanted, the same level of mediocrity would

characterise all and every work. The constant nervous tension engendered by the presence of a train of departmental superiors by whom the doctors' every action would be liable to be called in question could have but one result, the deadening of all initiative, and as already shown, the acceptance of all responsibility would be shunned, as by this means alone could safety be attained. There would, in fact, be no incentive to work. Ability would go unrecognised, promotion would be regulated, perhaps by seniority, more likely by political "pull," occasionally by social influence, and practically never by merit. Much promotion might fall to the lot of smart juniors who, in this case as in all other services, might shield an incompetent senior from the consequences of his ignorance, hence earning his gratitude and good offices when good things were going. Incompetence itself therefore would in this, as in other departments of the State, not be visited by anything worse than transference to another department where the ignorance of the transferee is able to avert further disaster.

It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the policy which underlies the agitation for a Whole Time State Medical Service. The violent attack upon the doctors by Mr. Myers during the third reading debate on the National Health Insurance Bill a few weeks ago was sufficient evidence to show that Socialists intend to exploit the medical profession to the uttermost.

The natives of the Belgian Congo were as freemen compared to the doctors' lot if Labour attains its ends; that its policy is already agreed and determined upon is clear from Mr. Myers' boast that the latest Health Insurance Bill (just passed) is not Labour's last word on the question. To satisfy the fads of Socialism, the private practice of medicine is to be abolished, sickness in every class, rank and calling is to be rendered more depressing by the denial of the doctor chosen and preferred, whilst the profession of medicine itself will be made so repellent and soul-destroying as to deter any but the failures in other ways of life from entering it.

Financial Sanity or—Political Folly.

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

A year after! How we have come down from heaven to earth during the twelve months that have elapsed since the signing of the Peace Treaty with Germany! There were two kinds of illusions cherished about the Treaty. One was the illusion that it was "Wilsonian," in conformity with the new spirit, the spirit of mankind which would abolish war for ever, which would seek some kind of tolerable basis of human relations even with the late enemy, which would erect a League of Nations placed above all national passions; which would, in a word, introduce conscience into politics.

How this set of hopes has been deceived! What illusions we must abandon! From the Wilsonian point of view the era which was inaugurated with the Treaty one year ago has contained nothing but disappointments. America deserts the League; Poland defies the League; the Great Powers mock the impotent League. We are still fighting Russia by proxy. Italy, even under Giolitti, longs for the Adriatic booty. The whole East is heavily overhung with a low red sky. We have had Ruhr expeditions, and Militarism is in the ascendant.

The red uniform which is to be brought out of the museum of the past is a symbol. We did fight the war in khaki and in horizon blue and in grey, all sober colours which may be taken to represent the soul of the world—a sober soul compelled against its will, sorrowfully, certainly seriously, to enter the struggle. But khaki is to give way to scarlet; and the scarlet represents the soul of our rulers. There are men who are in high places in every country who rejoice in the pomp and panoply of war, who are athirst for adventure, who instead of cultivating goodwill are bent upon prolonging the strife, whether in Asia Minor, or in Russia, or in Germany, or in Ireland, does not much matter. The soldier in khaki was a crusader; the return to scarlet means the return to blatancy and braggadocio that Kipling warns us against.

But if the so-called idealists on this anniversary of the signing of the Treaty are somewhat sad, the so-called realists who believed that they had registered their triumph in this same Treaty are also gnashing their teeth to-day. They poured scorn on the Wilsonians, but what has happened in respect of the non-Wilsonian peace-making? Germany is not disarmed, although the Treaty insists on her disarmament. Reparations are not secured, in spite of promises that Germany should pay, and even the statesmen who are now engaged in making what was an indefinite debt into a definite debt know in their hearts that Germany will not pay. All these meetings at Hythe, at Boulogne, at Brussels, at Spa, are largely farcical. What is more, everybody knows they are farcical. I wish the confiding people who look upon statesmen as great personages, endowed with special faculties and superhuman powers of reason, could really come into contact with them for a week or so. The fact is that they are fooling; and anybody who has participated in any way in these peripatetic conferences knows it. They resolve only to dissolve; they propose only to dispose. After every meeting they come to some sort of vague conclusions which they cannot themselves express the next morning. Hence the grotesque misunderstandings. That the newspapers should cry that there is accord when there is only discord, that they should publish fantastic proposals which contradict each other, is natural enough; for present-day diplomacy, among other characteristics, has the habit of giving out misleading information to the Press. One instance of the unbusinesslike methods of the Supreme Council will suffice.

Last year Mr. Lloyd George—in my opinion wrongly—considered that what was much more important to England than the amount of money to be received was the division of it. I ventured to suggest that we, having got our way about the German ships, about the German Colonies, about many matters that specially interested us, while France had got her way about little except the principle

of receiving huge sums from Germany which would certainly never materialise—I ventured to suggest that England might well forego her share of these purely hypothetical payments. To put it in cynical terms, though I was certainly not cynical at that time, we should have lost nothing (or next to nothing) by making this *badu geste*. We would have waived our claims to highly problematic reparation! We would have made a renunciation, which would have been more pretentious than real, in favour of France. Our rather cheap generosity (I admit now that it would have been cheap) would at least have persuaded France that we were not greedy. It might have spared us many reproaches that are now levelled against us every day from across the Channel, where the impression prevails that we obtained the substance and then even quarrelled about our share of the shadow! It was plain from the beginning that the Allies would have a good deal of dispute concerning the division of spoils; and I was not alone in believing that it would have been better for England to have kept out of this dispute. The Prime Minister thought otherwise. He repeated in little circles a phrase which apparently pleased him (and he is a slave to his own phrases): "It's not the size of the joint that matters: it's the way it's to be cut up."

Well, the cutting-up process has given more trouble and is more of a menace to the Entente Cordiale than anything else that could have been devised by an enemy of the Entente. The cutting-up process nearly cut up the Entente. Belgium and Italy were clamorous, and they helped to put off the Allied understanding and so put off Spa. They asked, and with some justice, why England and France should arrange what they themselves were to receive without consulting other countries which might be less powerful, but which have certainly suffered and whose friendship is of great importance to us. Why indeed should France and England run off into a corner and arrange in private conversations how much they will take without regard to what Serbia or any other country shall have? There are alliances within the Alliance, and the other Allies look on suspiciously and jealously. This would have been avoided so far as England is concerned, if she had

surrendered her imaginary share of a fictitious indemnity.

But worse: much worse. So badly do statesmen do their business that over this stupid piece of politics (for it is hardly necessary to say that the whole attitude of the representatives of France and England is dictated not by sound financial considerations but out of regard for mere political utilities) the good relations of the two Channel countries were again put in jeopardy. It was agreed that for every 11 received by France 5 should come to England. That is what was written in the British version of the arrangement by Sir Maurice Hankey. But the French adopted the figures of 55 and 25—the proportion remaining the same though the amounts are multiplied. In itself it is of no importance whether one expresses the relationship of British and French claims as 11 against 5, or 55 against 25. But it is obvious that expressed in the latter form it has the appearance of a percentage. Expressed as the British express it, it has the appearance of a proportion. What is the difference? It is enormous.

That was one of the prickly problems which arose even before the Allies could resolve to face Fehrenbach, the German Chancellor, at Spa. I think the incident is illuminating: it illustrates many things. Among others it illustrates the utter incompetence of the statesmen—diplomats who were not business-like enough or straightforward enough to make their meaning perfectly plain. It illustrates how foolish politics are taking the place of sane finance in all our discussions of reparations. For in England Mr. Lloyd George was not so much concerned to get money from Germany as to show the British people that we would have a good share compared with France of whatever was forthcoming. In France M. Clemenceau and later M. Millerand were not so much anxious to compare their possible receipts with those of England as with those of the Allies in general. The basis of the agreement was quietly changed. The total was put at 100, of which France was to receive the lion's share of 55; England and France together were to receive 80 per cent., leaving only 20 to all the other Allies. Now Italy alone wanted 20 per cent. Why should France and England

calmly allocate to themselves so much? The quarrel over the skin of the bear was fierce; but the bear was not yet skinned.

Because of this substitution of politics for finance France believes that we have in some way tricked her. The fact is she has tricked herself. It was not a percentage but a proportion as between France and England that was arranged. The total, so far as this agreement goes, might have been fixed at 150 or 200 or any other figure instead of 100.

If I have insisted at some length upon this particular difficulty, which is only one of many that arose, it is because, better than any other, it shows how inexact are the politicians, and how dangerous are politics which are divorced from realities.

But indeed the whole European situation can be summed up in the statement that we see a struggle between political folly and financial sanity. Financiers, men of affairs, experts, and the politicians themselves realise that the hollow pretences which have been put forward for so long are becoming dangerous. The will of the wisp of huge indemnities will lead us into a bog from which it will be hard to extricate ourselves. It was good enough at the election to talk of recovering everything from Germany (everything, alas! save our dead!), but all sensible men know that the time has come to stop chasing a ghost. France is for the first time looking her problems seriously in the face. She enters on a period of stern taxation. She imposes upon herself eight milliard francs of new taxes. It is a terrible burden; but it is better to shoulder it than to keep on waiting for the fair and refreshing fruit to drop from the German tree. Business men of five nations—America, England, Belgium, Italy—have met in Paris to found a World Chamber of Commerce in which it is hoped to include Germany and later on Russia. Only the common sense of commerce will rescue the world from the politicians. Trade must be international: manufacturers and merchants and bankers know that you cannot, in the world as it is now constituted, put Germany outside the pale. If business has been blamed for breeding wars (a reproach which is true) the internationalism of trade may still bring about true peace.

Let us go right to the heart of this Spa affair. While Germany is weak she cannot pay huge sums, whatever may be done to furnish politicians with oratorical tags. When Germany is strong she will not pay. There is the brutal truth. At present, she is weak. It is, whether we like it or not, not to the benefit of the world that she should remain weak. In providing her with the means of paying, the Allies will certainly deprive her of the will to pay.

The idea of international loans or bonds is good from many points of view, but we shall be wise if we look at the idea coldly and not pretend that it is something which it is not. We have had too much "bourrage de crane," and business men will in any case regard the facts. An international loan could have been accompanied a year ago, if we had not been so engrossed in politics, by a generous cancellation of debts all round. To-day it is hard to imagine that cancellation will be agreed to.

It was purely for political purposes that the proposal was made a month or so ago to substitute for the priority of France in reparations the principle of parallel payments. Parallel payments meant that when France received money from Germany she would repay her debts to England. If she did not receive anything she would not pay. Why was this suggestion put forward when Mr. Lloyd George knew perfectly well that it meant nothing? It was put forward because Mr. Lloyd George was afraid that if we said that France should obtain something and we might obtain nothing there would be a political outcry. With his eyes on the hostile newspaper and Parliamentary critics he refused to agree to French priority, however little or however much priority really means in this connection. But M. Millerand also has political enemies. There is M. Poincaré. M. Poincaré is just now the most formidable figure in France. He stands for ~~inter-~~ reparations; he stands for French right in the full political sense of the term. If M. Millerand faltered in his negotiations—that is to say if he placed himself on the terrain of sound finance, of grim reality—then M. Poincaré would take care that the Parliamentary wolves fell upon him. M. Poincaré is looked upon as the eventual successor of M. Millerand

The Bloc National in France is particularly susceptible to any outcry that Germany is being let down lightly or that France is being cheated either by Germany or by any other nation. Therefore M. Millerand is bound to pursue a course which is rather political than financial. Whatever he may personally think of a reasonable adjustment, even the reasonable adjustment of San Remo, he is compelled to look to his majority. Now priority was the price which the Bloc National demanded for any concessions to Germany. M. Millerand could not obtain priority, but he came back with "something just as good" as they say in the shops. He came back with the system of parallel payments.

What a comedy High Politics are becoming! Parallel payments served their turn. The French Parliament grumbled but accepted them. And then suddenly parallel payments were quietly dropped. America would not agree with England about a system which would make the payment of British debts contingent upon Germany's payments of her debts; and so the Franco-British arrangement also fell through. Just as the famous Franco-Americo-British military pact which was contingent on American ratification had fallen through! Just as the guarantees promised by the League of Nations had fallen through! It was surely never seriously thought that America would come in; but the fiction served its turn. There is an incredible discrepancy in international politics to-day. It is hardly necessary to make the political expedient into the semblance of a serious intention.

Note that the real view of the British Government about the possibility of France obtaining reparations from Germany was revealed in this refusal to make our own credits depend upon such payments.

Political expediency is why the statesmen will lean towards large sums, when the demand for large sums defeats its own purpose. It is not a case of getting more because more is asked. The bigger the amount, the less will be forthcoming. If a company prospectus exaggerates too palpably, then less funds will be subscribed than if a more modest estimate were given. Bogus promises in company

promoting are called by a harsh name; but in international affairs they are called politics.

Then too the fondness for some elasticity in the amount is against the advice of all financial experts. Only politicians desire to be nebulous. The precise and final fixation of indemnities would lay them open to the clear criticism of those whom they had misled. If there can only be the smallest element of uncertainty, the door is open for doubt. Illusions may still walk in. The business of mystification can continue. The two series of payments which were proposed—one of fixed instalments and the other of variable instalments—have such an obvious explanation. Always camouflage; always fear of sensible solutions. Phrases are preferred to figures.

Not for a moment should the bad faith of Germany be defended. But what clear-eyed man among us expects Germany to be a cheerful debtor anxious to square accounts? It is not in the nature of things that debtors should pay up if they can evade their obligations. It is silly to kick against the pricks. It is pure "politics," unworthy of men of intelligence, to fulminate about bad faith. It is our business to ascertain what we can properly hope to obtain and to go the right way to work to obtain it. A politician who has also a sense of finance put it to me in this fashion: "How do you suppose England, who is comparatively well off, could pay indemnities running into many milliards? How could France take up such debts? We know it is impossible. Why then is it thought possible that Germany can shoulder not only her own debts but, economically crushed as she is, make integral reparations besides? She should be made to pay all that it is possible to get out of her; but it is not consistent with common sense to suppose she can do tremendous things that we could not do." After all, we flatter Germany in putting the figure too high. But whatever the figure is, we should carefully calculate our own powers of extorting it. Otherwise we will look foolish!

Now it is precisely our own means of extorting indemnities that we have refused to examine. What are they? Even M. Poincaré is doubtful. In an article in the *Temps*, in which he laments

the collapse of our policy of the last twelve months, he asks certain questions which he does not answer. How will it be possible to prevent Germany from reconstituting her army in the years to come? How can we enforce the delivery of coal as laid down in the Treaty? When can we have what is owing to us settled? Spa is practically the anniversary of Versailles. Versailles has failed. Will Spa succeed? It is only by entirely new methods that Europe will secure that peace which is essential. Financial sanity will lead to peace. Political folly means the negation of peace, even though the guns are silent. Financial sanity consists not only in letting Europe know the truth about its situation, in asking from Germany neither more nor less than Germany can pay, without regard to electioneering possibilities and Parliamentary combinations, but in considering

how payment can be guaranteed without more expense and more economic disturbance than the payment will be worth. The cost of armies of occupation for twenty, thirty, fifty years, must be taken into account. The moral effect of placing Germany in the position of a bankrupt country, with its revenue (customs duties or taxes) controlled by Foreign Powers, must also be reckoned up. Indeed, moral effects generally come into the sum. Any policy which prevents Germany from working hard, which gives her an interest in remaining poor, or makes her apathetic, is a menace to Europe as a whole, for moral effects are infectious.

Mr. Lloyd George in one of his best moments said in my presence (and his exclamation is to his credit and may well be repeated): "If we statesmen cannot face the facts and do what is wise, then we must clear out." Precisely.



De Notenkruiker]

The Fanatical Peacemakers.

[Amsterdam

"Everyone in turn."

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

TURKEY'S WORST GRIEVANCE.

A strong criticism of the Turkish Treaty by Mr. H. Charles Woods appears in the *Fortnightly Review* (July). The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire is veiled by leaving the Turks nominally at Constantinople, and by other provisions, but the position of the Sultan is to be reduced from that of a potentate of first-class rank to one whose independent sovereignty has ceased to exist. For example, the bodyguard of 700 men he is permitted is nothing for the upkeep of Oriental state and splendour. This detail is one of the many indications, according to Mr. Woods, that the Treaty shows bad statesmanship.

A careful perusal of the official summary of the Treaty, and unfortunately an often vague and sometimes only very general summary is all that is available at the time of writing, suggests that the latest attempt to settle the Near Eastern question has been influenced by a desire to secure a series of compromises, that it has been framed without any firm determination to achieve finality, and that it has been conceived with the object of securing for M. Venizelos one of the greatest diplomatic triumphs of the war.

The decision to leave the Turk in Constantinople, without either power or dignity, is another compromise. Mr. Woods feels that "the reservation concerning the sovereignty over Constantinople leaves the way open for future intrigue, disagreement and political trouble."

The placing of Constantinople itself under the control of a body which "exercises its authority in complete independence of the local authority" (which local authority is the Sultan in his own capital), hardly appears to justify the confidence, expressed in the Viceroy's recent message of encouragement and sympathy to Moslem India, that "with the conclusion of this new Treaty that friendship [between Great Britain and Turkey] will quickly take life again, and that a Turkey, regenerate and full of hope

and strength, will stand forth, in the future as in the past, a pillar of Islamic faith." Moreover, ignoring other reasons into which I will enter below, I think that, even from the purely international standpoint, it would have been more practical had the owner of the land on each side of the Straits been Turkey, for in that case the work of the managers of the Super-State—the "Commission of the Straits"—would have been simplified.

The stumbling block of the Treaty, however, is not Constantinople but the new position of Greece. It is the most remarkable feature of the settlement, "a feature undoubtedly more resented by Turkey and by the Moslem World than almost any other section of this fateful document." The concessions to Greece, giving that country as great territorial advantages in proportion to its size as any nation engaged in the war, contradict Mr. Wilson's twelfth "point," stating that "the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty."

It therefore remains to be proved if the disadvantages due to the loss of British prestige, which must result from a juggling with words, can be counter-balanced by any advantages to be secured from the acquisition of the goodwill of Greece, where the future largely depends upon whether the people have sufficient gratitude to realise that they owe their new position almost entirely to the sagacity of M. Venizelos and upon whether that statesman is able to continue to pursue a wise policy and at the same time to enjoy the confidence of a nation whose aspirations are most difficult of gratification.

Western Thrace, which may be defined as the area stretching from the mouth of the Mesta on the West to that of the Maritza on the East, passed from Turkey to Bulgaria as a result of the Balkan wars. The Foreign Office statistics show that: "Of the new population added (to Bulgaria) after the Treaty of Bucharest (1913), 227,598 were Bul-

garians, 75,337 Romaks, 275,498 Turks, and 58,709 Greeks."

The arrangement made by the Treaty of London in 1913, for the formation of a common Turco-Bulgarian frontier on the Enos-Midia line, would on the whole have constituted the best solution. It would have avoided the dangers and disadvantages of leaving Constantinople within the range of enemy guns, and, whilst it would have entailed hardships for Turkey and for Greece in the direction of the principle of nationalities, it might have tended towards the establishment of friendly relations between the three countries. If such a settlement were not possible under the existing circumstances, and I agree that it was hardly possible, then surely it would have been better either to have left the Turkish and the Bulgarian frontiers more or less as they were before the European War, establishing the Straits

control to the south-east of the Enos-Midia line, and perhaps giving part of North-Eastern Thrace to Bulgaria as suggested by President Wilson in his Note of March 31st, or to have internationalised the whole area at the disposal of the Allies by the Treaty of Neuilly together with what was Turkish Thrace before the war.

About Smyrna, Mr. Woods contends that the arrangement will not pass the practical test. In fact this is the keynote of the article. He endeavours to show, as Mr. Keynes did with regard to the Treaty of Versailles, that the Turkish Peace Treaty is neither based on sound diplomacy nor on high principles. It is no more than a compromise, determined by the expediency of the moment.

THE LESSONS OF AMRITSAR.

Three of the July reviews devote space to articles on the Hunter Reports. Different shades of opinion as to the findings are expressed; but on the whole the writers show a commendable tendency to treat the matter judicially and, while urging their particular point of view, to refrain from diatribe and violent accusations. In the *Contemporary* Mr. St. Nihal Singh writes for the Minority side. He begins by pointing out that the Hunter Committee was divided along the racial line and that in many other respects the inquiry was marred. It was undertaken by nominees of a Government whose own acts were under examination. It was delayed beyond reason. Very little more than official evidence was secured. Next, he recalls the outstanding differences between the Majority and Minority Reports as regards the character of the disturbances and the political importance to be attached to them; and goes on to point out that there was great disparity between the Government's handling of the situation in the Punjab and that in other provinces.

Though disturbances in the Bombay Presidency had been accompanied by no less violence than those in the Punjab, yet the authorities in the two provinces behaved very differently. The atrocities committed in

Ahmedabad, for instance, were as bad as, if not worse than, those perpetrated in Amritsar. The executive in Ahmedabad, however, refrained from taking any action "savouring of a desire to punish the whole population or to teach them a lesson" for murder and arson, and that town entirely escaped the horrors of martial law. Amritsar, on the contrary, was committed to the tender mercies of General Dyer. . . . In Bombay, the capital of the Presidency of that name, angry mobs were dispersed without any firing, whereas in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, recourse was had to shooting more than once, although the crowds there, as in Bombay, had molested no one and destroyed no property. Martial law was, moreover, introduced in Lahore on April 15th, administered intensively to humiliate and even to terrorise the educated and student community, and continued until June 9th.

It is not without significance that the province which underwent these horrors was ruled by a permanent official—a member of the "Indian" Civil Service—whereas the one that escaped humiliation and suffering was administered by a parliamentarian.

The writer complains that this great contrast of methods was not touched upon by the Secretary of State in his despatch to the Governor-General of the Punjab, and that in the Government of India despatch "all reference to the comparison made to the disadvantage of the Punjab authorities is omitted." There

are other alleged omissions of which two may be cited.

Not a word is said about the intention of H.M. Government in regard to legislation which abridges Indian freedom. The omission of all reference to the Rowlatt Act is serious because its passage last year, in defiance of Indian opinion and out of the Legislative Council gave Indians to the verge of hopelessness, and gave birth to the movement of civil disobedience to that and other repressive laws. The bureaucracy, in trying to crush that movement by issuing *lettres de cachet* and otherwise interfering with the liberty of Indian leaders, set the Punjab on fire. Most serious omission of all, not the slightest indication is given as to the provision which His Majesty's Government propose to make to give popular representatives power to prevent the provincial authorities from acting in a manner that might precipitate similar crises.

The article ends with an appeal to Britain to "try to win back Indian confidence and affection" by offering "such redress as is possible in the circumstance."

In the *Fortnightly Review* Mr. Stanley Rice warns his readers that the Majority Report's disclaimer of evidence to prove a pre-concerted plot does not necessarily mean that a plot did not exist. But neither of the Reports exactly satisfies this writer. As regards that of the Indian Minority,

The impression left is that, while the evidence has been carefully examined in detail, there is a failure to grasp the situation as a whole, in spite of such passing phrases as "their cumulative effect is not in our view such as to lead to a conclusion in favour of such introduction." The Majority Report, on the other hand, lacks decision and emphasis: the "crawling" order, for instance, is criticised in these dignified but colourless words: "In subjecting the Indian population to an act of humiliation it has continued to be a cause of bitterness and racial ill feeling." The Cabinet, in no less dignified words, was not afraid to speak out. "The order," they say, "offended against every canon of civilised government" and every one who is not prejudiced will agree. Again, their condemnation of General Dyer lacks precision. They cannot "draw the conclusion" that General Dyer saved the situation and averted a rebellion "similar in scale to the Mutiny," but they find that there was a rebellion which might have become a revolution and yet they say, obviously with disapproval, that General Dyer "had in view not merely the dispersal of the crowd but the desire to produce a moral effect"; and this moral effect, according to Sir M. O'Dwyer and the Government of India, "crushed the rebellion" and put an

end to the disturbances. The Majority seem to turn now to the general situation and now to the particular episode in a manner which leaves their final conclusions unconvincing and confused.

The somewhat strange view is expressed that there was nothing in the Rowlatt Act to which the mass of the people, "uninstructed by the leaders and the educated classes," would have taken exception.

The "Servant of India" wrote on March 6th, "If resistance is confined to the provisions of this particular legislation there is little chance of a conflict arising with the authorities. One may passively resist the Rowlatt Acts for years without ever coming in the path of the police." Or again, the Minority quote, apparently with approval, a report of Lieut.-Col. Smithers, in which he says: "Most outlying villages had not even heard of the Rowlatt Bill."

Mr. Rice also refers to the deflection of public attention from the riots elsewhere to those in the Punjab, but not to the less provocative manner in which the former were repressed. General Dyer's attitude is to some extent extenuated. The principle of creating a moral effect by drastic action of this kind is defended, and in any case an "exceptional and isolated instance of 'frightfulness,' if the word is admitted," cannot be fitly compared with the systematic terror on which the Prussians relied as a part of their creed. On the other hand, the General's subsequent conduct "gave the unhappy impression of vindictiveness." The "crawling order" in particular was wholly indefensible. "In fact, martial law seems to have been administered with a harshness which at times and in individual cases overstepped the bounds of justice and which, though perhaps dictated in part by the gravity of the situation, seems to have been also inspired by not unnatural resentment at the excesses."

It comes then to this. The Punjab was in a state of rebellion which threatened to become revolution, and who is to say whether a revolution once the flood gates are opened will not attain the dimensions of the Mutiny? The coincidence of the outbreaks had at least suggested a conspiracy and the Punjab Government could hardly do otherwise than act upon the assumption that it existed. The letters of the Archbishop of Simla and of Miss Purnell in the *Times* show how critical the position was. General Dyer was therefore right in principle but unfortunate in some of

the details. Even though he gave no warning, it was not unreasonable to assume that his proclamation posted up in nineteen places and announced by beat of drum, was widely known and the letters mentioned show that the countryside was by no means ignorant of the march of events at Amritsar. The General was in a very difficult position—all the more because the Civil authorities seem to have effaced themselves from the moment of his arrival. Had he not marred his action by certain subsequent acts, it is not unlikely that he would have received as much approval in England as he seems to have received from his countrymen in India—and it may fairly be argued that they alone are competent to judge. The lesson has been administered and the sooner the Civil Power is co-ordinated with the military in such crises, the better for the Government and the better for India.

The "Reflections on the Hunter Report," which General Sir O'Moore Creagh contributes to the *Nineteenth Century*, represent the military point of view—as one would expect from the late Commander-in-Chief in India. A good part of the article summarises the real grievances of the Indian agriculturists, who are taxed exorbitantly "to pay for the education of babus and to provide Government appointments for them and their relations," and criticizes Mr. Montagu's handling of the "caste" problem.

Since the invention of the caste system some thirty centuries ago India has been a disunited land, and its unification as a nation conscious of national unity of purpose and destiny is the vainest of vain dreams. Mr. Montagu's announcement that this was his goal has revived ancient animosities and every caste of importance is engaged in active intrigue to supply the ruler, so that to-day caste enmity is worse than ever and the most hated people are Mr. Montagu and his "politically minded" allies.

"It is as ridiculous," writes the General, "to expect an Indian public opinion as it is to expect an Indian nation. In such a human complex there can be no such thing." There are rich castes in the towns which control the press, and so are able to crush any opinion they like; and there are the rural castes who are comparatively loyal, or would be if they were left alone by the agitators. Also there are martial castes, living in foreign lands who have given a good deal of trouble. "It was Sikhs from the Far East who gave most trouble in the Punjab."

Sir O'Moore suggests that had the

Hunter Committee properly considered these matters "it might have done some good." He goes on to complain that the Committee inquires into each local outbreak, but gives no picture of the occurrence as a whole; that there was unreasonable delay in beginning the inquiry; and that the Indian Government allowed Mr. Ghandi to preach rebellion. Finally,

I consider the condemnation of the sentences passed under martial law uncalled for. It seems to me that the Committee should be called upon to state why it severely censured the British and Indian officials who did their duty and merely treated as an incident the action of the police who behaved so badly under a sub-inspector at Amritsar Rotwali. In my opinion Brigadier-General Dyer saved the situation; whether he fired too many rounds or not no one can say who was not on the spot.



The Looker On]

[Calcutta

An Unwitting Truth.

Extremist Agitator:—"Presently, my friends, the Government will hang themselves with their own rope, and then—it will be our turn!"

TREACHERY IN ARMENIA.

Who is General D——? A remarkable story accusing British troops in Armenia of conduct "of which every true Englishman must be ashamed," is told by Mr. John Elder, director of American Relief at Erivan, in *The New Armenia* (May). If his information is accurate, at least one massacre was due to the neglect of British officers, and numerous horrors could have been prevented if our troops had not been guilty of negligence and of double dealings. According to Mr. Elder, the Armenians have been betrayed by the very men sent to save them.

In January, 1918, England and America were informed that unless money and troops were sent immediately to the Caucasus, massacres on a wholly unprecedented scale would take place.

The English officers comprising the Military Mission refused even to go to the front. In luxurious quarters in Tiflis they idled away their time in wining and dining while the Armenians put up their heroic fight at the front. Their presence at the front might have changed defeat into victory. At Alexandropol an entire battery of Lewis machine guns with three million rounds of ammunition lay unused because the Armenians had no officers to man them. Again at Karaklish three thousand of them were surrounded and destroyed because they were poorly officered, while the English officers sat in Tiflis two hundred miles from the front. The Armenians, with unbounded confidence in the promises made by the English officers, had given the entire mission honorary decorations, a confidence which was rewarded in May, 1918, when at the approach of the Turks, who were still 175 miles from Tiflis, the English Mission fled the country. But one member of the Mission, a young American by the name of McDowell, refused to take part in this cowardly desertion, resigned from the English service, and threw in his lot with the Armenians. The English who deserted the Armenians did not return until the crisis had passed.

The next appearance of Allied aid was in Baku, from which the Armenians had driven the Tartars in April. All through the summer the English kept sending word that they were coming to help, and in the early part of September they arrived at Baku. Having secured a promise of a ship-load of gasoline a day they entered Baku, with the result that the Turkish troops were reinforced. Three weeks afterwards the English announced their intention to withdraw. The Armenians pointed out the peril of

the Turkish reinforcements and the English promised to stay, but secretly continued to make preparations for leaving.

Three weeks later their plans were completed. While the fighting was going on the English on the right side of the city abandoned their positions, saying to the Armenians that they were going to reinforce the left flank. Those on the left side duplicated the manoeuvre, saying they were going to the right flank. Both parties met in the city and made for the boats. When the townspeople saw what was going on, a panic ensued and they poured down to the shore to go away with the English. The panic soon spread to the soldiers in the trenches. In the confusion that ensued the enemy swept forward, entered the city, and during the next three days looted every wealthy home in Baku, and massacred from fifteen to twenty thousand people,—then General D—— had the nerve to say that the Armenians had failed to back him up.

General B——, writes Mr. Elder, was apparently one of the finest men he knew, and yet he was responsible for the death of thousands of refugees. In a visit to Alexandropol in February he told the refugees to wait four more days and they could go back to the Kars district. The news spread, and before long thirty thousand refugees crowded into Alexandropol, ready to go back home. The permission did not come for three months of unutterable misery, during which the sixty-eight thousand refugees in the city slowly starved or died of typhus so fast that they could not be buried.

And when in May permission did come to advance, what a permission it was! General D——, whose criminal blindness is an eternal disgrace to the uniform he wore, had concocted a most inhuman scheme. The refugees were to go out unarmed, a hundred and twenty thousand of them; with them would go a small force of English soldiers who would stay for three days or a week and then withdraw. Thus there would be left a hundred and twenty thousand refugees surrounded on every side by hostile Tartars, every one of them fully armed. The only possible result would be the massacre of the Armenians.

Three Americans stated the facts to the Armenian Cabinet and General D—— guaranteed to leave his troops for at least a month. Many of the refugees were able to withdraw in safety.

Toward Nakhichevan, however, they were not so fortunate. Here the English withdrew after a scant two weeks' stay, leaving

some fifteen thousand refugees surrounded by hostile Tartars. Within two weeks after their departure ten thousand of these Armenians had been massacred. This was in July, 1919. In August, 1919, the English Mission left Erivan. On September 11, the Tartars advanced from the south and fifty thousand Armenians were driven from the

Igdir district; they were most all of them women and children. A thousand American troops could have saved them.

These sensational revelations would be more convincing if actual names were given. We repeat our query.

THE ROMANCE OF PILSUDSKI

A vivid sketch of General Pilsudski, the Polish Commander-in-Chief, is published in the *English Review* (June) over the signature of Sir Thomas Barclay. Born amid the insurrection of 1863, he has striven consistently for the realisation of his country's dream of independence. His policy, especially his later policy, may have been mistaken; but no one will deny that his purpose has been single-minded throughout.

Here is his personality.

He has rather sad eyes. His drooping eyebrows, drooping moustache, and lank hair add their touch of melancholy to a face which reminds one of his country, of the vigour of its history compared with its languid scenery, the energy of its dances compared with the wail of the accompanying music—a country of extremes and contrasts. And when I told the General some incidents which amused him, he dropped his melancholy like a cap, and laughed as heartily as a boy. Though fifty-three years of age, he shows hardly a streak of grey in his hair.

While still a student at Wilna and Kharkow, he developed socialistic sympathies, and in 1887 was duly deported to Siberia. Five years later he was able to settle at Lodz, where he joined the newly formed "Polish Socialist Party," the primary object of which was the emancipation of Poland from the Russian oppressor. Arrested and confined in the citadel at Warsaw in 1900, Pilsudski simulated insanity so successfully as to procure his transfer by the Russian authorities to the Military Asylum at Petrograd. Hence with the aid of a young Polish medical specialist, who had contrived to become a member of the asylum staff, he escaped, settled at Cracow, and went on with his task of forming a Polish Legion for his country's deliverance. Early in 1914 the European War was already in the air, but Pilsudski thought that it would be confined to Russia and Austria. As a result, at the outbreak he found himself and his Legion

pledged to the German side. But in 1916, a painful experience of German military methods caused him to resign his command. The next year the situation was completely changed by the Russian Revolution. Russia was no longer the enemy; and Pilsudski declined to let the German and Austro-Hungarian military authorities have the use of his Legion. Consequently he was arrested as being "the soul of the Polish opposition to Germany," and interned at Magdeburg. But in 1918 he returned to Poland, to take up his position as "Chief of the State." That position he still holds.

In January, 1919, a general election to the Polish Parliament gave a considerable majority to the peasants or Conservatives, and the Socialists were in a decided minority. The Constitution is still in course of elaboration. Nobody I have met in capital, town or village, however, disputes the necessity of retaining the Socialist Pilsudski at the head of the new State. In the choice of his advisers his freedom from party bias has inspired confidence even in quarters where Socialism is regarded with abhorrence. But it must be remembered that the Polish Socialist Party is essentially a national party: the independence of Poland was its first principle; the consolidation of that independence is its present one, and till it has been made sure, the wider problems of Socialism remains of secondary importance.

Poland, said Pilsudski, has been rushed into existence. A scaffolding of independence had been hastily run up. A solid dwelling had still to be erected. The bricks and mortar and tools were lying about unclaimed. And while Polish statesmen need all their wit and energies for the gigantic task of construction, Poland has to keep up and increase a vast army to secure frontiers not yet fixed, to keep what she has won. The task is terrific, but it will be carried out steadily without the hysterical makeshift policy some people seem to think is statesmanship.

There is considerable doubt whether Poland is going the best way to achieve her aim. But this article is very serviceable in crystallising her point of view, and that of her romantic and distinguished leader.

THE THREAT TO BRITISH SEA POWER.

In the *Fortnightly Review* (June), under the title "Shall we suffer eclipse by sea? American Progress," Mr. Archibald Hurd paints a somewhat alarming picture of the menace to British sea power, naval and commercial, from American competition. There are German and Irish in America who would gladly use the maritime rivalry of the two nations for fanning into flame the existing national jealousies, and there can be no doubt that the recent expansion of American shipbuilding derives a good deal of driving force from these elements. Whether they will succeed in their ultimate object of extranging the respective countries, only the future will show.

Everybody has some notion of the extent of the American naval programme. Mr. Hurd sums up what will be the position if it is carried out.

When Mr. Josephus Daniels, the Secretary for the United States Navy, told the members of Congress that the American Navy "must be second to none in the world," he was indulging in no empty and boastful phrase. *If naval power is to be judged by the number of most efficient capital ships possessed by any country, then within three, or at most four, years, the American Fleet will have out-distanced the British Fleet.* This is not a matter of idle prophecy, but is a statement which rests upon events which cannot now be annulled and on work which is in steady progress in the American shipyards. . . . As a consequence of the activity which is now being exhibited in the United States and the inactivity which has been deliberately enforced upon British shipyards, engineering establishments and ordnance works, the United States will rank ahead of this country, at latest, by 1924 in capital ships of the largest, most powerful, and most recently built classes.

The figures show that by 1924 America will have 16 first-class Capital ships against 13 British of the same category, and 11 second-class Capital ships as against the British 16. A member of Congress, Mr. Britten, has estimated that the total tonnage of the American ships will give them a superiority of 284,550 tons. In regard to armament the same authority says:

In main batteries we have 340 guns to 314 for the British, with an average of 10.3 big guns per ship, to the British 8.97 guns per ship, while our guns will average 14½ inches against the British 13½ inches, and this would appear to give us a tremendous advantage

in weight of steel thrown by one boardside, when we will hurl 548,400 pounds against 452,000 pounds by all British big guns.

In secondary batteries:

Our 494 guns in this class average 5.4 inch calibre against the British 526 guns with an average of 4.9 inches, showing our guns to average larger in calibre and power, throwing 40,158 pounds projectiles against 32,080 for the British secondary battery, which means that our ships will average 1,216½ pounds against 916½ pounds for the British, or more than thirty-three per cent. to our Navy's advantage.

On the question whether the eighteen battleships and battle-cruisers, now being built by the Navy Department, will rank as first-class eight or nine years hence, Mr. Hurd declines to dogmatise. He gives some reasons for supposing that they won't.

Passing to merchant shipping, he points to the vast increase of the American sea-going fleet since the outbreak of the Great War—an increase of 392.1 per cent.—and says that by the end of this year American merchant shipping will amount to about 13,800,000 gross tons. America is creeping up to this country's aggregate,

for while American yards are building almost exclusively for the American flag, one-third of the tonnage in hand in British establishments will in accordance with post-war arrangements made with France, Italy, and Norway, pass to the registers of those countries. In effect, what has happened is that the United States, so far as sea power is concerned, has stepped into the position which Germany occupied six years ago; but while the Germans, with their tongues in their cheeks, protested that they had no intention of out-rivalling this country, some American Ministers and others make no secret of their ambition to oust this country from the place on the seas which it has held for several centuries.

As regards our own policy in shipping matters, Mr. Hurd pins his faith to private enterprise.

The conception of the British mercantile marine, worked by a central organisation, is one which is calculated to make experienced shipowners, as well as manufacturers and merchants, despair of the sanity of many of their fellow-countrymen. It would have to control the movement of upwards of 8,000 steamships, apart from several thousand sailing vessels, barges, tenders, and the other miscellaneous craft which serve the larger ships; and of those steamships no mean proportion trade between foreign ports carrying at times exclusively foreign goods.

THE WAR ON EX-SERVICE MEN.

"In these days of disillusion it is hard to recall with vividness the idealism of the Great War. . . . In considering the attitude of Trade Unions towards ex-Service men, it is, alas, ironical to remember the optimism and splendour of our early vision." So Lieut.-Colonel Gerald B. Hurst begins an article in the *Nineteenth Century* (June), which he entitles, with military bluntness, "Foul Play for the ex-Service Man."

The writer recalls the appeals that were made to the Trade Unions to relax their rules with regard to the admission to industry of discharged and disabled soldiers and sailors; their negative response; the strikes at works where ex-officers or others had been engaged; the special animosity shown to the disabled; and the prosecution of Mr. Hopkinson (who employed badly injured ex-soldiers at his works) by the Joint Committee of Engineering and Kindred Trades for contravention of the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act, 1919.

If we are able to put aside all considerations of justice and gratitude, and to view the whole attitude of the Trade Unions which have identified themselves with this policy of hostility towards the ex-Service man merely as dispassionate economists, it is difficult to recognise any redeeming feature. The economic results of restricting the ex-soldier and ex-sailor are wholly bad. By artificially restricting the volume of skilled labour, it diminishes output and raises prices. Consequently, in certain callings like building and engineering, where the demand for immediately increased production is intense, all other classes within the community suffer greatly. The building trade could have absorbed many thousands of returned soldiers. The very workers, however, who express the loudest protest with families now unable to find homes, are often the stoutest champions of monopolist Labour leaders who will not allow men to build them.

What are the true grounds of this opposition? It has been suggested by Trade Union leaders that dilution might mean unemployment for trade unionists, and that to admit men who have not complied with the rules of apprenticeship for which Trade Unions had to struggle for generations to secure, might endanger their survival. But "the volume of dilution prayed for by the Ministry of Labour is so inconsiderable that the alleged dangers seem remote." Again it is urged that

employers have been just as selfish. But "the crass selfishness of some employers, who have undoubtedly in certain cases preferred to retain less-paid women workers than to re-engage their old employees, does not justify other people's injustice."

"The Labour Members (of Parliament)," writes Lieut.-Colonel Hurst, "are generally far too humane to like their briefs on this question," and prefer other fields of controversy selected by themselves—Russia, for example! Nor is it the rank and file that are unfriendly to the ex-soldier, although they support their leaders in excluding him through "the solitary genuine fear" that selfish employers may use the profession of an anxiety to help the returned fighting man in order to mask their own greed. The real centre of the hostility is the official clique in the union—the keen-witted minority who control the majority. Their dialectic on the dangers of dilution

is based less on any sincere belief in the economic dangers ahead than on two personal apprehensions. First, they know that the ex-Service men possess, on the whole, a livelier intelligence and (oddly enough) a keener distaste for discipline than the Trade Unionists who have for years past elected them to office. Secondly, they are anxious to avoid the possibility of having at a future date to compete for labour among the members of their Trade Unions with men who could claim not only trade experience but also the glamour of war service.

What can be done? Concerted action—on the Hopkinson lines—by employers "is probably beyond the moral possibilities of to-day." Even if it succeeded, it would produce an industrial cataclysm, a life and death struggle with the Trade Unions which would ruin the prosperity that is the best antidote to revolutionary ideas. Responsible statesmen are therefore willing to pay a high price for industrial peace. There remains only Public Opinion, which must be won back to the cause of the ex-soldier by writers and politicians. And if only their propaganda could touch the simple worker whom the men responsible for the erection of the barrier pretend to represent, their task would be relatively light. "He and his family have no real sentiment for Soviets, Red Flags, and May Days. Preachers of

the inviolability of trade rules fill less space in his heart than the father or son who left home in the Great War, and who forgot imaginary class feuds in the brotherhood of battle." The pity is that it is desperately difficult to penetrate to the men beyond the caucuses.

Our specially important effect of the present policy of exclusion remains to be noticed.

During the war the educational value of Army life struck many civilians who for the first time came within the military orbit. Their influence created the present project of causing the young soldier's impressionable years to be of lasting moral and technical use to him. Mr. Churchill is bent on making the Army of to-day at least as good a school

for industrial life as the far narrower training institutions of our large towns. Hence the admirable appeals, that have been issued to attract recruits, hold out a promise of later civilian careers as skilled artisans, which are as genuine and as captivating to sensible young minds as is the golden call to see foreign parts and to enjoy the ease and irresponsibility of peace-time service. In spite of all the goodwill and effort in this direction on the part of the War Office, it will be impossible to give practical effect to the instruction provided by the Army schools so long as the Trade Unions recognise no alternative avenue of apprenticeship to that which they themselves control. It is so vital to secure for these Army schools the fullest possible fruition that no one who possesses any sympathy with their aims can acquiesce passively in the present sway of envy and monopoly. These powers of evil have to be fought and conquered.

TOWARDS AN UNITED CHURCH.

For some years past, in Europe and America, there has been a movement towards Church unity which, although it has hitherto been confined to the Protestant Churches, aims ultimately at a *modus vivendi* between these and the Roman Communion. This movement received an enormous impetus from the War. On purely practical grounds alone it was found impossible to maintain sectional rivalries between the chaplains of the various denominations who went to the front; and clearly the programme of mutual concessions then drawn up had to be sanctioned at the base. In the *Constructive Quarterly* (March) there are four articles dealing with this question that shed a good deal of light on the present work of the movement and its future prospects.

First, Dr. Newman Smyth writes on "A Proposed Approach Towards Unity in the United States." The origin of the American movement was the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops in London in 1908, when a resolution was adopted that "meetings of ministers and laymen of different Christian bodies be held to promote a cordial mutual understanding." In response to this the General Conference of the Congregational Churches in

the State of Connecticut, U.S.A., appointed a Committee to promote such conferences. In 1910 the National Congregational Council, at Boston, voiced "its earnest hope for closer fellowship with the Episcopal Church in work and worship"; and the Episcopal General Convention at Cincinnati called for a World Conference on Faith and Order. The latter was a means of bringing into personal touch and fellowship with each other the representatives of different communions.

So it came to pass that a few persons, Episcopalians with others who had been brought together through their participation in the World Conference plans, found themselves under the clear conviction that the time was come to give to our chaplains at the front a full ministerial commission from all the Churches of Christ at home. They determined, accordingly, to make an appeal to that effect to all their fellow believers; and after obtaining from different communions a sufficient number of signatures to give to it representative weight, they made it public. They said that by some decisive act our faith in unity should be made a fact. They asked that "as a war measure we should put in cantonments, in regiments, and on battle-ships, chaplains and ministers, from whatever Church they may come, commissioned not by their own communion only, but by joint ordination or consecration, sent forth with whatever authority and grace the whole Church of God may confer, bearing no mark

upon them but the sign of the Cross. "At some single point of vital contact—that, or something better than that—the Church might act as one." The appeal from which these lines are taken, was issued in December, 1917.

One or two delays occurred, but last October the basis of a concordat was arrived at by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church and by the concurrent action of the National Council of the Congregational Churches. A new canon was drawn up, whereby any minister, subject to one year's residential qualification and to his adherence to certain articles of the Church's historic faith, may be confirmed and ordained by the Bishop of the diocese in which he lives. The Concordat thus offers a way of solving the vexed question of the validity of orders, without raising the question of differences of views concerning the intention of the sacrament. Its future now lies with the Joint Commission which has it under consideration.

Another aspect of the same subject is dealt with by Mr. A. M. Brouwer, Rector of the Missionary College of the Netherlands, in "Missions as a Centre of Co-operation and Union in the Netherlands." Missions occupy a peculiar place in Holland; the training bears a character of its own which is determined by the needs of the Dutch East Indies. For some time there existed in Holland no less than four separate establishments for this training, whose relations "were often anything but fraternal in their character, and this influenced the attitude which the students and later the missionaries in India adopted towards one another." After many discussions a scheme of co-operation was adopted, of which the Missionary College of the Netherlands, opened in 1907, became the focus point.

How then does this co-operation take place? Each missionary society retains its absolute independence, has its own board of directors, its own mission fields, its own missionaries, its own funds and its own accounts. Each may accept as students whom it pleases. In all these matters each enjoys liberty and independence. But from the directorates of the various societies a board is chosen to supervise the Missionary College of the Netherlands. This board has the title of "The Missionary College Union of the Netherlands," and forms a separate society with its own hospital, funds, budget, assets and liabilities. The balance sheet of the

Missionary College will be drawn up at the end of the current year. Any deficit will be borne by the united missionary societies in proportion to the number of students each has at the school. As we have already remarked, considerable saving compared with former times has resulted.

In a second direction also unity has been accomplished by the establishment of a Missionary Consulate, to act as a means of communication between the Government and the Protestant missions.

"Church Union in the Orient," by Mr. Sherwood Eddes of Travancore, S. India, calls attention to the steps taken in that country to arrest the baneful progress of schism in the Christian Church. The South India United Church already unites all the Indian Christians formerly connected with the missions of the Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Free Church of Scotland, Established Church of Scotland and Basel Reformed Missions of South India. Moreover a plan of union between the Anglicans and the South India United Church is being favourably considered by the Bishops of the first and the missionaries of the second. The basis of this plan is acceptance of the fact of the Episcopacy. But this does not involve the acceptance of any theory of the origin of Episcopacy nor any doctrinal interpretation of the fact. Thus a way is left open for acceptance by the three scriptural elements concerned, the Congregational and 'Presbyterian as well as the Episcopal. The Reformed Syrian Church, representing the Eastern as opposed to the Western element, has also been successfully approached with a view to unity on the above lines.

Finally, Dr. J. W. Buckham deals with some of the harbingers of the spirit of union in an article entitled "Heralds of a United Church."

As one recalls even thus hastily a few of the forerunners of Christian unity he cannot but be struck by the fact that they represent all parts and branches of the Church. Hardly a section of the Church Universal but has contributed some strong impetus or some illustrious name to the cause. Not only are all branches of the Church rooted in a common faith, but each has had within its yearning toward reunion, elect spirits who have sought to restore the seamless dress. To these we owe much. Without them we cannot be made perfect.

WHEAT AND SUGAR PROBLEMS.

The questions of wheat and sugar are very much to the fore just now. The alarmist reports of a world shortage of wheat and, more particularly, the recent rise in the price of the loaf have undoubtedly stimulated public interest in home production. Concurrently, we have had a rise in the price of sugar, and the threat—fortunately averted for the present—of a much more substantial rise. Two articles in the *Contemporary Review* (July) dealing, respectively, with the home production of these foods give a useful and timely summary of the position in regard to both.

Writing on "The Nation's Wheat Supply," Mr. Anthony Collett recalls the outstanding facts of the situation. There is a marked reduction of the wheat-growing area in the United States; Roumania and Russia are quite uncertain quantities—all the exporting countries, in short, have been handicapped by economic or political troubles of their own. Consequently there is no chance whatever of a return to the pre-war time of plentiful supplies from abroad. Our only hope lies in an increased home production. During the war the Government's Corn Production Act, (1917) provided machinery for the encouragement of wheat growing on our own soil, and the main principles of this Act have been substantially developed in subsequent legislation. Nevertheless, in spite of the various guarantees given to the farmers, the area under wheat last summer was less by some 400,000 acres than that of 1918, and the area this summer is expected to show an even heavier drop. The farmers have been blamed for this state of things. Mr. Collett, however, claims that their actual position has never been rightly understood.

The ignorance of the urban majority in this country on agricultural matters is so colossal and so genuine as almost to deserve respect. To this day a sincere belief prevails among most classes that farmers have received large sums of money from the State in the shape of a "subsidy" on wheat. The boot is actually on the other leg—farmers have been compelled to subsidise the rest of the community by surrendering their wheat harvests at much beneath market value. For the first two or three years of the war many of the better-equipped farmers undoubtedly made large

profits, which for the most part have been expended in purchasing their farms; in the great break-up of estates, and in buying tractors and other machinery which the present rate of ploughmen's wages and plough-horses' keep have made almost indispensable. Since 1918, with the institution of control in myriad shapes, the story has been different. The highest price guaranteed by the Corn Production Act—that for the wheat harvest of 1917—was 60s. a quarter; while for the present and the next two years (after which the Act expires) the price stands at 45s. That of oats is in all cases less, and barley was not included. There were hopes, in those days, that wheat would soon become cheap again after the war. Actually, as we have seen, the price for the American corn which the Government—the sole wheat buyer—is now purchasing, is nearly three times the guaranteed price. The guarantee, therefore, does not come into operation at all, and has never done so. British farmers' wheat is taken from them under a controlled price, which is a very different thing. For last year's harvest the price (with trifling variations) was 76s. a quarter; for this and next year's harvests, if the Government wheat control still lasts, it has been fixed, after much dilatoriness and contradiction, at 95s. and 100s. respectively for the two years. Even now, after the latest concession, British farmers are to be forced to part with their wheat at many shillings a quarter less than the Government is paying for wheat from abroad. It is undeniable that they are subsidising the community.

The farmers are now waiting for the promised Agriculture Bill, but "with increasing distrust of its establishing wheat growing on a firm and lasting basis." Their difficulties increase from day to day, and therefore a bill that might have been satisfactory in 1919 may prove quite inadequate in 1920.

In order to understand the farmers' position, it should be realised that wheat-growing, without an effective guarantee of fair profit, offers little attraction except on the very best wheat lands. Of the two complementary innovations of the Corn Production Act—the minimum wage and the guaranteed price of corn—the former has been developed more rapidly than the latter. Wages have risen from the standard of 25s. a week laid down in the Act to 42s., and seem likely to rise higher still. Hours of labour have at the same time been reduced, and the farmer has constant difficulty in arranging for essential overtime. When appeals were made to his patriotism during the war, he responded to them vigorously, and ploughed up sound old pasture with a willing heart. But now he feels that the time for appealing to special classes for disproportionate sacrifices has passed, that he has the same right to fair remuneration as a miner or a railway-

man, and, in a word, that if the Government wants him to grow wheat, it must pay him a fair price for it.

Mr. Collett does not take too sanguine a view of the prospects of the wheat industry. Before the war, we produced about a fifth of the wheat we consumed. From an acreage equivalent to that of 1918 a normal season might produce about a third of our normal requirements; and with adequate encouragement, we could safely reckon on increasing this area up to a production capacity of well over half our needs. Yet the advantage even of this would be very great. The drain of gold in payment for imported wheat would be checked, and the rate of exchange improved. The price of wheat was still required to be bought abroad would tend to be lowered by the decrease in demand. We should probably increase the existing rural population, with all the blessings that this would entail.

Our dependence on foreign supplies of sugar has been much greater than in the case of wheat. Mr. J. Saxon Mills, in "England and her Sugar," remarks that

No more striking example of our national unthrift could be cited than that, with a soil and climate in these islands fully congenial to sugar production, and with a vast Empire embracing unlimited sugar-lands, we should have elected before the war to buy 93 per cent. of our sugar requirement from foreign countries, mainly Germany and Austria, and that we should to-day be in the grip of a Cuban sugar-corner.

We are the biggest consumers of sugar of all European States, and the value of our importations which before the war was over 25 million pounds per annum had swollen by 1919 to £53,962,000. But the world's supply has now immensely decreased, and we cannot, any more than in the case of wheat, expect a return to the "cheap as dirt days." From a sugar-point of view alone, then, we are plainly warned to supply ourselves with an increasing part of our own requirements. But there is another reason for doing this.

Our great need to-day is for bigger production all round. We have been attempting to increase our output of cereal crops by breaking up our old and valuable pasture-lands. Many of our wisest and most experienced agriculturists protest against this process as uneconomic. The true policy,

they tell us, is to improve our methods of production, to develop our cultivation intensively rather than extensively. Now by the consent of all countries which have adopted sugar-beet as a staple, that is, almost all European countries, the United States, Canada, and others, nothing improves the methods of cultivation and raises the whole plane of practical agriculture so unfailingly as sugar-beet. When included in a rotation it invariably increases the output of all succeeding crops. And this, it should be noticed, is undiscounted gain. We have not to set against it the destruction of pastures with herbage of high feeding value.

Fortunately both the Government and the public are now alive to the importance of the beet sugar industry. A beginning has been made with it under favourable auspices. Under the Finance Act of 1919 sugar produced in this country will enjoy a preference over foreign imported sugar of £6 4s. 5½d. per ton, and £1 18s. 10½d. per ton over sugar from British Dominions and Colonies. Before the war more than 90 per cent. of imported sugar came from foreign countries. Then,

These fiscal favours do not exhaust the benevolence of the State to this big proposition. As every one knows, the Government has taken half shares and provided a guarantee of interest on the other half in the Company to which the British Sugar Beet Growers' Society has transferred the responsibility of conducting the great experiment on commercial and British lines at Kelham, near Newark.

The Kelham experiment is expected to yield 8,000 tons in 1921—"a very modest contribution to our national consumption of eighteen hundred thousand tons of sugar per annum." But as the first organised and national experiment on commercial lines, it is at least a promising beginning. An enormous scope remains for the development of the industry. The war has taught us that sugar is something more than "the delight of infancy and the consolation of old age." We see that the industry is a factor in the great task of re-colonising England by attracting working population to the country and providing adequate employment in the towns; and we realise the substantial benefits that would accrue to other contingent industries—not only agriculture, but coal, engineering and textiles—from its rapid and successful development.

THE POLICEWOMAN: HER ORIGIN AND MISSION.

The policewoman is now a familiar figure in the streets; but it has been forgotten, it it was ever known how she got there. Mrs. Louise Creighton, writing on "Women Police" in the *Fortnightly Review* (July), recalls the facts of her origin to mind. In the early days of the war it was realised that some special help was needed to care for women and children under conditions in which all ordinary life was disorganised. The first idea was that women should be sworn in as special constables. But the law did not permit this. Finally the Metropolitan Chief Constable agreed to sign cards for voluntary Women Patrols, trained and organised by the National Union of Woman Workers, and the Home Secretary addressed a circular letter to the Chief Constables throughout the country, asking them to follow this example and to give the patrols every assistance in their power.

In these early days the women wore no uniform, but merely a badge on their ordinary dresses with "N.U.W.W." upon it. Further recognition was long delayed. The authorities, even after the record of work done by the patrols had convinced most people of the success of the movement, persisted in regarding it as an experiment, and rather a dangerous one at that.

All Chief Constables did not welcome the scheme, and it needed much persistence and enthusiasm to overcome the objections, which were often amusing enough, raised in some places. On reviewing the whole movement, which has now at last led to the appointment of at least a certain number of women police, the caution displayed by the authorities is most noticeable. No step was ever taken from which it would not be possible to withdraw. The principle that women police were necessary or even desirable was never frankly recognised.

But the patrols persevered, and extended their scope of usefulness.

The majority of the patrols were busy women who give up regularly some evenings every week to parade the streets and public places in all weathers and under the most trying conditions. It was soon shown that their ready presence was sufficient to check much disorderly conduct, and some of the worst streets in London and elsewhere showed marked improvement. The patrols were recognised as useful by girls and soldiers alike, and proved to be of all sorts of emergency. Not only were young girls

helped in dangerous circumstances, but young soldiers were warned against well-known prostitutes, and drunken Tommies helped to the safe shelter of a Y.M.C.A. hut. The men were always most grateful for any help given them by the patrols.

The establishment of mixed clubs, or "comrades' clubs," was warmly advocated by the patrols and their friends. These were especially popular with the Overseas soldiers, and generally speaking, were an immense success. "It is to be hoped," writes Mrs. Creighton, "that it has been demonstrated for all times that if young people are to be kept from the dangers of the streets they must be given other and better, as well as more agreeable, opportunities for meeting one another, and amusing themselves together."

At last official recognition was accorded. In 1918 the Chief Commissioner announced his intention of appointing a hundred women police with ten sergeants, a superintendent, and assistant superintendent, to be trained under his own supervision. And he made the Supervisor of the Special Patrols the Superintendent of the new force.

Though long before the war many were convinced of the necessity for women police, it is undoubtedly war conditions that made public authorities willing to appoint them. But in this, as in other matters, we are in danger of forgetting in times of peace the lessons learned in the time of war. What was done under the necessity of war must not cease in the time of peace; the real need still remains. To all those who know, and who have observed what has happened, the need for women police has been amply proved. It has been shown that they are able to do work, especially of a preventive kind, which would be impossible for men. Besides this, it is obvious that women rather than men should have the charge of women and children in the police stations and the courts, and that it should be their duty to take the evidence and depositions of women and children. What has been already done shows what an immense field of work lies open to women police in the future. If they are to achieve what is hoped for them, it is necessary that their status should be secured, that they should have the same rights as men police, and as good a position with regard to pay and pensions. The work began on a voluntary basis during the years of war needs to be made permanent, and to be continued on a far wider scale. It is needed now quite as much as during the years of war. Then the excited and restless conditions that prevailed amongst young

girls were universally recognised, and regarded as a product of the war. Probably in this, as in other matters, people hoped that with the coming of peace, we should return to the old conditions, not that any thinking person can have considered these to be satisfactory. But we need now to face the fact that the war has produced a new type of girl, absolutely independent, very often wild and undisciplined. She laughs and screams about the streets and is ready to defy authority; she has shown herself addicted to petty thieving of many kinds; she is eager for any fun and nonsense. But she is good-natured, responsive to affection and kindness shown in the right way. There is splendid material in her. These girls may easily be turned into criminals or professional prostitutes by unwise treatment. The same applies, of course, to boys, and it is possible that in dealing with them, too, women police may prove full of resource and understanding.

In an eloquent peroration Mrs. Creighton points out, as regards this new type, that we need not only women police, but also a new point of view.

It is the desire for a full and free life which is at the bottom of so much of the wild and foolish conduct of the young. What we have to do is to provide channels for the expression of that life, not to repress it. We cannot keep the young out of the streets; we should not wish to do so, but we can make the streets safe for them; we can see that the places of recreation in which they find vent for their superfluous energy or their desire for a fuller experience of life, are kept sweet and wholesome. Our aim should be to make a full and free life possible for all, in the streets and places of amusement, as well as in the homes of the people.

IS THE SHOP STEWARD NECESSARY?

"He is essentially a product of the War, and, although there may be opinions to the contrary, he was indispensable during that period of pressure and intensified production." But is he necessary now? This is the question asked and answered by Mr. James Armstrong in an article under the above title, published in the *World's Work* (June).

Mr. Armstrong begins by referring to a widespread view of the shop steward, as a highly mischievous person: the provoker of discontent and unrest in the ranks of labour. He admits that there were shop stewards of this kind, but they are rapidly disappearing, and with them the feeling of employers against the whole class. The case, in fact, is cited of a Lancashire factory where the entire salary of this official is paid by the management instead of being partly or wholly borne by the men. The opposition to him would appear to have been transferred from the capitalists to the trade unions.

The exigencies of war called for new machinery capable of short-circuiting complaints. Accordingly a man able to cope with trouble on the spot, to handle all grievances, and to air them with the management of the establishment concerned, was necessary. He did not supersede the established trades union machinery, but rather supple-

mented it, and to such excellent effect that, under his direction, a dispute often was adjusted and work resumed before any official trade union decisions came through." Trade unions did not like the new official then, though they found it politic to recognise him. Still less do they like him now that he is gaining greater and greater power.

A few months ago the shop steward was regarded as an ugly thorn in the side of capital. But the bulk of shop stewards are successfully preaching the gospel of co-operation between capital and labour, and are proving conclusively that such a combination is perfectly feasible, and can be conducted along harmonious lines to the advantage of all, including even the shareholders.

To-day the shop steward is a thorn in the side of the unions. One should not probably be devoutly thankful if they could eliminate him, but he is now too firmly entrenched to be eradicated. The probability is that many employers who have come to realise the advantages of the system would protect him.

The directing forces of modern trade unionism have lost touch with their men. Superficially all seems well. But if one dissects beneath the surface, comes into close contact with the rank and file, and discusses the outlook with the shop stewards, the conclusion that disruption is pending is only too obvious.

The shop steward is constrained to assert that it is the unions which are applying the brake to the formulation of a just feeling between capital and labour. The local official is in intimate touch with every

one of his members, can size them up instantly, knows what they want, and is cognisant of how far the management of the establishment with which they are connected can go.

The rank and file who elect their shop steward are disposed to support him through thick and thin, provided he works for their interests. If he doesn't they can turn him out. They are also loyal to their unions, though this writer suggests that the loyalty is rather to the present union leaders than to the organisation, and that when these depart there will be a bad slump in trade unionism. Labour is even now advocating that unions should be run

upon a Soviet basis, with the shop steward in local control—a kind of local home rule in industry that would seriously diminish the union's central authority. The men

"resent excessive union interference. They do not appreciate strangers totally unfamiliar with the prevailing conditions coming in from a distance to endeavour to iron out the creases. They would prefer the unions themselves to be constituted somewhat as a court of appeal, relieved of all pettifoggish detail and wholly concerned with basic principles affecting labour."

Whatever happens, it looks as if the shop steward, like many another war-time institution, has come to stay.

A TALK WITH A BOLSHEVIST.

Public interest in the mentality and point of view of the typical Russian Bolshevik has been considerably stimulated by the visit of M. Krassin; but only a very few English people have hitherto been privileged to talk with one of his kind. Sir Thomas Barclay is one of the few, and he records his conversation "with a Russian Bolshevik in Berlin" in the *Fortnightly Review* (June).

Through one Bolshevik, he was enabled to meet another who was introduced to him by the Christian name of Serge. The conversation opened thus:

"We are represented," he said, "as carrying on a crusade—as trying by force of arms to implant our social theories among our neighbours, and Poland is supposed to be holding us back. All this is the absolute contrary of fact. We are defending ourselves on all sides against a crusade for our extermination. The Poles are merely playing the same game as Denikin and Koltchak. We want peace above everything, peace to work at the problems with which the Russian people on the threshold of their liberty are faced."

"But Lenin's methods are violent. He has imposed himself, by getting hold of the handle of the Government machine, on a people which has not chosen him."

"And by what right do you suppose Koltchak, or Denikin, or any other military leader claims to dispossess Lenin and take his place? Have they a mandate from the Russian people?"

"But they have promised to obtain one." Serge shrugged his shoulders and smiled, and I did not feel my convictions or arguments strong enough to press the point.

Serge went on to maintain that Lenin is attempting to make illiterate Russia "articulate by education . . . the first step in the conquest of freedom." He denied that he has confiscated private property: "He has equalised it. Everyone is now the owner of something." Next, as to Parliamentary government:

Has it ever occurred to you that Parliamentary government presupposes certain conditions? It presupposes that men are able to understand what is said to them, to read newspapers, party professions, and are accessible to all the other methods by which a nation distinguishes between rival candidates, is able to choose between suggested reforms and ideas. Call us an oligarchy, an autocracy, anything you like, but you must admit that ours is a less pernicious political system than that we have displaced. We have begun the work of making a free people, of ensuring its true emancipation—emancipation from ignorance and illiteracy. We may or we may not succeed in maintaining a system of socialisation which will give every man his due, but at any rate we shall have given the Russian people the means of undying for itself.

In answer to the charge of wholesale assassination and pillage, Serge replied simply: "Is there any birth without pain?" and proceeded to a vehement denunciation of the Versailles Council for supporting Koltchak and Denikin, "two military adventurers" who would massacre the Russians who surrendered to them. "And yet we feel that England is not willingly supporting our enemies."

Englishmen—I know them well—are too fair-minded, too human, and too experienced not to know what is in store for Russia, if our enemies prevail."

Sir Thomas Barclay asked what right had the Bolsheviks, a minority, to dictate to the majority.

"Assuming that we were a minority, what right," retorted he, "has a parent to dictate to his inexperienced young children? What right has he to educate them, to look after their well-being, and make them capable and self-governing citizens? Are these Russian peasants not just children? Under the old régime, were they educated? Were they

trained to be capable, self-governing citizens?"

The naviator remarks pointedly that this theory is a double-edged one, and that it might be used by all tyrants to justify the imposition of their will on a dissenting people. It must be remembered too that this conversation took place before Koltchak and Denikin were disposed of, and before the Polish invasion had begun. Possibly M. Serge's conciliatory sentiments with regard to Englishmen may have undergone a change by now.



De Notaphor

A Generalissimo's Dream of the Future.

[Amsterdam]

Field-Marshal Foch says that "once more there is a dazzling future for the military profession."

A FRANCO-BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY.

As a nation we are apt to pride ourselves upon our colonial policy as a monument of enlightened wisdom and justice to native races. So far as concerns our self-governing Dominions, this view is probably justified; the late war went a long way to prove it. But when we turn our eyes to the Crown Colonies, a doubt arises as to whether our system is really as efficacious in cementing the scattered units to the British Empire as we once thought it was. India and Egypt are seething with discontent. On all sides we hear the intense unrest in those countries being urged as a reason against our undertaking fresh colonial commitments in the East.

In a comparison of "British and French Colonial Policy" contributed by Mr. Roy Devereux to the *Anglo-French Review* (July), this question is raised very pointedly. The writer begins by reminding us that the French have no colonies corresponding to our Overseas Dominions; nearly all the French Colonies are situated within the tropical zone, and in all there is a vast preponderance of native subjects. Hence French Colonies can only be compared, fruitfully, with our Crown Colonies. And comparison on these lines would seem to show that the French system, if freedom from political trouble be the test, can claim far happier results at the present time than can our own. What then are the main characteristics of French administration?

"Anyone," writes Mr. Devereux, "who has had an opportunity of observing both systems in action will, I think, be struck by the intensely national aspect of French Colonial policy. To the average Frenchman, Algeria is France, just as Indo-China, Guadeloupe, and Madagascar are France." Gallic logic, inspired by a passion for unity, demands that the most distant outposts of Empire should be governed on the same administrative plan as the *Pas de Calais*. A certain degree of financial control and local self-government has been accorded in places; but "the highly centralised organisation of the *Ministère des Colonies* makes any scheme of progressive self-government difficult, if not impossible."

The most obvious drawback of this system is the enormous cost entailed by its com-

plicated character and the multiplicity of its functionaries. It is no exaggeration to say that, in every French colony, there are three officials where in a British possession only one would be found. Algeria, for instance, is simply overrun with *préfets, sous-préfets, contrôleurs* and *secrétaires* of every description, all employed in a stereotyped routine quite unsuited to fluctuating colonial conditions.

The history of British colonization, on the other hand, is a long record of private enterprise and personal adventure in which the British Government's part is merely spasmodic. It required the war to demonstrate the dependence of these islands upon overseas sources of supply; and it is only since the war that we have had a colonial policy that can be called at all coherent. Even now there is no system of reciprocal tariffs such as France has always had with her colonies.

Since 1891 an almost absolute reciprocity has reigned between the Customs tariffs of Algeria and the metropolis. The shortage of raw materials brought about by the war is likely to intensify this union, which M. Robert de Caix writing in "*L'Avenir de la France*" describes as "a sort of economic nationalism by means of which France and her colonies will form an organic whole, as far as possible mutually self-supplying."

What is economic nationalism but the Gallic equivalent for "a self-contained Empire for the purposes of subsistence and defence," which is the ideal of Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister?

The economic difference between our Ally's and our own system is not the only one. There is the difference in attitude towards the native.

The impulse towards unity, which makes the Frenchman regard the colonies as a part of France, leads him also to think of their inhabitants as Frenchmen whatever be the colour of their skin. In spite, however, of the doctrine of assimilation, educational facilities have hitherto been offered to the Arabs of Algeria with a very sparing hand. Such schools as exist have been modelled upon those of the metropolis, and their tendency as a whole is to encourage the knowledge and use of the French language. This is the very opposite of the plan pursued by us in Egypt, where primary instruction is given in Arabic and has been extended to 21 per cent. of the native population. As a result an extremely small proportion of the Egyptians possess a knowledge of our tongue. Even in Government offices its use is very limited. According to a memorandum recently prepared by the British Chamber of Commerce in Cairo advocating the establish-

ment of state-aided English schools, business houses have great difficulty in finding employees who can write English intelligibly.

Mr. Devereux agrees with Sir Valentine Chirol that we have not only over-educated the natives of India and Egypt, but have educated them on the wrong lines. Yet there are also obvious flaws in the French system. What then is the best course to pursue? He advocates that each nation should adopt what is best in the other's system, with a view to

a closer co-ordination of the respective administrations in these parts, which will tend in its turn to strengthen the tie that binds the two peoples together. "European domination of Northern Africa will stand or fall as a whole," and for that reason our interests in that Continent are one and indivisible. Certainly there is room for an attempt to harmonise those conflicting ideals which at present render a colonial entente between ourselves and France so difficult.

WHAT TO READ IN BED.

The books a man keeps by his bedside explain a great deal about him. They belong to a carefully selected shelf of favourites, and must be in harmony with his own ideas. Controversy is banned; so, with a few exceptions, are comedy and tragedy. The man does not want to get excitement, or a moral purgative. He wants to dream before he goes to sleep.

Some delightful confessions of a book-lover appear in "Bedside Books," by Mr. Simon Leatherhead, in the *Cornhill Magazine* (July). The society of readers in bed, says the writer, is somewhat restricted. Married people, for example, cannot very well be members, nor those who regard their books as a soporific. It is a lamentable fact that many people are casual instead of confirmed readers in bed because they make a bad choice. Nevertheless, a list of bed-books would be an abomination.

You may say of a book that every one ought to read it (i.e. a great work), but to say that everyone ought to read it in bed is a gross abuse of a reader's liberty and an interference with the claims of his personality; for nowhere more than in bed should the choice of books be unfettered. It may be your duty to read the works of Gibbon, Darwin, Spencer, but it is certainly not your duty to take the works of these authors to bed with you. No, the liberty of choice must be maintained, and many books quite suitable for reading by day are unsuitable at night.

The reader is free to select any book from his library. As far as a generalisation is possible, such authors as Hume, Locke, and even Shakespeare are to be avoided. It is quite possible, though, that with a few people any one of these writers would make an excellent nocturnal companion.

My own preference—an entirely personal one which I would force on nobody—is for essayists. Lamb and Hazlitt as chief among the ancients with one or two of the moderns; these, together with a volume or so of selections from my favourite poets, form my bedside library, and I have never found that they have failed me. . . . I cannot, for instance, conceive "Paradise Lost" or "The Ring and the Book" as adapted for reading in bed. They are too long and too much of a whole; they do not lend themselves to be read in extracts. The same, I think, has to be said of Shakespeare's plays. To me, at any rate, they are too exciting as drama and require to be read in their completeness, so that I cannot admit them among my bedside books. Others, perhaps, may not have this same feeling, and liberty of choice to everyone is essential. We must be catholic and we must be charitable. But so long as the reader in bed makes his choice on the foregoing principle, no matter what books compose his library, he may be looked upon as one of the elect.

Mr. Leatherhead gives several amusing stories concerning bedside books. He relates how a bishop, with a reputation as an historian, found that his host had placed Rollin by his bed. The ecclesiastic searched the room and discovered to his satisfaction a modern novel, with which he regaled himself. On the subject of novels Mr. Leatherhead disagrees with the Bishop.

And for this, first of all I would lay down, though some may not at first agree with me, that the ordinary novel is unsuitable. It is too long, and if it is worth reading at all it is too exciting, so that it encourages you to read too late, or, if you have sufficient strength of character to break off in the middle, the mind is filled with thoughts and pictures which are too agitating and not conducive to repose.

He admits, however, that a friend of his has taken Dickens and Thackeray for lifelong bed companions.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

The chief event in German domestic politics during June was the general elections, held on Sunday, the 6th. The proportional system of voting was in force for this, the first election for the Reichstag of the German Republic, the dissolution of the National Assembly having been decreed the previous month in view of the fact that its principal functions, the signing of the peace and the passing of the Constitution, had been fulfilled. There was naturally a vigorous election campaign on the part of all the different parties; a few important features of this may be mentioned in detail. In the first place the old National Liberal Party, now called the German People's Party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*), intensified its propaganda to an extraordinary degree. In this it was greatly assisted by one of its principal members, the iron, coal and shipping magnate, Hugo Stinnes, who bought up several papers in various parts of the country—rumour said over sixty—chief among them the former semi-official *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, in Berlin, and the *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung*, one of the most important organs of the Democratic Party in Bavaria. The second party-activity of special interest just prior to the election was the yet one more attempt to unite the two sections of the Social Democratic Party—the Majority and the Independents. The effort took the form of an invitation from the former to the latter; it was, however, answered in a very un-comradelike fashion, the insinuation being made that the Majority Socialists, by their co-operation with the bourgeoisie, had betrayed the working class and assisted Capitalism. The two parties went into the election in opposition. The third point of interest was the definite break, or rather the failure to heal the breach, between the Centre and its former Bavarian branch, the Bavarian People's Party. This latter, it may be recalled, severed itself from the Centrum organisation, mainly over the dispute concerning the Unitary State (*Einheitsstaat*), which

was such a burning question a few months ago. No reconciliation took place, but the opposition of the two groups was not to have the same serious results as in the case of the breach between Majority and Minority Social Democrats, for in no case did the two wings of the Centre come into opposition in the constituencies.

The elections, contrary to expectation, passed off quite quietly. With the addition to the deputies representing the territories in Entente occupation, in which no election could be held, the total number of members of the new Reichstag was 462. It will be convenient, for the purposes of comparison with the elections to the National Assembly of January, 1918, to set forth the results as follows, the first column giving the number of votes cast for each party in the June elections, the second column the present number of deputies, and the third the number in the National Assembly:

German National Party	3,538,851	65	42
German People's Party...	3,455,131	61	22
Centre ...	3,500,800	67	75
Bavarian People's Party	1,254,933	21	0
Democratic Party	2,152,509	45	74
Majority Socialists	5,531,151	112	163
Hanoverians	318,104	5	3
Bavarian Peasants' Union		4	5
Independent Socialists...	4,809,832	80	22
Communists	438,199	2	0

The chief results are thus seen to be a very large increase in the Right, the Conservatives or German National Party, and the National Liberals; also in the extreme Left, the Independents. The middle parties, the backbone of the Coalition, the Majority Socialists and the Democrats, suffered heavily, especially the latter, while the Centre, with which we may, for practical purposes, reckon the Bavarian People's Party, remain fairly constant. The communists, who entered upon the election merely for the purpose of obstruction, and not from any belief in the parliamentary system, are shown to have an inconsiderable following in the country, whatever the activity of their propaganda.

Before all the election results were known it was obvious that the Coalition would issue from the struggle very much weakened; they would be at the mercy of a possible hostile combination of Conservatives, National Liberals and Independents. The Chancellor, Herman Müller, accordingly offered his resignation to the Imperial President, by whom it was, after a little delay, accepted. A succession of attempts were then made to induce the principal party-leaders in turn to form a government, or at least enter a new coalition. But the Independents refused all collaboration with the bourgeois parties, and the Majority would not, in face of their diminution of numbers, undertake the task. To the request that they would enter a government presided over by some other party-leader, such as the Democratic or the Centre, they replied that their attitude depended on that of the National Liberal Party. The latter, having so largely increased in size, could not very well be omitted from any possible Coalition Government. But the Majority would only promise support on condition that the National Liberals declared themselves openly for the Republican Constitution and against the Monarchy, and also gave up the anti-Semitic agitation by which their election campaign had been distinguished. The latter was agreed to, but the former, being an important plank in the National Liberal election platform, could not be thrown overboard without serious party-discussions. The Majority then announced that it would not collaborate; it would take up a position of neutrality. On this decision being made Herr Trimborn, the Centre leader, was asked to form a Government; he failed, and the task devolved on his colleague, Herr Fehrenbach, who succeeded. The new Government, for which on all hands short life was predicted, was composed of representatives of the National Liberals, Centre and Democrats—a purely "bourgeois" Coalition. Its Foreign Minister was the non-party man Herr Simons, who had occupied an important post in the Foreign Office, and was one of those who, with Count Brockdorf Rantzau, withdrew from the German Peace Delegation at Versailles on being presented with the peace terms.

A characteristic Democratic opinion on the election figures was contained in *Die Hilfe* for June 17th:—

When the figures are looked into it will be understood why the cry of victory on the part of the Right has so soon been silenced. In spite of the fact that they have doubled their numbers, both parties of the Right control only about one half of the votes controlled by the parties of the old Coalition. The extreme Left, in spite of quadrupling the number of their seats, control only a third. If in the occupied territories the Coalition parties are robbed of half their seats they would still have 227 seats against the 236 of the combined Right and Extreme Left. . . . This majority would, of course, be too weak to make possible a strong government-policy—that is, so long as the Right and the Extreme Left pursue their old policy outside the National Assembly, making common cause in opposition.

The weakness and confusion of the whole situation became obvious; what its effect on foreign policy was likely to be—particularly as the Spa Conference drew nearer—became a disturbing subject of discussion. The views of *Die Hilfe* on this point were also of interest:

During the elections the Right constantly asserted that an increase in the number of National Liberals and German Nationalists would strengthen German foreign policy. It is true that in words these parties were strong, but that is no proof of strength of policy. . . . In their relations with foreign countries, however, both parties are confronted with a solid wall of suspicion. In the comment of the *Times* on the election results we read that the influencing of German foreign policy by the German People's Party would make all relations with the Entente impossible within a week. And for the intransigent French the success of the Right parties served as a pretext for demanding not only the postponement, but the total abolition of the Spa Conference.

Comment from the Right on the elections was contained in *Deutsche Politik* for June 18th:

There is uncertainty in every party. All sorts of plans are suggested, a government of economic experts, of non-political representatives. . . . Such solutions, however, overlook the power of popular passion which has entered into the various party organisations. Germany is still in a state of revolution, and her first Reichstag is the expression of this fact.

During the month, partly no doubt as an outcome of the scepticism as to the future of the party-system in Germany to which the election results had given fresh life, there were several articles on the

possibilities of the "council-system." Germany, it may be remarked, has taken up—while expressing the utmost and most genuine detestation of its practical effects—the idea behind the Russian Revolution, the representation of popular opinion not only by simple voting according to geographical distribution, but also by profession and trade. A very interesting essay on this subject appeared in the *Neue Rundschau* for June, from the pen of a well-known German-Jewish writer on economics, Max Cohen. The concluding opinion is to the effect that the "council-idea"—a kind of superior and positive Whitley Council applied to all industries—is the only method of raising Germany's economic status once more. The truth of this assertion was—and here the writer is perfectly correct—penetrating most of the parties until just before the elections. With the results of these before him, however, Herr Cohen can only conclude that a great step backward from the realisation of what may be called the "sane council-idea" had been taken. It is nevertheless certain that it will be revived as thinking Germans realise—what is after all one of the obvious lessons of the general elections—that Germany is not on the whole a favourable country for the reception of the parliamentary system pure and simple. But in this connexion development, if it is to be sound, will necessarily be slow.

Of events outside Germany the two most commented on during June were the preparation for the Spa Conference and the formation of the Giolitti Government. On the first the tendency of criticism was to the effect that the demands of the Entente were unlikely to take cognisance of the fact that Germany was already heavily taxed and that, indeed, the tax on wages which had recently been introduced was leading to serious agitation. Papers from the moderate Left to the extreme Right applauded the suggestion that Germany must be accepted as an equal in any discussion, and although the programmatic speech of the Chancellor Febrbach at the end of the month was of studied moderation, there nevertheless lay behind it a good deal of firmness, above all, one would surmise from other utterances, on the questions of the reduction of the Army and the

indemnities. The appointment of Lord D'Abernon, a financial expert, to the British Embassy in Berlin was interpreted by the German Press as indicating, like the French appointment, that of M. Charles Laurent, also a financial authority rather than a diplomat, the determination of the Entente to put the financial and economic demands arising out of the Treaty in the forefront of their relations with Germany. On this an article—written before the appointments just mentioned—which appeared in *Die Grenzboten* for June 16th, may be aptly quoted:

The demands of the Treaty of Versailles will bring about for decades to come a flow of the products of Germany's labour into foreign countries. Nothing will be given in return, merely a receipt on account of reparation. The German people will be deprived of all means of improving their position by the most strenuous of efforts. The Government must nevertheless give the labouring classes some return for their work. It can do this only in paper, in banknotes. Thus will the financial inflation in Germany continue to grow. . . . And as long as the principal clauses of the Treaty remain, so long will this process go on. When finally monetary transactions come to an end and no one will accept paper, which continually declines in value, in return for their work, then will come the collapse of Germany's economic system. That will be the point at which the continuation compliance with the demands of the Treaty will become an impossibility. Their own interests, therefore, point to the Entente the way to a thorough revision of the Treaty.

The principal comment on the return of Giolitti was that of *Deutsche Politik*, from which the following may be taken:

The German point of view must take into account what Giolitti will and can do. His task is to pacify Italy with foreign assistance; he must therefore look for support and good will from the Western Powers. . . . These will, however, find in him no vassal, no humble servant, but a tough-skinned partner, conscious of himself, willing to be bound by no ties that he cannot obtain advantage from. It is a sign of the highest political discipline that the French Press, which for the last six years has thrown mud at Giolitti, now accepts his return with respect. It is to be desired that the German Press should moderate their comment, lest the hopes they raise from his return to power be deceived.

The most noteworthy non-political articles of the month in the German reviews were:

"The Economic Situation of Japan since 1920," in the *Neus Orient*.

"The Development of the physical view of the universe before the Relativity Theory," by the well-known physicist and exponent of Einstein, Erwin Freundlich, in the *Weissen Blätter*.

"The Youth of Friedrich Engels," in the *Neue Zeit* for June 25th.

"Die Frau ohne Schatten" (The Shadowless Woman), Richard Strauss's new opera, in the *Neue Rundschau*, a criticism by the well-known musical critic, Oscar Bie.

The other regular literary features of this last-named review, as of *Das literarische Echo* and *Die neue Schaubühne*—this latter becoming more and more essential to those who wish to follow the latest theatrical developments in Germany—were of the usual high quality.

FRANCE.

The cautious restraint that had begun to characterise the expression of responsible political opinion in May continued into June, and the recapitulation of hopes and fears and facts indulged in once a fortnight by M. Poincaré in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and by M. Bernard de Lacombe in the *Correspondant* reveals nothing that could be construed as a note hostile to Great Britain. M. Poincaré's articles in the *Revue* (June 1 and 15) were of course written before the British Government's Greek adventure was decided upon; but judging by his treatment, say, of the Krassin visit, it is doubtful whether even this bombshell would have disturbed his suavity, had he known of it. The fact is that M. Poincaré, in dealing with foreign affairs, has eyes only for one country, and that one is Germany. Once more he urges that the Allies should show at Spa, since Spa had to be, a united front. He reminds us that from the first he considered that the presence of German delegates at Spa was wholly superfluous. As regards the indemnity, they were not to have a consultative voice, and that being so, the arrangement of this matter might just as well have been left to the Reparations Commission, as ordained by the provisions of the Treaty. Unfortunately certain Governments had seen fit to take it out of the hands of the Commis-

sion (while M. Poincaré himself was still at its head) and were inclined to make a mess of it. However, there was no use in crying over spilt milk. Let them take due heed of all the plans for evasion that Germany was preparing for Spa—the plea, for example, that she could not pay her debts to the Allies if she were deprived by the plebiscite of the economic resources of Upper Silesia—and all might be well. Meanwhile he suggests that the way to secure unity of idea and action is to refrain from "isolated initiatives"—such, for instance, as entering into economic negotiations with M. Krassin. He thinks that the moment chosen for these was inopportune, to say the least of it. France is both the friend of Poland and the creditor of Russia, and her interests are therefore not compatible with any sort of political arrangement with Lenin. But, after all, this is only a side issue to M. Poincaré—regrettable, but of little importance compared with the main hughbear, revision of the German Treaty. The greater part of his space is taken up by an exhaustive examination of the thoughts at the back of the German mind and a survey of the articles in the Treaty which should be invoked to deal with them.

M. de Lacombe's article in the *Correspondant* (June 10) begins with reflections on the uncertain and menacing state of Central Europe. He suggests that the nationalities formerly comprised in the Austro-Hungarian Empire have gained their independence at the expense of economic solidarity, and that until the latter is restored, little progress can be made. Then the still active propaganda with the object of throwing the Austrian Germans into the arms of the German Republic gives him anxiety. Passing to Spa and its prospects, he points out that France has not yet received a penny of the preliminary indemnity that Germany bound herself to pay, as a guarantee of good faith. Yet, on the indemnity question, he does not go so far as M. Poincaré, who maintains that Germany, in whatever time or on whatever terms, should be made to pay up to the full extent of the damage done by her in the war. "We have never thought, as it has been the fashion to repeat, that Germany should pay the whole, but she must pay

something" is M. de Lacombe's comparatively mild conclusion. He contrasts the position of France in regard to the debtor country with that of England. Every sum that is knocked off the indemnity is a direct loss to France which she will have to make good. Every sum exacted from Germany means for England a lessened purchasing power for the goods she hopes to sell to the Fatherland and so replace the markets she has lost in South America and elsewhere. Pursuing the theme of differences between the Allies, this writer is a little bitter in that Mr. Lloyd George, who reproached the French Government for its independent action in occupying Frankfurt, should have received Krassin without consulting France, and he affirms that in the Levant England has pursued a course of action that is in harmony neither with French nor Italian views. As for the Supreme Council, it has tried to tackle problems from a European standpoint, and its efforts have resulted in settling some questions, but others which really concerned the whole of Europe were allowed to slide. The Schleswig affair, for example, was, in M. de Lacombe's view, a European matter, and King Christian ought to have been supported by Europe.

A much more entertaining article, in the same issue of the *Correspondant*, is that on "The Situation in England under the government of Mr. Lloyd George." In the main it is a singularly accurate record of our political happenings since the Armistice; but there is a very shrewd, if not altogether flattering estimate of Mr. Lloyd George, based on his election promises and his subsequent performances and pronouncements, and the writer's criticism in general reveals the close attention with which such domestic matters as Labour disputes and even the tergiversations of the Wee Frees are being followed abroad. There is a trite summary of the Northcliffe-George alliance and the rupture. In spite of the *Times*, however, the Prime Minister has retained his position as the only man in politics.

Mr. Lloyd George is to-day a rich man; he has married his children very richly; one need only look at the composition of his majority to see that it depends almost

entirely upon wealthy business men or those who have amassed wealth during the war; he is on the most intimate terms with the rich Jews. The working classes distrust him for what they call his "successive convictions," and the notion that he could be accepted to-day as leader of a "fusion" in which the Labour party would participate was never tenable. He has broken definitely with his own profoundly absurd prognostications that the end of the war would be followed immediately by a new era of universal happiness.

Touching the "vicious circle" of high prices and high wages, he finds here a point on which "the government of Mr. Lloyd George has shown itself very inferior."

The workers who loudly call for continued increases are, after all, less to blame than their rulers, who have authorised the increase of nominal wages, although they know perfectly well that they (the additions) were powerless to increase by a single centime the purchasing power of the real wages.

The work in our government departments has not escaped this keen critic, who adduces some of the latest illustrations. As regards our Russian policy:

The country does not want any talk of new wars; the Prime Minister's Russian policy has changed continually, for example, in accordance with what he believed to be his personal interest, and he has exasperated everybody, both those who wanted intervention and those who opposed it. The intervention policy was perfectly admissible

the policy of non-intervention was equally admissible from other motives. What was inadmissible, unsustainable, was this policy of inconsistencies, of war without war, of negotiations while one was bombarding in the Black Sea, of denials of existing facts. It has been said that the only economies of which the Premier is capable are "economies of truth."

In *La Revue Mondiale* (June 15), M. Jean Finot voices moderate French opinion in an article on "France pro-German and anti-Prussian," in which he argues that the two countries are equally interested in destroying the Prussian hegemony; M. G. A. Maasson discourses profoundly on "The Philosophy of the Fox-Trot"; and M. Z. de Nolva deals with "The Literary Movement in Italy." In the *Mercure de France* (June 15), the Russian conception of order and liberty is treated, historically and philosophically, by M. Z. L. Zalesky under the heading "The Elements of the Russian Soul." M. Felicien Challaye discusses the Chantung problem in the *Revue de Paris*.

(June 15). But both this *Revue* and the *Mercur* are much stronger in literary than in political interest.

ITALY.

During June the long-expected return to power of Signor Giolitti, the "neutralist," took place. Signor Nitti's third Government had scarcely taken the oath to the King before it was again out of office, the votes of all the parties but the Italian Popular Party having been withdrawn from it over the question of the proposed addition to the price of bread by Royal Decree and not by parliamentary vote. The parties represented in the Government Signor Giolitti was able to form were his own, the Liberal Democratic, the Radicals and the Popular Party; there was also one Reformist Socialist, Signor Bonomi, and one Independent Socialist, Signor Labriola, the eloquent and influential deputy for Naples, who became the Minister of Labour. The Foreign Minister was Count Sforza, who was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the last two Nitti Governments, while it was interesting to note the acceptance of the portfolio of Education by the well-known Hegelian scholar, Benedetto Croce.

In general the formation of the Government was very favourably received on all sides. The Nationalists, Giolitti's fiercest opponents, were acquiescent, regarding the appointment of Count Sforza as a sign that there would be no change of policy; at the same time they, like everyone else, recognised that Signor Giolitti's first task was to restore order in the country. There was, on Signor Giolitti's accession to office, a serious railway strike in progress. This was dealt with firmly and ultimately collapsed. It was followed, however, by an even more serious movement in the army. The Italians had been doing badly against the Albanian insurgents, and on a call for more troops being made a number of soldiers, particularly in Ancona and Brindisi, refused and mutinied. The revolt was suppressed, but a number of lives were lost, and several arrests of dangerous anarchist agents were effected. In the Chamber Signor Giolitti announced, as

part of his policy the renunciation of a protectorate over Albania and the reduction of all Italian commitments, so far as was compatible with self-defence. On the Adriatic his policy was apparently to be one of waiting, as to which the moderate *Unità* for June 24th, after remarking that Giolitti's return meant the end of "Sonmino-ism," commented as follows:—

The necessity of an Adriatic compromise is imposed upon us by the impossibility of a new war. Italy will reach this compromise late, after having long and miserably fought against fate; she will reach it with a bad grace, after new illusions, instead of with freedom and dignity.

The main obstacle, however, to this compromise, namely, D'Annunzio and his "legionaries," remained unremoved at the end of the month.

FINLAND.

In order to understand the genesis and general bearings of the present "Aland Question," it will be necessary to bear in mind certain historical and geographical facts relating to Finland and Sweden. It will be recalled that the Alands are a group of islands lying from the Finnish coast into the Gulf of Bothnia, and that they have constituted since 1581 one of the nine Provinces into which Finland was divided in that year. The Alanders are themselves Swedo-Finns—for Finland is bilingual, being partly Swedish and partly Finnish in speech—and form a fraction of 1/15 of the Swedo-Finnish nationality.

It will further be recalled that Sweden, by the Treaty of Fredrikshamn in 1809, renounced in favour of Russia its rights and interests in the Grand Duchy of Finland (including, of course, the Alands), which for several centuries had been in political association with the Kingdom of Sweden, that after a connection of more than a century with Russia, Finland (including Aland) in 1917, as a consequence of the dissolution of the Czarist Empire and of the ensuing chaos in Eastern Europe, declared its independence, and that Russia, Sweden and the Western Powers have since recognised the sovereign independence of the Finnish Republic. In all the measures connected with the Declaration of Finnish Independ-

ence, the Aland Deputies, as the constitutional representatives of the Aland Islands, concurred.

The trouble began on Aland in 1917, when a revolutionary movement, fostered by the Bolshevised Russian soldiery, was simmering in Finland. A coterie in Aland then mooted the idea of secession from Finland, but the movement at first met with opposition from a number of loyal Alanders who felt that it would be baseness to desert the Motherland in an hour of peril. In January, 1918, the Red Insurrection broke out, and Finland, without an army or means of war, applied for assistance to Sweden. This was refused, but Sweden, which had turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the Swedish-speaking population of the Finnish mainland, sent a "humanitarian" military mission to protect the Swedish-speaking population of the Aland Islands, who were, however, in less danger from the Russian soldiery. The movement on Aland in favour of secession to Sweden was now speeded up. Germany, it was reported on high Swedish authority, had promised Aland to Sweden—and at that time no one doubted that Germany had won the war—and the fate of Aland had passed from the hands of Finland for ever.

The Government of Finland had meanwhile suppressed the Red Insurrection and after a short breathing space had proceeded to meet the discontent on Aland by a grant to the inhabitants of a very wide measure of local autonomy. An Aland Self-Government Law was passed by the Finnish Diet, and came into effect on May 7th of the present year. The Law was well received in Finland both by the Swedo-Finnish and Finnish Press, but in Aland it was rejected without ceremony by a so-called National Assembly, which further expressed the opinion that the Law was worthless, and that it opened the door for the denationalisation of the population of Aland. The summary rejection of the Law by the Alanders met with general condemnation in the Finnish Press, and *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the leading Swedish organ in Finland, characterised the declaration of the Assembly as "rash, untrue and deplorable from every point of view" (May 7th). The Law gave the fullest guarantees for the protec-

tion of the Swedo-Finnish nationality, culture and language.

Meanwhile a Delegation from Aland had been to Stockholm and had been received with flattering attentions by the King of Sweden, and the Prime Minister. The King informed the Delegates that he had used his influence with England and France in favour of the claims of the Alanders, and promised that Sweden would continue to support the aspirations of the islanders.

The visit of the Delegates to Stockholm was generally deplored in the Finnish Press as "a regrettable episode" which it was difficult to reconcile with the existence of friendly relations between Sweden and Finland.

On their return to Aland, M. Sundblom and M. Björkman, the principal members of the Delegation to Stockholm, were arrested on May 29th on a charge of treason by order of the Finnish Government. This step was the occasion of an outcry in the Swedish Press, and of an exchange of somewhat acrid Notes between the Swedish and Finnish Governments.

Hufvudstadsbladet (June 13) shows that it was known to the Government that Sundblom and Björkman on the very day of their arrest were to have obtained a resolution from the National Assembly in favour of union with Sweden.

In such circumstances the obvious consequence would have been that Sweden would have sent troops to Aland, with, to be sure, the plausible object of helping the poor Alanders against the "Finnish Terror." By such a military coup, Sweden would have come into possession of Aland, and Finland would have been compelled to attempt to recover what had been lost by a recourse to arms, or else to have cravenly relinquished it.

Helsingin Sanomat (June 8), reviewing the sequence of events, remarks that the Finnish Government had borne with extraordinary patience the conspiracies which had been in progress for more than two years for the separation of Aland from Finland.

The Swedish case in reference to Aland is that the Alanders have made known their desire to unite with Sweden in virtue of the principle of the self-determination of peoples. The Swedes profess their own disinterestedness, but give at the same time much space in their journals to such

mundane considerations as the strategic value of Aland to Sweden. The Finnish Press, Swedish and Finnish, is unanimous in contesting the right of the Alanders, a fragment of the Swedish nationality in Finland, to secede themselves or to hand over to Sweden, in virtue of the principle of self-determination, an integral portion of Finnish territory which is, moreover, of vital importance to the defence of the Finnish coasts. It is further pointed out that the Alanders, having shared in the creation of the independent Finnish

Republic, are under legal and honourable obligations to assist in its maintenance and development.

The Swedo-Finns deplore the effects the schism of Aland must have on the position of the Swedo-Finns in Finland and on future relations between Finland and Sweden. The question of Aland is now to be referred to the League of Nations but many in Finland, and probably in Sweden also, will regret that the solution of the question was not reached by discussion among the peoples concerned.



[Hennerson]

The Swedish Stunt in Finland.

[Hickman]

Sweden: "As this branch is sticking out in my direction, I will simply cut it off."

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE BEACONSFIELD TRAGEDY.

By J. ARTHUR PRICE.

The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. Vols. V. and VI. By George Earle, Buckle. (Murray. 18s. net each).

Mr. Buckle has at last concluded the great Life of Disraeli. The public has glanced at the work, and for the moment seems more interested in such matters as the hero's strange friendships with Lady Chesterfield and Lady Bradford, in his curious revelation that some statesmen of his day rouged themselves, in the order of the B, which he created among his lady friends—of which order the Princess Beatrice and the present Lady Selbourne, as well as Ladies Chesterfield and Bradford, were members—than in the important revelations which the volumes make on the planting of no small part of the seeds from which the Armageddon sprang. This, however, is the result of the reaction into frivolity which has followed the strain of the great war and the bitter disillusionment of the peace. In time the historical importance of the volumes and the valuable state papers and letters now first published will be recognised.

But will the book and its documents, as Mr. Buckle imagines, permanently raise the character of Beaconsfield to a level with the great statesman of history, "a grand and magnificent figure, standing solitary—the man of fervid imagination and vision, amid a nation of narrow practical minds, phillistine, Puritan ridden?" The truth is that while future generations will more and more recognise in Disraeli the most picturesque of our statesmen since Bolingbroke, the ethical sense of our people will more and more revolt against the unscrupulous and unchristian foreign policy that in the later seventies satisfied the clubs and perhaps the London mob, but never really appealed to the people of England. The truth is that after the Bulgarian atrocities had startled the British conscience, a pro-Turkish policy could never be really popular. The most

interesting revelation of these volumes is the evidence which they afford that Disraeli's own Cabinet in the critical years had little real enthusiasm for his Eastern policy. Carnarvon and Derby were utterly opposed to a war on behalf of the Sultan, while Salisbury was always lukewarm and admitted it after years that his chief had put the nation's money on the wrong horse. The fact was that Disraeli's cabinet consisted of ordinary English aristocrats of the old school, men who knew what war meant, and realised that a war on behalf of Ottoman misrule would be a European scandal. No doubt financial interests in the City were strong for Turkey, but "big business" was in those days allowed little power in politics, and Dizzy, who, "if an Oriental was a gentleman at heart," was not the man to throw open to it the portals of power. When we consider that many of the leaders of the Established Church, the whole force of the Nonconformist conscience, fighting Liberalism and, above all, Mr. Gladstone were fiercely anti-Turk, the fact that Disraeli with his divided Cabinet could bring the country to the verge of a war on behalf of the corrupt and cruel Moslem tyranny seems to us to-day incomprehensible.

There were two reasons why he almost succeeded. In the first place he had the enthusiastic backing of the Queen. It is true that in the first days of the public excitement over the Bulgarian horrors, Victoria had felt some qualms. But ere long her reactionary prejudices had asserted themselves and in the end she became more anti-Russian, more callous to the tragedy of Eastern Christendom than Disraeli himself. She was, she wrote in the spring of 1877, "prepared to speak or write to good, but somewhat nervous and somewhat weak and sentimental Lord Carnarvon, if necessary, as well as to Lord Salisbury. This morbid sentimentality for people who hardly

deserve the name of real Christians, and forgetting the great interest of this great country is really incomprehensible." A Sovereign, who one day desired to put the Attorney-General in motion against an anti-Turkish public meeting and on another threatened her abdication if her policy of war with the "great Barbarians," as she called the Russians, was not adopted, could hand a Tory cabinet to her will; but the myth of Victoria as a constitutional sovereign will hardly survive this publication. More powerful, however, than Queen Victoria's influence was the old which anti-Russian prejudice brought to the Premier. The Bulgarian atrocities had ruined the Turk for ever with English opinion, but English opinion was not yet reconciled with Russia. The generation then in middle age had grown up during the Crimean War and regarded Russia as the hereditary enemy. Moreover the weakness of the Czar's Empire was suspected by few; and the belief that, unless checked in time, it would dominate Asia, if not Europe, was wide-spread. To this feeling Disraeli appealed and his appeal was couched in the true Prussian vein. He was, as he told the people, as selfish as patriotism. That Mr. Buckle finds nothing to rebuke in this sentiment shows how far removed our educated class, as represented by the ex-editor of the *Times*, are from the spirit that can make the League of Nations a success. Our higher educational system does not turn out "Good Europeans." It is to the honour of the British people that they cannot be stampeded into a war for purely selfish ends. It is questionable whether, even in the hour of the Berlin triumph, Beaconsfield had the majority of the electorate of the country behind him. His political managers did not advise a dissolution at that date, and the opinion of the then Liberal Whip, McAdam, who arranged the Gladstonian triumph of 1890, was that if he had then dissolved Parliament, he would have been in a minority of thirty. A khaki election was not possible.

One thing the book does not satisfactorily explain. It does not show what was the true motive that actuated Disraeli in his pro-Turkish policy. He may have persuaded the Queen, and perhaps in the end himself, that a selfish

care for the British Empire dictated his policy, but it is difficult to suppose that a clever man was really so stupid as to have believed that a check to Russia in the Near East would be a protection to the British Empire in the East. Had Russia been established at Constantinople after Plevna, her work would have been cut out for her for half a century, and she would have had neither the power nor the desire to attack India. In fact the Treaty of Berlin for a time increased rather than lessened the Indian peril. Russia, baffled in Europe, turned to Asia. The explanation can be found partly in the fact of Disraeli's Jewish prejudices against Russia, and the Slav, and partly in his bitter anti-nationalism. He vows to the Queen that at Berlin he struggled so that Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania should get as little out of the alliance with Russia in the war as possible. He could not see that independent nationalities would be the best check to Russia, for the man not only did not believe in nationalism, but passionately detested it. The chief charge that he brings against Napoleon III. is that he encouraged this principle in Italy. He said no word of protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. He was blind to the German menace and would willingly have concluded an alliance with Germany and Austria, had he not feared to drive France into the arms of Russia. He was, in short, an Oriental Metternich and he laid the seeds of Armageddon, which but for the wisdom of Lord Salisbury, who seems from these pages to have grasped the true situation both in Austria and Turkey, would have sprouted sooner than they did.

Disraeli's foreign policy was evil, and no one after reading these pages can cred him with any real love of democracy. But at least when his Jewish prejudices did not come in, he showed a real sympathy with the poor and an honest desire to preserve the autocratic constitution of the country. The folly which permitted the House of Lords to reject the Budget, it would never have permitted. His affection for his Sovereign and his admiration for women reveals a suffragist leader born too early. He had his virtues and his charm, but when we think of Armenians handed back to Turkey, of the cru-

attempts to blight the cause of freedom in the Near East, it is impossible not to regard his years of power as years of tragedy for England and Europe.

by Three Years in America. By Count Bernstorff (Skellington and Son, 25/- net).

This book was issued in the original German under the title of "Deutschland und Amerika." A mere literal rendering of those three words would not, of course, have done for the British public, but we are not at all sure that they do not express with greater accuracy than the title the English publishers have chosen the essential outcome and, perhaps, also the essential object, Count Bernstorff's history of his wartime Ambassadorship. Self-defence, self-justification against the attacks in the United States and in his own country—this was certainly one purpose, perhaps the primary purpose, of this book. But the chief result is an exposition, as interesting and as authoritative as we remember to have seen anywhere, of the causes and effects of Germany's misunderstanding of the United States, America and Germany. Bernstorff and Berlin—that is the antagonism round which this story is composed.

Count Bernstorff's account of his early life is brief, but it shows that from the beginning he had a certain un-Prussian appreciation for English political ideas. He was born in England during his father's ambassadorship here, and he grew up in an English atmosphere. By early training, therefore, he was fitted to understand and interpret a democratic community such as the United States. It was to this country that he was sent after a certain amount of regular diplomatic service, particularly in Constantinople, where his official career was to end. When war broke out he was in Germany on leave from Washington. He returned immediately, accompanied by Dr. Dernburg, who was put in charge of the work of the German Red Cross. But thought fit on his arrival to establish the vast propaganda organisation whose blatant activities, particularly after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, aroused so much hostile feeling among Americans. It was, in fact, a speech of Dr. Dernburg's defending the first great German crime at sea which

practically overturned the whole propagandist machinery and caused Count Bernstorff to appeal to Berlin against the continuance of the work, for the time being at all events.

In the course of time the *Lusitania* incident—for in this book all the German outrages become mere "incidents," mere hindrances to Count Bernstorff's diplomacy—in the course of time the feeling aroused by the sinking of the *Lusitania* was allayed and the danger of America's entry into the war averted by two factors, the natural pacifism of the American people and the tact of the German Ambassador. The ruffled seas of German-American relations, however, were only just beginning to show the effect of the oil poured on them so assiduously by Count Bernstorff, and by Berlin under his directions, when a new storm arose. This time it was the alleged "un-neutral" activities of the German Military Attaché, Captain von Papen, and the Naval Attaché, Commander Boy-Ed, both of whom had to be withdrawn from the United States as *personae ingratæ*. Count Bernstorff devotes a long and very interesting chapter to the alleged German conspiracies on American soil, and if he is able to trace the worst of the offences, such as the plot to blow up the Welland Canal, to irresponsible and misguided German patriots, he yet does little to clear his two subordinates—at least they should have been his subordinates—from the charges implied in the famous Von Papen papers, and he does record the fact that he petitioned Berlin for the cessation of the activities of all German agents in the United States.

In this respect, it would appear, Count Bernstorff's advice was followed, for throughout 1916 he entertained a lively hope that the goal of his policy, the intervention of President Wilson and the consequent rescue of Germany from irreparable defeat, might be attained. But Berlin again hardened its heart and eventually, after the strongest protests from Count Bernstorff, the decision to enter upon the unrestricted submarine campaign was taken. Count Bernstorff's work was virtually at an end. The long struggle, so fully and vividly depicted in these pages, of Bernstorff versus Berlin, had resulted in the victory of the latter.

But it was a victory which was to lead to the final German defeat.

The Influence of Puritanism. By John Stephen Flynn (Murray, 12/- net).

Mr. Flynn's claim that Puritanism on the whole has been the Guardian of Freedom and the Champion of Righteousness requires some examination. In the first place, what is Puritanism? One is told that it is a moral force that has found expression, more particularly among the Anglo-Saxon races, in a multitude of sectaries actuated, according to Mr. Flynn, by a common principle of political and religious freedom. So much is clear. But when we turn over the pages of history and examine those sectaries, their dogmas civil and religious, and their actions, that common principle begins to appear so shadowy a thing that one has doubts of its very existence. A principle there certainly is: that of non-conformity. But that is purely a negative principle, and one cannot well reconcile the idea of it with the idea of a living moral force.

The truth would seem to be that there is a very big distinction between Puritans and Puritanism. Mr. Flynn almost admits this. He takes Cromwell as the outstanding Puritan figure of the 17th century, and, after examining his military and political career, confesses that he is not entirely representative of the Puritan spirit. He rejects Milton on account of his un-Puritan views on the marriage tie. He glorifies the Mayflower emigrants, but is forced to concede that their notions of civil and religious liberty, as applied to their own settlement, were inferior to those of the Roman Catholics of Maryland. Presbyterianism, with its highly dogmatic form of church government, is not a wholly satisfactory emanation of Puritanism; and the 17th century Quakers are almost summed up as opportunists in a delicious anecdote of their loyal address to James II. "We are come," said they, "to testify our sorrow for the death of our good Friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our Governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the Church of Eng-

land no more than we; therefore we hope that thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself." This method of approach to a bigoted tyrant seems to fall decidedly short of championship of the Cause of Righteousness. Nevertheless, the Society of Friends at least "placed the cultivation of the intellect next to the knowledge of God," and Penn's colony in America had not a single illiterate person amongst the white population. In this respect the Early Quakers were undeniably superior to their fellow-Puritans, and their tradition of education as the direct road to freedom, if not righteousness, has been nobly maintained. Education was certainly not a strong point with the Puritan iconoclasts of the 17th century, nor yet of the Puritan manufacturers of the 18th and 19th who, forgetful that John Hampden was a country squire, waged war against the landlords so that they themselves might secure the cheap food which meant cheap labour for the towns.

"Puritanism in its turn throws out an extreme left with a hundred branches of its own," wrote Lord Morley. The finding of a common denominator for these hundred branches, and the proving that it constituted a force that impelled the nation towards what we understand by "freedom" and "democracy" is the task that Mr. Flynn set himself. It was a stupendous undertaking, and we are frankly of opinion that he has proved little more about Puritanism than what was already proved. A less conscientious writer might have made a better case for his thesis. Mr. Flynn's fairness stands in the way of his argument. He is much too honest about his Puritans to convince us that they were morally different from the everyday Englishman with his ingrained domestic virtues, his "genius for compromise," and his cleverness in divorcing life from religion and religion from "business." But he has certainly written a very interesting book, packed with historical knowledge and yet not too erudite for the common intellect. Our Puritan forebears may not have been so responsible for our present "democracy" as Mr. Flynn thinks. But if they were not, it is far from certain that this is to their discredit.

Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

Records of the Great War.

The Secret Corps. A Tale of "Intelligence" on all Fronts. By Captain Ferdinand Tuohy (Murray, 7/6 net).

Captain Tuohy, in his capacity as Intelligence Officer, travelled over practically the whole of the war area and several neutral states as well. He tells an absorbing story of the espionage system in those different lands, and passes many interesting comments on the relative success achieved by the Allies and their enemies in this field of activity. On the whole, one gets the impression that Great Britain did remarkably well—very much better, in fact, than is commonly supposed to have been the case during the first year or so, when the "spy mania" in this country was at its height. Yet this author suggests that the General Staff "fled away the imagination of its younger officers." In other words, had it not been for the Dug-Outs, the success of our Intelligence in the field, at any rate, might have been a veritable triumph. Captain Tuohy's yarns of individual spies are irresistible, and his candour is decidedly refreshing.

The Great War, 1914-1918. By C. R. L. Fletcher (Murray, 6/- net).

Mr. Fletcher is one of the robustious people who regret that the war ended without Marshal Foch "having his battle," and though his record is strictly concerned with the war, and not with its results, this point of view occasionally makes itself felt in these picturesque and lively pages. The principal campaigns in the West and East are cleverly told, he gives a remarkably lucid hint of the wearisomely protracted fighting and tortuous (and still to some extent incomprehensible) diplomacy in the Balkans, ended by a brief "fortnight of victory," and the concluding stage of the war in the West is admirably done. If the book tells us nothing new, it at least affords a bird's-eye view of the chief events in the four years' world drama.

With the Serbs in Macedonia. By Douglas Walshe (The Bodley Head, 7/6 net).

Mr. Walshe was an officer in an A.S.C. unit attached to the Serbian Army, and took part in the Allied offensive that ended in the capture of Monastir. He writes of his experiences both vividly and convincingly, and with an eye to the civilian rather than the purely military side. His high opinion

of the Serbs is summed up in the concluding sentences: "It has been a privilege to serve them"; and his record, as a whole, gives a pleasant and significant picture of the harmony between Serbs and British. The book would be excellent pro-Serbian propaganda, if indeed such a thing was wanted to convince us of our Ally's bravery and exceptional loyalty. As it is, it is a brightly written and very human narrative of Balkan events, men, and morals.

Fiction.

The Watch-Dog of the Crown. By John Knipe (John Lane, 7/- net).

Mr. Knipe has written a historical novel of much more than ordinary merit. Choosing the period of Edward VI. and the Protector Somerset, and making the conspiracy of Seymour of Sudeley, Lord High Admiral, the foundation of his plot, he gives us an admirable tale of intrigue and romance, and in the character of Lady Frances Grey, the girlish accomplice of Seymour, a re-creation that touches genius. Most of the action of the story takes place at the Tower, where Sir Henry Talbot, the "Watch-Dog," keeps the best ward he can over Lady Frances, but there are convincing pictures of the dreaded Star Chamber, and of less ominous places such as Greenwich and old Dorchester House. There is real atmosphere in the dialogue and setting, and the narrative never flags.

The Revels of Orsera. By Sir Ronald Ross (Murray, 7/- net).

Sir Ronald Ross has based his story upon "The History of Raffaello Bonté, Cardinal of Parma," a historical MS. of A.D. 1539, written by a visionary ecclesiastic of the name of Müren. The Cardinal himself, however, plays a comparatively unimportant part, albeit a dramatic one. The people who chiefly concern us are Zozimo, the dwarf, and Count Otto Azrimar, his master, Count Reichenfels, a noble of the Swiss state, who holds the revels for the purpose of deciding on a husband for his daughter Zelita, and Morva, the mysterious and magic mother of Zozimo. There is a psychic connection between Count Otto and his servant, and this governs the development of a tale that begins like an ordinary mediæval romance and ends as a fantasy in mediæval mysticism, in a wild setting of Alpine solitudes. While the historical detail is thoroughly worked out, the purely imaginative power of the writer is

what chiefly appeals to us. For students of the Middle Ages as well as for the general reader, the book has great psychological value and real poetic charm.

The Story of a New Zealand River. By Jane Mander (The Bodley Head, 8/6 net).

Alice Roland is a conventional English-woman who has been through one unpleasant experience with a man, and does not want another. Hence, when safely but not suitably wedded to the roughish settler, Tom Roland, and installed in his isolated lumber camp, she holds off for a long time from her natural affinity David Bruce. Her daughter Asia, however, takes the bit between her teeth and casts in her lot with a man living apart from his lawful wife, and there is no saying whether Alice would not also have succumbed to her passion had not Tom solved the difficulty by dying. The love stories of mother and daughter are cleverly developed, and the setting is unhackneyed and picturesque. At a first novel, the book promises well for the future of its talented authoress.

The Haunted Bookshop. By Christopher Morley (Chapman and Hall, 7/6 net).

Novels with an American setting are possibly not so popular with the British public as the present rather copious dose of them might lead one to suppose; but Mr. Morley's latest volume is a really admirable specimen of its kind. In some measure it is a continuation of his "Parnassus on Wheels," but the company of the immortal bookseller Roger Mifflin is enriched by the addition of the fair Titania, who comes to him to learn the trade, and by that of a typically intelligent young "ad-writer," Aubrey (Gilbert). The two of them and a murderous German chemist cause the tale to run very far beyond the limits of the bookshop, though that institution is the centre of the dark intrigue. The novel contains much good sound philosophy and a rich vein of purely human excitement.

The Silver Tea-shop. By E. Everett-Green (Stanley Paul, 7/6 net).

A young man who believes his dead father to have been robbed of the fruits of his life work by an erstwhile friend, and an elderly woman who has sworn to avenge a dead sister who was betrayed and deserted by her husband, come together in the Tea-Shop. It transpires that the "Mrs. Silver," who runs it, is really the wife of the man whom Jack Colquhoun believes to be the scoundrel he wants; and that Jane Fossbury's "objective" is lodged above the shop. However, the real villain in both cases turns out to be this self-same lodger; and in due course he brings himself to his own bad end. On these foundations Miss Everett Green has built up a decorous romance, with plenty of mystery and excitement. Her readers will "simply love" her inventor-hero, Colquhoun.

Philosophy.

The Voice of the Nineteenth Century. By Jane M. Style (Watts, 2/- net).

In the general uprooting of the pre-war beliefs and prejudices, the Positivists have reared their somewhat diminished heads, and there has been more than one attempt to put forward Comte once more as the master teacher of the 19th century. This book is one of these efforts. It is chiefly interesting as representing Comtism from a woman's angle of vision; the emotional treatment of the subject could hardly have come from a man. One feels, perhaps, that what is valuable in Comtism has already been absorbed by the compound of other philosophies that make up the average mentality of mankind. Certainly we are nearly all for the "religion of humanity" in theory, if not in practice. This essay does not discover any fresh message of the "Master."

Thomas Henry Huxley. By Leonard Huxley. L.L.D. **Auguste Comte.** By F. J. Gould. Life Stories of Famous Men (Watts, 3/6 net each).

These are the first two volumes of a new series dealing with the life work of some of the chief protagonists in the struggle for freedom of thought. Dr. Huxley tells the story of his father's career with an attractive clearness, and sheds no little light on the philosopher's character by intimate personal touches. The book contains also some interesting pen portraits of Huxley's associates in the world of Science—including Darwin, whose "bull-dog" he prided himself on being. There are graphic descriptions of the philosopher's dialectical combats with ecclesiastical and other opponents. Comte is not nearly so sympathetic a personality, but Mr. Gould has made the best of him. The Founder of Positivism showed himself human rather than humanist in his relations with the other sex, and the squalor of his marital circumstances is hardly offset by the touching romance, uncompleted, with Clothilde de Vaux. Mr. Gould successfully extracts both the emotionalism and the philosophy from this many-sided Frenchman.

Sports and Pastimes.

Trout Fishing. Memories and Morals. By H. T. Sheringham (Hodder and Stoughton, 12/6 net).

Mr. Sheringham, who is the Angling Editor of *The Field*, is not only a devotee of fishing, but a serious student of fisheries. This, his latest book, contains a wealth of information on the latter subject in so far as it pertains to the trout; he writes with knowledge both of existing waters and those that might be. His method of treatment, moreover, should win the heart even of the most rabid non-fisherman. He does not thrust his knowledge upon us; he simply lets us see that is there. His personal adventures

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—Resourcefulness
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Lack of System
Lack of Initiative
Indefiniteness
Mental Flurry
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among trout are told in a graphic, yet delightfully whimsical, fashion. He is the temperamental angler, *par excellence*. Compared with the more solid sort of writer on fishing, he appears almost frivolous at times. But he gets where the more solid scribe cannot hope to get.

Miscellaneous.

Tholom Found Wanting. By W. S. Godfrey (Watts, 1/6 net).

The issue of a new and enlarged edition of Mr. Godfrey's pamphlet indicates a revival of Rationalist hopes for the conversion of people who still believe in God. This pamphlet created some stir when it was first published in 1903, partly because it was the work of an ex-clergyman of the Church of England who had "progressed" from belief to doubt, but largely because it voiced a perfectly sincere conviction in unusually dignified, even exalted, language. The Great War, with all its unspeakable horrors, cruelties and miseries, has undoubtedly caused some fresh wavering in the belief in an all-knowing and all-planning Deity, and has furnished Atheists with a new opportunity for attack. Mr. Godfrey's pamphlet is probably as good a weapon as could have been found for the purpose.

The Whole Art of Dining and Table Decorations. By J. Rey (Carmona and Baker, 21/- net).

M. J. Rey, the author of "Le Guide du Gourmet à Table," has in this book compiled a comprehensive guide to the art of dining wisely and yet well. One must go back to Abraham Hayward in order to find the subject treated with as much gusto and enthusiasm. But M. Rey is even more practical than Hayward was. He believes that brainwork and imagination are essential to all who aspire to be hosts, that they must keep themselves thoroughly posted in the latest development of the culinary art and in the changing fashions of table decoration. For those who aim at distinction in entertaining, M. Rey will be a useful guide. He leaves no aspect of his subject untouched—breakfast, luncheon, tea and supper, as well as dinner, come within his scope. He treats of the art of carving, of the uncorking, decanting, and serving of wines; of Lord Mayor's banquets and *al fresco* luncheons, and of every other topic that can interest the epicure. And in addition to all these merits, his book is profusely illustrated.

The Problems of Mediumship. By Alessandro Zymonidas (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 7/6).

This is a forbidding book, but the dark secrets it purports to contain are only for the initiate. Sir Oliver Lodge makes very dull reading compared with this advanced manual of occultism, and it makes the Rev. Vale Owen seem no more than a child paddling in a magical sea. The author is uncon-

cerned with apologetics, and writes for believers only. He deals, like the papiri of the Egyptians, like Pistris Sophia, the book of Genesis, and the latest revelation of Obaspe, with the origin of the world, and betrays an intimate knowledge of occult lore. Once the mutual repugnance of the two languages is overcome there are thrills even for the neophyte.

Reprints.

The Life of Richard Cobden. By John, Viscount Morley, O.M. (Fisher Unwin, 8/6 net).

Students of politics will welcome this re-issue in one volume of Lord Morley's standard Life of Cobden. There has been nothing to equal the book, which was first published nearly forty years ago, in comprehensiveness as regards both the statesman's public and private life. Cobden's soundness of judgment in international affairs has been rather lost in the controversies that have raged around his merit as a domestic statesman; yet his foresight in foreign politics is, as Mr. J. A. Hobson reminded us in a recent work, one of his chief claims to our regard. For this reason alone the re-issue of the Life is timely at this period of troubled European politics.

Letters of Travel (1892-1913). By Rudyard Kipling (Macmillan, 7/6 net).

This is a reprint of three series of letters, contributed respectively by Mr. Kipling to the *Times*, *Morning Post* and *Nash's Magazine* on Canada and Egypt. Besides a deal of terse and vivid descriptive writing one gets some pungent reflections on social conditions and outpourings of Mr. Kipling's political philosophy. There is a letter on "Labour" in British Columbia which makes one think. It was written several years ago; but it reveals a condition of organised labour's supremacy that is still the ascendency of the working man that has established itself in this country only since the war. The immigration problem doubtless hurried forward this movement in Canada. There are also observations on the "self-determination" principle that are highly applicable to the present state of unrest in Egypt, and elsewhere.

The Cruise of the "Falcon." By E. F. Knight. **The Forest.** By Stewart Edward White (Nelson, 2/6 net each).

These books take their place seasonably in "The Edinburgh Library of Non-Fiction Books"; everybody has begun just now to think of the joys of life in the open air. Mr. Knight's narrative of his cruise in an 18-ton yawl in remote South American waters was, when it first appeared, acclaimed as one of the best of its kind in modern literature, and to-day it reads as well as ever. "The Forest" is more purely American; it describes adventures and sensations in the backwoods of the Far North. But it is hardly less welcome as a reminder of the "out" that comes to all of us at some time of our lives.

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THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

No. 368. Vol. LXII.]

Founder: W. T. STEAD.

[AUGUST, 1920]

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, August 8th, 1920.

**Tributes to
Mr.**

W. T. Stead.

Owing to the necessity of going to press early in the month, we were not able to do more than refer briefly in our last issue to the Memorial which has been erected on the Embankment to the founder of *The Review of Reviews*. In the present number we reproduce a photograph of the beautiful portrait which has been executed by Sir George Frampton and it is a singularly gratifying pleasure to publish the tributes to the memory of Mr. W. T. Stead which have been sent to us from some of the most distinguished public men of our time. No words of ours are needed to add to the praises that have been gladly sent to us by men of such varied political stations as Lord Northcliffe, Dr. Clifford, or Sir Harry Johnstone. The *Review* itself passed into new hands a year ago, but it has been our endeavour to live up to the ideals which led Mr. Stead to found it in 1893, and to maintain the traditions established by him and carried on since his death by his family, which made of it a review that, in his own words, "would interpret the best thought of the lay in such a manner as to render it accessible to the general intelligence of the age."

**The Collapse
of Poland.**

Six years after the beginning of the world war in 1914, Europe is today faced with a situation that not only threatens to undo the whole work of the Peace Treaty, but even

to plunge the Continent once again into the ghastly nightmare of war. By the time that these pages are printed, Poland may quite possibly have been forced to make an unconditional surrender to the Bolsheviks, and may either be placed under the control of a revolutionary government or have become a vassal state subservient to Russia. Were the scene of this latest catastrophe less distant from our own shores, it is difficult to imagine that public opinion would not be roused to the same sense of imminent danger and outrage that was evoked by the German invasion of Belgium six years ago. For no one who has watched the development of events in Europe since the Armistice can have any doubt that Russia, triumphant over her enemies on every front, with a huge and victorious army, fully mobilised and intoxicated with easy conquests, and ruled by a group of energetic and determined politicians, who have for the past three years been proclaiming their intention of spreading revolution throughout the civilised world, is a more formidable menace to the peace and stability of Europe than Germany was even in the most arrogant period of the Hohenzollern dynasty. Ever since the Peace Treaty was published, it has been clearly evident that the future stability of any European settlement that would be compatible to the League of Nations, must depend upon the creation of a strong and entirely independent Poland which should act as a buffer state between Germany and Russia. Since long before the war, German politicians, who dreamt of a German expansion over Europe,

have believed in and expatiated upon the vast possibilities of developing German power and influence in Russia. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, conceived in the moment of Germany's greatest military success during the war, revealed the passionate desire of the German rulers to obtain a grip upon Western Russia and ultimately to bring the whole Russian Empire under German domination by the methods of industrial penetration. And even when the German army was utterly defeated on the Western front, it was still plain that if the Germans could succeed in expanding towards the East, they might yet gain far more in territory and real power than they had lost even by the restoration of Alsace Lorraine to France. They might acquire dominion over new tracts of territory in comparison with which the stolen provinces of France were altogether negligible; and, what was infinitely more important, they could hope, by joining hands with Russia, to create in the course of years such a combination of military and economic power across the map of Europe, as would leave the British and French governments in a position of isolation and inferiority.

It seemed so easy to **Lord Curzon's** complete the task of **Responsibility.** winning the war by consolidating victory with a stable and permanent peace, that ever since the Armistice the tension of public opinion has been completely relaxed, and the diplomatists have been left free to make or mar the settlement according to their own abilities. After less than two years of peace-making, which have resulted in no real peace, we are suddenly confronted with a situation in which our power to enforce reasonable conditions upon our enemies appears to have entirely vanished, while our enemies, demoralised and stricken by the war, have yet emerged so far triumphant that we are obliged to treat with them on equal terms. Who can say that we shall not, before long, find ourselves compelled to approach them as suppliants? The immediate future must depend upon the issue of the Armistice negotiations between the Bolsheviks and Poland. We have said repeatedly in this *Review* that we believe Poland to have

been disastrously misled in undertaking war against Russia. There was not even any ostensible pretext to justify the opening of hostilities. It was as though Belgium had taken the offensive against Germany in the summer of 1914, and involved herself, and her Allies with her, in a hopeless catastrophe by laying herself open to a punitive invasion by the Great Power that had been eager awaiting an opportunity to crush her with superior force. There never was more tragic act of national insanity than the Polish offensive in the late spring of this year. Even their own interests should have urged the Allies to intervene and compel Poland to desist from her mad undertaking. Self interest ought to have reinforced their clear duty to invoke the authority of the League of Nations to bring immediate pressure to bear upon one of its members who was violating the first principles of its Covenant. No student of foreign affairs could have possibly avoided so obvious a conclusion. We urged ourselves, and numerous other observers in the Press made the same appeal to the Government, that the League of Nations should be called upon to take the matter up at once. Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the League of Nations Union, made urgent representations to the British Foreign Office that it should intervene without delay and get the Supreme Council to take action. But for some altogether inexplicable reason Lord Curzon obdurately refused to listen. Poland was allowed to send her armies to destruction, and for the retribution that has overtaken them, Lord Curzon and the members of the Supreme Council bear a direct and undeniable responsibility.

What is the secret of this incredible stupidity which leads the politicians to ignore every safeguard, even although it be of their own devising, that could avail to restore peace or to prevent further war? No man in his senses could have thought that Poland had even the remotest chance of beating the Bolshevik armies in the field. No one could have failed to see that if her armies were overthrown, the Bolsheviks must inevitably march in triumph in

Warsaw, and raise the banner of social revolution in the citadel which was to have been an impregnable fortress to protect Europe from a junction of forces between Russia and Germany. How are we to account for the frantic appeals of Mr. Lloyd George on his return from Spa, pointing out that Poland is in danger of being overwhelmed, when he must have known perfectly well that such a catastrophe was inevitable from the moment when he declined to intervene through the League of Nations and stop Poland from going to war? Everyone knows that the Poles put themselves hopelessly in the wrong by attacking Russia, but it was our duty to prevent them, as we could have prevented them, from making an irreparable mistake. Whether she was right or wrong, Poland, by her geographical position, must mean to the Western Allies and to the whole peace of the world what Belgium meant in the summer of 1914. Her destruction, whether it be merited or not by her own folly, is a calamity to Europe, which not only upsets the balance of power, but prevents all possibility of building up a real League of Nations. It is not only that a Russo-German Alliance would cover more than half of the continent in area. Such a combination would mean the union of two infinitely dangerous and disruptive forces across the map of Europe. It would mean the amalgamation of German Imperialists, using the Bolshevik revolutionaries for their own purposes of racial expansion, with the Moscow Soviet, controlling a vast army imbued with the lust of conquest and devoting its whole energies to the overthrow of civilised government throughout the world.

If Russia and Germany unite. We write before the Armistice negotiations have yet been concluded, but it is a

foregone conclusion, which can take place only along the lines that the Bolsheviks desire. Threats of armed intervention by the Supreme Council can be no better than an unfortunate and discreditable farce. What is to be gained by sending Marshal Foch to Warsaw if he cannot find an army with which to enforce the decisions of Spa on the other side of Europe? Even sup-

posing that complete unanimity between the Allies could be reached, which nation is going to enforce conscription to send an army across Germany and Poland to fight against the Bolsheviks? The situation has become too serious to be soluble by any appeal for volunteers. Yet the menace to the Western Powers is certainly not less, it is actually greater, than was the menace of a German attack on Belgium and France six years ago. If Poland is unable to maintain her independence, what hope is there for Czecho-Slovakia or Jugo-Slavia or the Ukraine? The subjugation of Poland can only lead to an early alliance between Germany and Russia, and whether the next German Government is formed from the right or from the left, the result can only be a close unity of policy between the two countries. Nor would its influence be confined to Europe alone. The whole Turkish settlement remains in suspense until peace has been concluded with Russia, and the possession of what Trotsky has described as "Poland, the Red Bridge of Revolution between Russia and the rest of Europe," strengthens the power of the Bolsheviks to reinforce the Turkish resistance and to stultify all our laborious and futile attempts at peace-making in the Middle East. If Russia and Germany between them can control the entire highways of communication from Hamburg, through Berlin, Vienna, and Buda-Pesth, to Constantinople, it will require an army of hundreds of thousands of Allied troops to maintain order in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. For the Turks will have gained new courage at the discredit of the Alliance in Europe, and they will persist in their guerilla warfare. Even yet, the Treaty with Turkey has not been signed, and a division of opinion between the Allies themselves may even yet postpone any settlement indefinitely.

Bolshevism Triumphant. While the diplomatists have been spinning cobwebs at Versailles, and the Peace Conference

has been travelling round from one pleasure resort to another, the Germans and the Bolsheviks alike have pursued a clear and logical policy, and confront us with accomplished facts. It is too late

to save Poland, too late to save the Treaty of Versailles. If we are to save from the wreckage of European civilisation even such guarantees as will enable France and Belgium to rebuild their ravaged territories, and will give some little compensation to ourselves for all that we have lost, we must at all costs conclude peace. Every day that peace with Russia is delayed, strengthens the power of the Moscow Soviet, and adds new victories to the triumphs of the Red Armies. They are the real menace to civilisation, and if we prolong the uncertainty of a peace that is no peace, we only encourage them to set out across Europe on a career of conquest as the standard bearers of revolution, which may involve Europe in another period of desolation such as she has not seen since the Napoleonic wars. M. Kamenef has arrived in London to reinforce M. Krassin's mission to obtain a resumption of trade with Russia, and a firm hope of peace is discernible in the earnest message from the Foreign Office to Moscow, requesting that he should be given full powers to treat on all diplomatic subjects in the name of the Russian Government. So the Bolsheviks have at last gained recognition. Had we recognised them a year ago instead of playing with mischievous expeditions that were never even nearly adequate to achieve any real success, the Red Armies might by this time have been demobilised and Poland might have been a flourishing and progressive state instead of lying prostrate at their feet. Because of the diplomatists' folly, it is we, and not the Russians, who are now desperately eager for peace. We are demobilised, demilitarised, while the Russian military machine is in full working order, and has gained immense accessions of supplies, and control over vast and fertile territories. The plight of Poland is so desperate that neither Mr. Lloyd George nor Mr. Churchill make any attempt to conceal their belated anxiety. Their appeals to Moscow to authorise M. Kamenef to conclude peace, serve only to convince the Bolsheviks of the strength of their own position. It is they, and not we, who now have everything to gain by waiting upon events, and refusing to make peace until Poland has capitulated upon their terms.

Even yet, there is no Turkey's Hopes sure hope that the treaty of peace with Turkey will be signed before the end of the month, although the signature should have been completed a month ago. After the Turks themselves had succeeded in causing one delay, there has been a further postponement owing to the growth of unexpected differences of opinion between Italy and her Allies. Meanwhile, the Greeks have acted vigorously and with success in their offensive against Mustapha Kemal and his irregular army of Turkish Nationalists in Asia Minor. By a well conceived and skilfully executed campaign, they have cleared a large part of Asia Minor of the insurgent troops, and driven them back into the mountains further East. In Thrace, their success has been even more remarkable, and there the leader of the Nationalist movement in the European provinces of the old Ottoman empire, was captured and forced to surrender without any serious show of resistance. But it remains to be seen whether the flying columns of Greek troops which have succeeded in mopping up the scattered groups of Nationalists will be able to maintain order over a wide and difficult country in which even road communications scarcely exist. It is becoming more and more clear that the settlement which has enormously increased our territorial responsibilities in the Middle East will involve the upkeep of so large an army that we must face the alternative of either abandoning our control over Mesopotamia and the Middle East, or else of providing for greatly increased Army Estimates. To make peace with Turkey was a far less complicated problem than to make peace with Germany, yet it has taken nearly two years to arrive at the hopeless confusion that exists to-day. In the interval, the Turks have had ample time to profit by our indecisions, and to become accustomed to the idea that we have not the strength to carry out the impossible settlement which we are asking them to accept. Moreover, the consolidation of the Bolshevik regime in Russia has raised new obstacles in our path, and provided the Turks with the most formidable Allies

in Europe in their desire to defeat our peace terms.

The Chaos of Peace Conferences.

The accumulation of difficulties that has constantly followed upon the decisions of the Supreme Council makes it always more impossible to understand why those decisions have ever been taken. Everyone outside of the Supreme Council knew perfectly well that the refusal to fix any total to the German indemnity must result in economic paralysis throughout Central Europe. Everyone who was informed of how affairs were developing in the Middle East knew that it must be impossible to hold down all Asia Minor by force of arms. Everyone knew that it was madness to think that the pathetic remnant of the old Austrian Empire which is now called German Austria could ever shoulder the entire war liabilities of an Empire many times its own size. All over Europe the Peace Conferences have sown the seeds of future wars, and while a League of Nations has been created to satisfy the popular sentiment in favour of the substitution of arbitration for war in all international disputes, yet no attempt has been made to put the machinery of the League in working order or to utilize it in any of the crises that have arisen during the last year, and have offered ideal opportunities for its use. How is it that these incredible follies are so unflinchingly committed? They have lost us the friendship of the United States, they have stultified our military victory over Germany, and they have raised up a Great Power implacably opposed to our policy and ready to mobilise its armies for a campaign of destruction against all the Western Governments. This resurgence of Russia dominates every condition of policy in the Middle East. It enables Turkey to pursue a policy of passive if not of active resistance which must ultimately defeat our most determined efforts. Too late, the Government appears to have at last awakened to the situation which it has helped to create, and it is unable to disguise the desperate eagerness with which it now turns to Bolshevik Russia for peace.

M. Kameneff has arrived in London, to reinforce M. Krassin in his negotiations

with the Government. His arrival is even more important as a stepping stone towards peace than was the opening of negotiations with M. Krassin early in June. Those negotiations broke down, or at any rate hung fire, owing to the professed unwillingness of the British Cabinet to negotiate with him about any other subjects than the resumption of trade with Russia. The truth is that the Bolsheviks have no intention of wasting time in discussions that cannot deal with the main issue. They have sent M. Kameneff, or, to give him his real name, M. Rosenfeld, one of the principal members of the Moscow Soviet, and an original instigator of the Bolshevik revolution, for the double purpose of concluding peace with the British Government and of acting as the principal secret organiser of Bolshevik propaganda in this country. Yet not only has he been accepted and recognised by the Government as the official envoy of the Russian Government, but even so fastidious a statesman as Lord Curzon has sent an urgent wireless message to Moscow requesting that M. Kameneff should be given unrestricted power to settle any question that may arise. We have indeed advanced far from the days when the Prime Minister refused time after time to enter into any negotiations with the "blood-stained" government of the Bolsheviks. Peace we must have, at almost any price, and the first steps have been taken on the road to peace by the implicit recognition that the Bolsheviks must be regarded as an established Government. Unfortunately, the Bolsheviks have now much less reason than we have to be anxious for an immediate peace. It is quite clear that they will do nothing that is likely to interfere with their plans for the subjugation of Poland and its conversion into a Bolshevik state. The Allied Governments have allowed matters to drift so far that Bolshevism is no longer dependent upon peace for its internal security, while it has become a fearful danger to civilisation if it cannot be induced to confine its energies within the frontiers of Russia.

Can We Restrain the Bolsheviks?

Nevertheless, there are limits to the extent of the Bolsheviks' power to involve Russia in a war of world conquest, and this weakness of their government that is due to their own false position as representative rulers of the Russian people, is the most important factor on the side of the Allies in negotiating with them. In spite of all the hysterical appeals that have been published about the iniquity of the Supreme Council in starving Russia by the blockade, it is probable that even if the blockade were applied with extreme rigour by sea, Russia would hardly be aware of any serious privation. Her chief need is machinery, and particularly rolling stock for her railways, but the revolution has destroyed the cities and towns of Russia so thoroughly that the population has become mainly self-supporting, and the economics of the country have become so simplified that railway transport plays only a small part in what remains of commercial traffic. Germany has sufficiently restored her own industries to be able to supply whatever Russia needs in the way of machinery or rolling stock. Elsewhere in this number of *The Review* we publish facts bearing upon the alleged starvation of Russia by the blockade. There is no blockade at the present time, nor is there any reason to believe that if it were enforced again it would do more harm to the Bolsheviks than to the Allies. It would certainly involve a declaration of war against Russia once more, with all the incalculable expense of distant military and naval expeditions, and the frightful consequences of reprisals by the Bolsheviks wherever they can do harm to us or to our friends. Our only means of defeating the menace of a general invasion of Europe by the Bolsheviks is to restore peace throughout the Continent. We cannot hope to defeat them by force, and a continuance of war conditions enables them to extend their dominion. But their rule rests solely upon force, and the return of peace to Russia is the surest and the quickest way of producing an internal revolt against the despotism of the Moscow Soviet.

Sir H. Wilson on Side-Shows.

The official Blue Book containing the report on the British military expeditions in Northern Russia has been recently published, and in a very remarkable dispatch Sir Henry Wilson points the moral of these distant adventures, which, beginning in a small way, ultimately involve an immense expenditure of lives and of money. The campaign in North Russia began with the landing of 150 marines at Murmansk in April, 1918. These were followed by 370 more at the end of May, and 600 infantry and machine gunners on June 23rd. From that time onwards, demand for reinforcements followed each other without intermission until the British contingent numbered 18,400. The moral of this, says Sir Henry Wilson, "is that once a military force is involved in operations on land, it is almost impossible to limit the magnitude of its commitments. In the present state of world chaos, it will surely be wise to bear this principle in mind, for we may expect to receive continual appeals for troops, even a company or two from every part of three continents and the temptation to comply will often be difficult to resist. Therefore, I venture to urge that no such requests outside the British Empire may be acceded to by His Majesty's Government without the fullest and most careful consideration of the large obligations which such compliance may ultimately involve." A similar story might be told of every "side-show" in which British troops were involved during the war, like the first landing at the Dardanelles, which ultimately absorbed many divisions and cost the lives of close on a hundred thousand men; or the campaign in Mesopotamia, which began with the despatch of two brigades and eventually included 900,000 troops. Even to this day we have found it impossible to withdraw from the undertaking which has cost us so much. It is estimated that the present army in Mesopotamia amounts to at least 78,000 men, and costs fully £30 millions a year.

Sir Henry Wilson's
The Cost of comments on the ex-
Irish Coercion. pedition to North
Russia might well be

posted on the walls of the present House of Commons. There is no end to the process of sending reinforcements if a country is to be held down by force, and the melancholy story is being repeated to-day in Ireland as a result of the Government's policy of coercion. Almost every day the newspapers report the arrival of new troops in some parts of Ireland, while voluntary recruiting for the Royal Irish Constabulary is being encouraged by every inducement of special pay and offers of promotion. The cost of the present military dictatorship in Ireland must be growing extremely heavy. Regiments and the auxiliary forces are being kept on a war footing, and there are constantly new demands for extraordinary services. One such item of expenditure which Parliament was asked to sanction during the month deserves notice. Half a million pounds had to be voted for the provision of an emergency system of motor transport necessitated by the refusal of the Irish railwaymen to handle munitions or to carry troops or police. It happened that the Government had sold its main motor depot at Slough to a private syndicate only a few weeks before the Labour troubles in Ireland arose, and having parted with an immense accumulation of motor lorries and their accessories, the Government was obliged to buy back part of the motor transport which it had sold during the previous months. We are reliably informed that the price which the Government had to pay for the lorries which it actually bought back was practically double that which the private purchaser had paid to it a little time before. But that is only one small item in the enormous bill which the coercion of Ireland is now costing the British taxpayer. It is true that the revenue raised in Ireland last year, amounting to more than £40 millions, was fully double the expenditure upon services in Ireland. But even if the same revenue could be anticipated for this year, we cannot, putting the matter on its lowest ground, afford to squander the handsome margin that is paid by the country over and above what is spent in it. The cost of the armed occupation of Ireland must in fact greatly exceed any revenue that can be derived from it. Moreover, Sinn Féin has

declared war so successfully upon the collection of income tax by the British Government that the accounts of the Inland Revenue Commissioners must be in a state of chaos. Their papers and documents have been burned or destroyed in many important centres, and their difficulties will be further increased if the present movement to resist the payment of income tax spreads at all as widely as it seems likely to spread. Apart from the grants in aid of local government and for education, the country—as distinct from Dublin Castle—is practically independent of financial grants from this country, and Sinn Féin would almost certainly be capable of organising its own finances for education and local government if the Irish authorities should recommend an entire cessation of payments from the exchequer.

The Budget's Deficit.

Finance is, in fact, one of the most serious problems that confronts the Government just now. At the beginning of the month a formidable opposition to the Excess Profits Tax was organised by the big business interests, and threatened to defeat the Budget in the House of Commons if Mr. Chamberlain refused to make any concessions. But he stuck resolutely to his guns, and insisted that the Excess Profits Tax must stand for the remainder of this year at his figure of 60 per cent., if only because there was no other way of raising the £300 millions which are expected from the tax this year. The main facts of the Budget cannot be too often repeated, for until some bold scheme has been adopted for replacing the Excess Profits Tax next year, it is impossible to look for a balance sheet in which both ends shall meet. The Budget estimates for an expenditure of £1,200 millions, while revenue is expected to produce barely £1,100 millions. Even of that figure, £300 millions are to be derived from the Excess Profits Tax, so that if the tax were to drop out of our present scheme of taxation, there would be a deficit of £400 millions on a total expenditure of £1,200 millions. The outlook is anxious enough without the addition of

endless new commitments for military adventures, whether in Asia or Poland or Ireland.

Anarchy in Ireland.

We emphasise the financial aspect of the present situation in Ireland, because it has received much too little attention. The wider aspect, involving our national honour in disrepute throughout the civilised world, is beginning to be regarded very gravely by a growing body of public opinion. The kidnapping of General Lucas and his subsequent escape has only added to the utter discredit of the present government of Ireland. Sir Hamar Greenwood and General Macready between them have failed completely to make any improvement in the deplorable conditions of the country. This month has been, if anything, worse than any previous month in the extent of the outrages and reprisals on both sides. The kidnapping of General Lucas was followed by a savage outbreak among the troops in Fermoy, and that old military centre has for the second time within a year been looted and sacked by troops which have broken all restraint. Many of the townspeople who suffered most were lifelong Unionists who have for years been devoted friends to the regiments quartered in the town. Some of them are now literally ruined, and the destruction of property and the wanton firing of houses has in fact injured them more than the other inhabitants. There was more excuse a few weeks later for the outbreak of the police in Tuam in County Galway, where the town was also sacked, in revenge for the murder of two policemen on duty. Other villages have suffered similarly at the hands of the garrison of troops and police, and the state of the country could not be more disgraceful to any civilised government. An even more serious and critical situation has arisen in North-East Ulster, where the Orange celebrations on the twelfth of July have led to a furious persecution of the Nationalist minority. Whereas outside of East Ulster the outrages have been directed in every case against individuals, the Orangemen are waging a ruthless campaign against all Nationalists as such. In Belfast, the Orangemen in the shipyards held mass

meetings at which they decided to refuse to work with Sinn Feiners, which is their way of describing anyone who is either a Roman Catholic or a Constitutional Home Ruler. They mobbed the minority of Catholic workmen for several days and caused so many casualties that the Catholics have been unable to return to work. Similar action has been decided upon in several of the principal industrial towns, and resolutions were actually proposed refusing to work with any Roman Catholic. The clergymen, however, in most cases objected to the wording of such resolutions, and secured their amendment by the substitution of a refusal to work with Sinn Feiners. But seeing that at the last General Election Sir Edward Carson himself described as a Sinn Feiner a Home Rule candidate who opposed him and who was actually a Major in the Tyneside Irish Brigade at the time, it is easy to imagine that the word Sinn Feiner will be interpreted very loosely by the Orangemen, who are determined to make it impossible for the Nationalist minority to earn their living in the six counties which the Prime Minister has defined as "Northern Ireland."

Sir E. Carson Prevents a Settlement.

There is no doubt as to the character of this wholesale persecution of the minority in East Ulster. Already more than 10,000 Nationalist workmen have been deprived of a means of earning their living, and the number is likely to increase. The question would be comparatively simple if it were only a matter of defining the issue between the four Ulster counties in which there is clear Unionist majority, and the rest of Ireland. Had the Ulster Unionists been content to claim only those four counties in which they had a majority, the whole Irish question could have been settled at the Buckingham Palace Conference before the war. The Conference broke down on Sir Edward Carson's uncompromising insistence upon the inclusion of counties Tyrone and Fermanagh, which contain large Nationalist majorities, in the area which he sought to exclude from the Dublin Parliament. In the four Eastern counties the Nationalists accept their position philosophically as a minority

and are prepared, if need be, to accept exclusion. In the two border counties, however, where they predominate and are conscious of their own strength, they are naturally determined to resist separation from the rest of Ireland, and it is in these counties, as we predicted months ago, that trouble of a kind that may easily lead to civil war is certain to arise. The whole deadlock in Irish politics has risen from this demand by Sir Edward Carson for jurisdiction over territory to which he has no justifiable claim. If the Government would make up its mind to offer Dominion Home Rule, coupled with a scheme for exclusion by county option, it could settle the Irish question forthwith. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Government does not want an Irish settlement, or, what is the same thing, is not prepared to take the necessary steps to reach a settlement. The position became quite clear during the month, when Mr. J. H. Thomas startled the House of Commons by announcing that the Prime Minister had told a deputation of Labour delegates that afternoon that he would be prepared to introduce a scheme of Dominion Home Rule at once, with guarantees to satisfy East Ulster, if they could guarantee that it would be accepted in Ireland. Mr. Thomas had no authorisation to disclose what had been said at a secret conference, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his statement. The sequel to the incident was highly significant. Sir Edward Carson declared on the following day that if the Government introduced any such scheme he would throw his whole weight against it. The effect of his declaration was magical. Mr. Lloyd George, on his next public appearance, said nothing about Colonial Home Rule, but merely announced his determination to proceed with the present Bill, which has not the remotest chance of becoming operative.

Dr. Mannix Put in a nutshell, as regard to Ireland is **Conciliator?** simply this: Sir Edward Carson threatens to lead his Unionist followers into opposition against the Government if the Prime Minister dares to make the only move which could

lead to a settlement of the Irish question. The Prime Minister is not prepared to face a General Election, and consequently nothing may be expected from the present Government to alleviate the situation in Ireland, unless the Irish people themselves can so intensify the existing unrest that they will compel the Government to give them autonomy rather than to continue a condition of affairs which has become altogether intolerable. For the moment the only contribution of the Government to allay the most disgraceful situation that has ever existed in Ireland is the introduction of a new Coercion Act which practically places the country under martial law, and so will inevitably make disorder more widespread than ever. Meanwhile, a formidable opponent to the Government has arisen in Archbishop Mannix, who is on his way to Rome from Australia, having passed through America in his journey, and there taken an active part in the Sinn Féin propaganda organised by Mr. De Valera. His speeches in New York have been so intemperate and inflammatory that they have given a sufficient pretext to the Government here to refuse his permission to land in Ireland. We hope that the Government will change its mind, both because we believe that Dr. Mannix would certainly modify his attitude if he could meet the other Irish bishops and learn something of the anxiety with which they regard the growth of crime in Ireland, and because it is quite obvious that in refusing him permission to land in his own country the Government makes of Dr. Mannix a national hero, who so becomes the acclaimed leader of the extreme Republicans, and compels the other Irish bishops, who are the most important moderating influence in Irish politics, to side with him whether they wish it or not because of the insult to the status of one of their own rank. We do not believe that Archbishop Mannix is himself a man of very outstanding ability, but circumstances combined with his own moral courage and patriotism, have brought it about that he should occupy a unique position as the spokesman of Irish opinion in the Colonies and in the United States. Events in recent years have shown how enormously important the Irish vote can be in both spheres.

In Australia, Archbishop Mannix was able to obtain such a well organised and enthusiastic following that he inflicted a decisive defeat on Mr. Hughes over the issue of conscription in Australia; and in the United States it is our unpopularity with the Irish vote that more than anything else has cost us the destruction of the Peace Treaty and the defeat of the League of Nations. If the Prime Minister is honestly in earnest in expressing his desire to discuss a settlement with Sinn Fein, Dr. Mannix is as authoritative a negotiator as he could wish to find.

The Raising of Holiday Fares. At home, politics have excited very little interest during the month apart from the question of the proposed increase in railway fares. The decision to add a further 50 per cent. to the passenger fares which are already 50 per cent. above the pre-war figure was inevitably unpopular, but the public had generally made up its mind to bear a necessary burden. It was not, however, prepared for the sudden introduction of the new rates at the very beginning of the holiday season, and a furious protest was raised all over the country against the announcement by Sir Eric Geddes that the new increase would take effect during the first week of August. It was felt that the Government ought to have delayed any such action until after the holidays, and an immense number of signatures were collected in all parts of the country, and particularly in London, from people who protested that the sudden imposition of a tax upon travelling which they had not been able to foresee at the time when arrangements have to be made to book rooms at the popular holiday resorts, was presented to the Prime Minister by an influential deputation of members of Parliament. There has seldom been any popular agitation in recent times which obtained such unanimous support in the Press, and many of the principal newspapers invited their readers to sign special forms of protest and send them to their members of Parliament. Undoubtedly, the increase in fares has operated very hardly against many thousands of families who had barely succeeded in putting

aside sufficient money for a holiday even at the old rates of travelling. But the Government was faced with a very awkward dilemma, having to choose between facing the intense unpopularity of the increase in railway fares or else to permit the existing serious deficit upon the railways to continue longer than was necessary, and throughout a period during which the exceptionally heavy passenger traffic might be expected to go a considerable way towards recouping the loss on the railways earlier in the year. On the whole, the Government cannot be blamed for its decision to abide by the report of its expert committee and to cut its losses at the earliest possible moment. Mr. Bonar Law pointed out with justice that he had given warning early in June that an increase in passenger fares would almost certainly become necessary, and he showed that the new scale of wages, and the shorter working hours which have made it necessary to employ more men on the railways than before, have between them so increased the expenditure of the railways that the passenger fares must be raised. Eventually a compromise was adopted, and passenger fares have been increased by an additional farthing a mile, and the rates for goods traffic will also be raised in September. The whole problem of the railways is extremely complicated, and one result of the increase in the cost of travelling, and the abolition of cheap excursion tickets—which the Government attributes to the shortage of rolling stock—has been to develop the use of motor transport to an extent which threatens to deprive the railways of a great deal of their normal traffic. If the present tendency continues, as seems likely, the railways will find that they are obliged to run fewer trains than before, and the establishment charges will have to be borne by reduced traffic. It is no exaggeration to say that the foreign policy of the Government, which in the present state of the world may at any moment involve the supreme issue of peace and war, is embarrassed, if not actually jeopardised, by agitations upon relatively unimportant questions which should be settled by provincial assemblies elected specially to deal with such matters.

Diary^c of Current Events

FOR JULY.

July 1.—The National Assembly, of the Church of England completed its opening sitting, and a committee was appointed to inquire into questions of church finance.

Allied delegates arrived in Brussels for the Conference preliminary to Spa.

Italy has reached an agreement with the Albanians at Avlona. Albania is to exercise civil powers, recognising that the Italian occupation of the city is in its interests.

Owing to the critical situation in Poland, the Government resolved itself into a Council of National Defence.

July 2.—Sir Eric Geddes received the hon. degree of L.L.D. of Sheffield University. At the Inter-Allied Conference, Brussels, the questions of German disarmament and indemnity were discussed.

Greek troops captured Bali Kesri, 100 miles north of Smyrna, taking 1,200 prisoners.

The Platform Committee at the Democratic National Convention has adopted a plank expressing sympathy with Ireland, but rejecting recognition of the Republic. The President's defence of the League was approved, and a prohibition issue evaded.

• The Prince of Wales began his tour of Western Australia.

Sir R. Borden definitely decided to support the leadership of the Unionist Party in Canada.

July 3.—The estimated deficit on the London County Council's tramways is £749,442.

The Austrian Cabinet crisis has been solved by the formation of a Coalition Ministry. A company of Connaught Rangers in the Punjab has mutinied on political grounds.

July 4.—The King and Queen were given a hearty welcome on their arrival in Edinburgh, and attended a service in St. Giles Cathedral.

The opening service of the Lambeth Conference was held in Westminster Abbey. A delegation from the Orthodox Church is attending the Conference, and questions of reunion will be discussed.

On the matter of German reparations, agreement was reached at the Brussels Conference.

July 5.—An order of the Central Control Board provides that in scheduled areas in England the Sunday evening hours of opening and closing are to be an hour later than at present during the period of summer time.

A British Institute of International Affairs has been inaugurated for the study of international questions.

A portrait bronze erected by British and American journalists to the memory of W. T. Stead was unveiled by Mr. J. A. Spender on the Thames Embankment.

An official announcement from Tokyo states that in the present circumstances Japanese troops will be maintained at strategic points in Eastern Siberia.

The first meeting of the Conference at Spa adjourned on the question of German disarmament. The Allied delegates refused to discuss the matter informally with the German Foreign Minister, and the Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief were hastily summoned from Berlin.

July 6.—The King laid the foundation stone of the new building of Edinburgh University, when the Queen accepted the hon. degree of Doctor of Laws.

A meeting was held in the House of Commons to discuss Federal Devolution, and a resolution in favour of a Bill next session was passed.

The Federation of British Industries in a letter to the Prime Minister, suggested that a financial council of business men should be set up to advise the Cabinet on expenditure and taxation.

The Miners' Federation discussed a proposed demand in favour of a reduction in the price of household coal and an increase in wages.

The Conference at Spa has been adjourned again, and the German delegation were rebuked by Mr. Lloyd George for confining themselves to generalities.

Governor Cox, of Ohio, has been chosen as Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

July 7.—The Army Council concluded that Brig-General Dyer committed an error of judgment at Jallianwalla Bagh, and do not consider that further employment should be offered him outside India.

The World Zionist Conference opened in London.

The British Empire Forestry Conference opened in London, and Lord Lovat explained the policy of the Forestry Commissioners.

General Von Seeck gave figures of German armaments and effectives at the Spa Conference and asked for a delay of fifteen months in the reduction of the Army to 100,000 men. Mr. Lloyd George, refusing the request, said the figures adduced

showed that Germany had an Army of 1,000,000, and large stores of armaments. After hearing objections raised by district committees the Agricultural Wages Board has decided to give public notice of the proposal to raise farm workers' wages by 4/- per week.

It is officially stated that the deficit on British railways (including Ireland) for the year beginning April last will be £54,500,000.

The Miners' Conference has decided to refuse to operate the Ministry of Mines Bill, should it become law.

Mr. Lloyd George announced that the Allies' decisions at Spa allowed the Germans to keep a force of 150,000 men until October, but they must reduce this to 100,000 by January 1st.

Sir Edward Morthen, in a speech on the annexation of the East, outlined the purposes for which the loan of £5,000,000 was to be applied.

At Bisley the Albert Competition was won by Captain J. E. Martin.

July 9.—The report of the Select Committee on National Expenditure criticised the unbusinesslike way in which negotiations for the sale of the Slough Depot and the St. Omer dump were conducted.

The War Office Headquarters Staff numbered on July 1st over 6,000, and the annual cost was over £2,000,000.

A White Paper issued by the Ministry of Transport shows that there was a deficit of £41,349,530 on the working of the Railways in 1921-20.

The Germans agreed to the Allied demands for disarmament at Spa.

It is officially announced that President Wilson will, in accordance with the terms of the covenant of the League of Nations, shortly summon the first meeting of the Assembly of the League.

The North Slesvig Reunion Act was signed by the King of Denmark, and the event was celebrated by rejoicings throughout the country.

July 10.—The Greek troops, it is reported, occupied Brusa on Thursday last.

July 11.—Tuan Chi-jui and the pro-Japanese party are in power in Peking, and the prospect of a clash between their troops and those of the Chihli party is causing a panic among Chinese.

July 12.—The report of the Departmental Committee on Telephone Rates recommends the abolition of the flat-rate, a message rate of 1½d. and other reforms. The Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church was held in London, and it was stated that membership had diminished by 9,760 in the last ten years. The Poles recaptured Rovno.

July 13.—The special Trade Union Congress passed a resolution calling for a truce in Ireland, and the setting up of a Dominion Parliament. Also a direct action ballot if the Government refuses to withdraw

troops and cease to make munitions for Ireland and Poland.

The Agricultural Wages Board has decided to raise the minimum wages for labourers from 42/- to 46/- a week.

The German conduct at Spa resulted in the suspension of the Conference and the summoning of Marshal Foch and Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson.

July 14.—Mr. E. Cairns, of Inverness, who had been ordered by the House of Commons to attend, gave evidence before the Select Committee on National Expenditure with reference to his claim to be able to sell sugar below the Government price if free importation is allowed.

The railway companies have put before the Rates Advisory Committee a scheme for nearly doubling the pre-war goods rates.

Lord Grey of Falldon, in a speech on the League of Nations, strongly criticized the British policy towards Russia as being both contrary to the ideal of the League and dangerous to our own interests.

The conditions for an armistice between Poland and Soviet Russia were announced. They include the withdrawal of the Polish Army to a line corresponding roughly with the eastern boundary of Russian Poland, save that in the north the Poles are still to occupy what was the Russian province of Bialystok. If the Bolsheviks refuse an armistice and invade Poland the Allies will go to the aid of the Poles.

A peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania has been signed. The Poles have recognised Lithuanian claims to Vilna, Grodno, and the northern part of Suwalki province.

Concentration of troops is still going on in North China, but the expected clash between the forces of the Chihli party and the pro-Japanese group has not yet taken place.

July 15.—The Industrial Council has decided that the claims of the engineering unions to a wage advance of 6d. an hour have not been established.

Sir Frank Baines' designs for a war memorial at Hyde Park Corner were not, it is stated, prepared officially on behalf of the Government.

The prospects of power alcohol, as fuel for motor transport, are discussed in a memorandum issued by the Fuel Research Board.

The Greek Army has concluded its campaign in Asia Minor, having destroyed or put to flight all the Turkish forces opposing it.

The first of the races for the America Cup—15 miles out and home—resulted in a win for Shamrock IV. Resolute had to give up.

July 16.—The Germans have signed at Spa the conditions of the Allies in regard to coal deliveries.

Lord Robert Cecil, speaking at the Chamber of Shipping, attributed much

of our State expenditure to the Government's foreign policy, which threatened a renewal of the burden of armaments. He advocated the ideal of the League of Nations as a better insurance against war than the policy of force.

It is proposed to form a national organization, to be called the People's Union for Economy, to conduct a campaign in the constituencies against the spendthrift policy of the Government.

The Albert Medal has been awarded to Lieut.-Colonel (Brevet Colonel) A. S. Cotton, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.A., for bravery at an ammunition dump explosion which set fire to a munition ship in South Russia.

Vilna has been handed over to the custody of the Lithuanian troops. An agreement between the Bolsheviks and Lithuania assigns the whole of the Vilna and Kovno districts to Lithuania.

After giving the Emir Feisal a 24-hours' ultimatum for the acceptance of the French mandate for Syria a French army has opened hostilities, and is marching on Damascus and Aleppo.

The Persian Government are sending a special emissary to Moscow to enter into direct negotiations with the Bolsheviks.

July 17.—Colonel Smyth, Divisional Commissioner of the R.I.C., was murdered by a party of men who invaded the smoking room of the County Club, Cork, where he was talking with County Inspector Craig.

Owing to failure of wind the second contest for the America Cup ended in a declaration of "No race."

July 18.—The body of the ex-Empress Eugenie was brought back to Farnborough and was conveyed to St. Michael's Abbey to await the funeral. Prince Joachim of Prussia, sixth and youngest son of the ex-Kaiser, has died at Potsdam as the result of self-inflicted injuries.

President Wilson, after an interview with Governor Cox, issued a statement to the effect that the Presidential candidate of the Democratic Party will champion the cause of the League of Nations.

July 19.—The Royal tour ended at Swansea, where the King, in laying the foundation stone of the University College, spoke at length on the need of high ideals in education.

The new British airship, R.80, built by Vickers, Ltd., made a successful trial trip of about two hours off Barrow.

By an Admiralty order now issued the separation allowance to married men gives place to a new marriage allowance. Other war-time allowances are abolished.

The Bolshevik reply to Mr. Lloyd George's Note on the Polish armistice rejects the British proposals for a conference in London, and declines any conditions in regard to General Wrangel's force. The whole tone of the reply is sarcastic.

The Arab revolt on the Lower Euphrates is extending, but has not spread beyond the Middle Euphrates area. The garrison of Rumerta has not yet been relieved. There have been 400 British casualties since July 2nd.

July 20.—Sir Robert Horne states that the Bill relating to key industries will provide that the importation of synthetic dye stuffs will be prohibited except under licence.

The L.C.C. scheme under the Education Act, 1918, is estimated to cost in ten years' time £7,500,000, and to involve an additional rate of about 1s. 8d., making the total education rate 4s. 1d. in the pound.

The Emir Feisal has appealed to the League of Nations.

July 21.—A Departmental Committee, reporting on the Pembrey farm settlement for ex-service men, on which £89,000 has already been spent, states that the greater part of the land is useless.

As the result of London's first Housing Bond Week the total sales have been increased to £1,600,000.

The Soviet Government in a message to the Russian people announced it had rejected Mr. Lloyd George's offer and is willing to negotiate with Poland direct.

The Resolute won the third race for the America Cup on her time allowance, though the Shamrock crossed the finishing line 19secs. ahead.

July 22.—A meeting was held at the Central Hall, Westminster, to protest against higher railway fares.

The London season was successfully brought to a close by a garden party given by the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace.

The Emir Feisal having accepted the French demands, General Gouraud has issued a proclamation to the people of Damascus and Aleppo, promising absolute moderation in carrying out his mission.

July 23.—The Agreement in regard to petroleum made at San Remo in April, 1920, between Great Britain and France, and based "on the principles of cordial co-operation and reciprocity in those countries where the oil interests of the two nations can be usefully united," has been issued as a White Paper.

Captain Fryatt's ship, the Brussels, is to be offered at auction, on the Baltic on August 17th.

A Crown Council in Constantinople has confirmed the decision to sign the Peace Treaty.

The Polish Government has sent a wireless message to Moscow formally inviting negotiations for the conclusion of an armistice.

President Wilson has sent a message to the Ambassadors' Council insisting that there must be a plebiscite in the Teichen area, although the Poles and Czechs, it is understood, had themselves reached the basis of an agreement.

Resolute won to-day's race in the contest for the America Cup.

July 26.—Sir R. Horne informed a deputation from the Miners' Federation that the Government could not see their way to grant the claims to higher wages and cheaper coal.

The report of the Rates Advisory Committee recommends an increase in passenger fares of 1d. a mile, to start on August 5. The occupation of Adrianople by the Greeks is officially confirmed, and the Turks, hard pressed, are said to be in flight, throwing away their arms and abandoning everything.

The Soviet Government has withdrawn its refusal to attend a conference in London. The fifth race for the America Cup was declared off, when it was seen that neither the Shamrock nor the Resolute could finish in the time limit.

July 27.—The Goodwood meeting opened in beautiful and unbroken sunny weather. The King was present and the general attendance was good.

The L.C.C. decided to seek authority from the Ministry of Transport to increase its tramway fares.

*Statistical tables have been issued by Lloyd's Register of Shipping showing the world supply of tonnage compared with the position before the war. British shipping is still 781,000 tons below the 1914 figure; that of the United States has increased by over 10,000,000.

Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand met at Boulogne and discussed the Polish situation and the attitude to be adopted by the Allies towards the Soviet Government. It was decided that a fresh British Note should be sent to Russia.

The Greek army in Thrace has concluded its campaign against Jafer Tayar's Nationalists, having in five days completely overthrown the enemy and captured his main positions.

General Villa has offered to surrender unconditionally to the Mexican Government.

Archbishop Mannix declared that it is his intention to sail from America on Saturday for Queenstown, and to visit England. He added that Mr. Lloyd George might interrupt his itinerary.

July 28.—A summary of the conditions which the Reds should impose on Poland is given in a Kieff newspaper. They include the immediate establishment of a Soviet regime and the military occupation of Poland for five years.

The Emir Feisal has either abdicated or been deposed, according to a telegram from Beirut to the French Press.

Jafer Tayar Pasha, the commander of the recalcitrant Turkish troops in Thrace, has been captured by the Greek forces operating against him.

The Finance Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons without a division.

The New Zealand Budget shows a surplus of £2,250,000.

The Government have decided to impose the higher railway fares on August 6th, with the exception of "workmen's tickets," which will rise on September 1.

July 29.—The texts of two British Notes to the Soviet were published. Their effect is that if the proposed London Conference settles the Polish and Baltic border States questions, then negotiations for the restoration of "normal relations" between the Entente Powers and the Soviet could be undertaken.

In a reply to questions by the Independent Labour Party the Third International (Moscow) states that to achieve Communism in this country the workers must prepare for a "heavy civil war."

July 30.—Brigadier-General Lucas, who was kidnapped by Sinn Feiners on June 26th, escaped. In a fight which followed an attempt to re-capture him, two soldiers were killed and three others wounded.

Rioting is reported from Danzig, arising in part from the refusal of the German stevedores to unload the Dutch ship Triton, which contains 150,000 rifles consigned to Poland.

The French Chamber voted for the advance to Germany. M. Millerand scoring a victory by 356 votes to 169.

Sir Archibald H. Bodkin has been appointed Director of Public Prosecutions.

The Council of the League of Nations which is holding a week's session at San Sebastian, held its first meeting.

The Goodwood meeting was concluded in cold and wet weather. The King was again present.

July 31.—The Polish and Soviet armistice delegates met at Baranovitchi, but there is no pause in the fighting.

The Turkish Government has resigned owing to differences as to the means of dealing with the Nationalists. Damad Feri Pasha, the retiring Prime Minister, has been charged by the Sultan with the formation of a new Ministry.

M. Millerand obtained the sanction of the Senate for his policy in regard to Germany and the coal agreement.

At a meeting in London representing very small fraction of labour it was decided to form a "National Communist Party."

The revised estimate of expenditure for the Ministry of Munitions in the current year is £8,300,000 less than the original estimate.

Separation and dependents' allowances for airmen of the R.A.F. are to be discontinued and marriage allowances substituted for them.

OBITUARY.

July 10.—LORD FISHER, 79.

July 11.—EMPERESS EUGENIE.

July 21.—ADMIRAL C. L. OXLEY.

MRS. CORNWALLIS WEST.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us."—Burns.



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

Spa.

How's this? Have you no fear in your heart? "
You mean, how long can the Serpent's strangle-
hold be endured?"



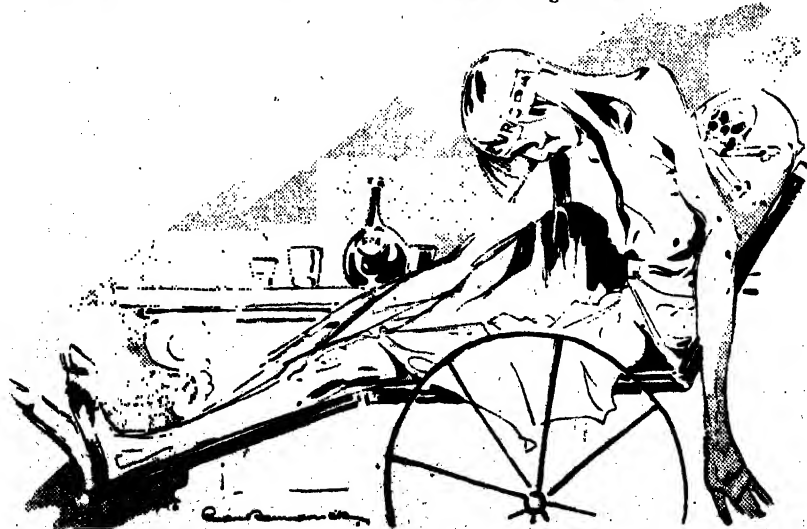
[The Bulletin]

[Sydney]

The Obstinate Galatea

(the League of Nations).

Pygmalion Wilson: "I don't believe s'he is
ever coming to life!"



[De Nieuwshaker]

The New Medicine at Spa.

Will it help?

[Amsterdam]



[Le Rive]

Krassineries.

[Paris]

- You are pretending to come and talk commerce to us, but you are holding a knife between your teeth.
- Quite so. I represent a cutlery firm in Petrograd.



[Kladderndatsch]

Notice to Burglars: "A Charitable Donation is requested."

[Re]

Millerand, Foch & Co.: "Deuce take it! We have reckoned without our Host!!"



[Wahre Jacob]

Bolshevism.

[Stuttgart]

The former ally of the Entente has become such a danger that he threatens to bring about the downfall of the Imperialistic Western Powers.



[Simplicissimus]

[Munich]

The Balancing Feat or the New Cabinet.

Not such loud applause. They might tumble down!"



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

Poincaré's Obsession: Spirit Vapour!

(Poincaré has uttered a warning in a newspaper article against secret arming on the part of Germany).



[Nolenkraher]

[Amsterdam]

The loyal Allies discuss at Spa how the estate can best be divided up.



[Simplicissimus]

[Munich]

The Choice.

Prophets to right and left,
The Worldling in the Middle.



[Wahre Jacob]

[Stuttgart]

"So must it fare with all slaves of the
Entente."



[Westminster Gazette]

An Outline of History.

[London]

Lord Robert as a League of Nations Missionary in *partibus infidelium*.



[Bullietin]

[Sydney]

The Anglo-Jap Alliance.

Britain will consult the overseas Dominions before renewing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance). You don't mind me being friendly with this little lady, do you, my son?" No—but you ain't going to give her the run of the house, Dad?"



[Le Rire]

[Paris]

Made in Germany.

— The feet look solid.
— Yes! But one can never tell if the head will keep on.



[Simplicissimus]

[Munich]

The Aland Question.

"Be friends, children. You shall not quarrel among yourselves for a couple of islands. I will take charge of them."



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Another Battle for World Domination.



[Le Rire]

Poor Armenia!

[Paris]

- A fine carpet, sir, a fine carpet.....Not dear!
- Don't worry, old chap.....they are only keen on petrol!



[The Telegram]

[Portland, Oregon, U.S.A.]

The Coming Total Eclipse.

[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

"There will be no retreat!"



[The Oregonian]

Not much chance for Harmony.

[Portland, Oregon, U.S.A.]



[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

"On to the White House!"



[The Bulletin]

[Sydney]

"Wonder if he'll notice that this stationery's a bit soiled."



The Star

[London]

Revised Fares.

The Tax-spending Tripper: "Don't take it so hard. Think of the awful cost of my holidays."

The Tax-paying Tripper: "Yes, but who pays for them?"

The Tax-spending Tripper: "A-ah.....ahem!you do."



Dayton Daily News

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Getting Ready for the Finals.

[Melbourne Punch]

[Melbourne]

Willie Welcomes Eddie.

Mr. Hughes: "Welcome, welcome! Proud to meet you, my boy. I knew your father."

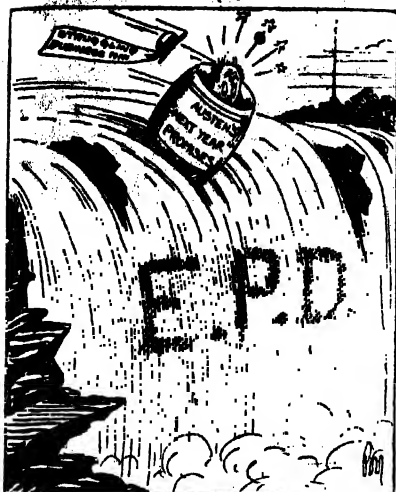


[Lecher-On]

Blown up—

[Calcutta]

—and on to the Bering Heep.



Evening News

[London]

Sent over in a Barrel.

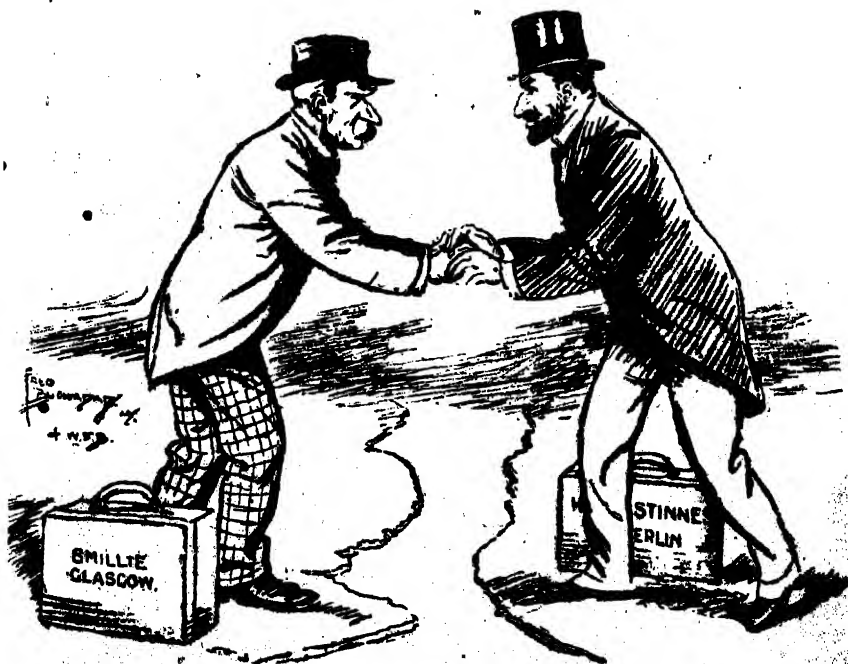


Evening News

[London]

What are the Wild Waves saying?

The Three: "Oh! What Language!"

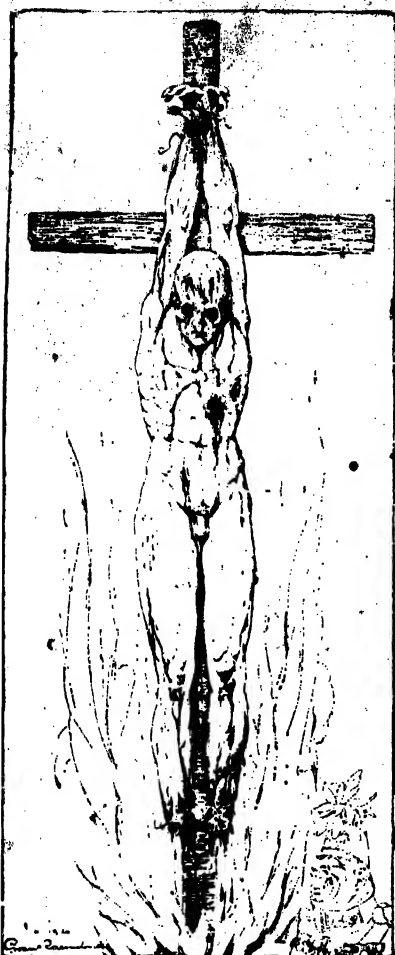


How Wags the World?

Extremes Meet.

[London]

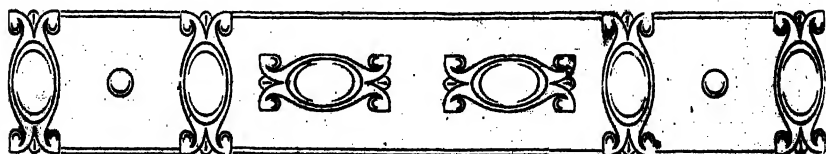
Hugo Stinnes: "Ah! my friend Herr Smillie—I greet you! Together we will see to it that there will be **NO PEACE** anywhere—you in your country—I in mine!"

*De Notenhaker*

[Amsterdam]

In Hungary.**The Crucified Proletariat.***Hindi Punch*

[Bombay]

A Bolt from the Blue—Book.**O'Dwyer: "D—n that wretched thing! Not so small but that it can hurt!"**

W. T. STEAD.



1890.



1901.



1912.

WHAT STEAD STOOD FOR.

By A. G. GARDINER.

There was never a more challenging figure in the public life of this country than William Stead. Whether you liked him or disliked him, agreed with him or disagreed with him you could never be indifferent to him. There was that about him that could not be ignored—a certain chivalrous uncalculating fearlessness, a joy of battle, a fervour of conviction that seemed to gather the storm around him as the lightning rod attracts the lightnings. There were no half tones, no subtle romances or delicate reticences in his equipment. Everything was broad as the day, indisputable as the multiplication table, emphatic as the thunders of Sinai. Even the realm of shadows was as absolute as the furniture of Mowbray House. When he came into the lists, doubts were dispersed. The equivocations of more ingenious minds, the mendacities of the less honest minds became irrelevant before the impetus and directness of his challenge. He brought all the balancings of the timid and the discretions of the diplomatic to the sharp tests of "Yea" or "Nay," and cleared the issue of all vague outlines and blurred mean-

ings. It was impossible to be indeterminate in his presence, or to preserve a foot in both camps, and if you could not share his imperious point of view, then you were driven in sheer necessity to adopt the other with something of his own unhesitating emphasis.

It may be said that the chief service he conferred upon his generation was that he clarified its mind. He compelled it to examine its conscience and defend its beliefs. He flung his convictions so defiantly and even violently before it that it had to accept them or discover why it rejected them. In all this passion of moral purpose there was visible the influence of long generations of Puritan thought and practice. He came from the manse, and to the end he carried with him the atmosphere and spirit of the manse. When he appeared in a pulpit he seemed to be there by a prescriptive right as if to the manner born, and no matter how sensational and secular his journalistic theme might be he infused into it the spirit of the revivalist preacher. The day of judgment was always imminent, and behind the material conflict there loomed

unfailingly the shadow of the spiritual conflict. It was his sense of the spiritual issues that enveloped human affairs that distinguished his sensationalism from that of the host of imitators who followed in his steps. His methods might be violent, and even vulgar, but they always had their roots in something that was noble and disinterested. His subject might be coarse, but he never failed to breathe into it a fervour of moral passion that redeemed it from the suspicion of sordid calculation. He was, indeed, the least calculating or cunning of men. If he was seized with an idea there was no power of men or angels that could restrain him. Least of all was he restrained by considerations of propriety or self-interest. He loved the battle, and never counted the odds. The hotter the fight, the higher rose his spirits; the more foes there were the merrier he became. He might be suppressed in times of dullness; but when there was work to be done or danger afoot, or even gaiety to be enjoyed he emerged the natural leader of men. I have seen him challenge hostile meetings with a daring that would have been insolent if it had not been so good humoured and so triumphant, and I have seen him head the revels in a Bavarian village fête so joyously that even to-day I think his name must be a legend around the shores of the Chiem-see.

It was this mingling of high animal spirits, love of content and mystical fervour that made his descent on London journalism so startling a portent. There had been nothing like this apparition before. William Cobbett had had something of his energy of mind, downright-ness of expression and incalculable purpose, but he was the most matter-of-fact of Englishmen while Stead always seemed like one of Cromwell's russet-coated captains who had strayed into Vanity Fair, and led its revels with a Psalm. He crashed into the sanctities and respectabilities of Fleet Street as General Booth about the same time crashed into the sanctities and respectabilities of the religious world; and the place has never been the same since. It may be worse or better, but it is different, and the measure of the difference is the measure of Stead's influence more than that of any other man who ever walked its pave-

ments. Much that he did was wild, extravagant, sometimes even foolish; but it was always vital, always charged with some passion, sincere even when mistaken, some ideal, noble even though besmirched. Beside the flare of this torch that flashed to the skies, the rush lights of the street were dim. You could not contest the street with this tumultuous man who swept into your midst like a tornado, interviewed kings and popes, demanded a new navy with the authority of Jove, would proclaim the dawn of universal peace in one word, sentence a great statesman to life-long obscurity in another and shock the proprieties of the world in a third by dragging into public discussion the subject about which society had preserved a conspiracy of silence.

It might have been said of him as Hazlitt, I think, said of Cobbett that he was a sort of Fourth Estate of the Realm. In the hey-day of his power there was no personal force comparable with his. I don't think it can be said that he was a vain man any more than it can be said that he was a selfish man, but his egotism was colossal. It was the egotism of a man who was consumed at all times with a fanatical fire and under its impulse was forgetful alike of himself and of the censorship of the world. He did not exploit himself by deliberation, but intuitively, almost unconsciously, as a natural force. He fitted into no category of ideas, and, superficially, was the most incalculable of men. The only certainty about him was the unexpected. He would start on a whirlwind campaign for peace and presently turn up, preaching "two keels to one." It was he who inaugurated the first of our modern naval sensations, and with Lord Fisher (then Captain Fisher) was the true author of the Spencer programme. He thundered against the South African War, but was the most militant champion of Cecil Rhodes. He would have given his life any day for freedom and was the apologist of the Tsar. It seemed impossible to conjugate so irregular a verb. He did not bother to conjugate himself. It was enough for him to be himself, to drink the delight of battle, to go his own wayward, impetuous path.

Do I contradict myself?

Very well then. I contradict myself.

I am large. I contain multitudes."

But in spite of all this apparent chaos motives there was a coherent spirit and fundamental purpose. The influence that he breathed into the common atmosphere was something finer than his advertisements.* It was the influence of radiant and chivalrous temper, which, whether right or wrong in its impulses, was always charged with a splendid enthusiasm for humanity. He loved mankind in all its aspects and manifestations, and had an inexhaustible faith in its essential goodness. He had something of the universalism of Walt Whitman, and was entirely free from all prejudices of race, colour or creed. He lived outside these things in an atmosphere of acceptance and sympathy. He was a citizen of the world and the companion of all men who sought his companionship. Patriotism in the narrow sense of national hostility and material advantage was hateful to his spirit, and when he assumed the patriotic rôle it was neither the dictation of these motives nor as a means of flattering the popular emotion with profit to himself. It was because he believed that in spite of all its stumbling the English spirit had a great and beneficent task in the world. When that task was betrayed in the interests of an aggressive Imperialism no one more joyfully and fearlessly faced the fury of the mob or sacrificed himself with a more splendid indifference to consequences. It is in his conception of England and its position in the world that we see reconciled the strange apparent contradictions of a career that could set the country aflame with naval panic at one time and defy the lightnings of its ferocious anger in the midst of the Boer War. He was a great Englishman in the sense that he loved so passionately the fine things for which England stood, that he would die rather than see those things outraged and betrayed.

No less conspicuous trait in the character of this many-sided man was the air of good will and good fellowship that he carried with him into all the relations of life, personal, no less than political. The idea of democracy breathed in him not as an intellectual proposition

but as a natural and inextinguishable fire. Social discriminations had as little meaning for him as racial prejudices. The recognition of the world and the rewards that common men seek so industriously made no appeal to a mind that lived wholly in the general current of life and sought nothing that all might not have in common with him. No man of the same distinction and the same multitudinous activities was so accessible to anybody who sought his aid or his counsel without any passport except that of human need. The realm of his friendships had no frontier, and knew neither high nor low, neither rich nor poor, neither learned nor unlearned. He was the natural man of Whitman's ideal, who was not so much indifferent to the assessments of the world as unconscious of them. Pride in any vulgar sense he was as innocent of as he was of personal ambition or selfishness, and he had the rare gift of lavishing his service upon his fellows, not as a superior who was conferring a benefit, but as a friend and an equal who was sharing the burden of the journey. He inspired journalism with this spirit of human comradeship and the warmth and glow of his expansive personality remain the most gracious tradition that he left to the calling that he served with such romantic enthusiasm.

No less precious is the memory of his courage. He was the most fearless knight that ever fought with a pen, and his fearlessness had none of that furtive self-interest that inspires so much of the sham heroics of journalism. It was wholly independent of any consideration of "what the public want." It took no account of the wind or the weather. It went out in all weathers and braved any storm. If the sun shone, good; if the rain fell and the lightning blazed, good also. He went out with equal good heart in either case, and declared what was in him no matter what befell to himself. It was this simple, uncalculating loyalty to the idea that obsessed him that gives him his unique place in modern journalism. In the end it largely destroyed his influence. It is not the place here to speak of his adventures in the borderland, or to assess the value of those experiences that were to his mystical and, as some thought, overcredulous and uncritical temperament the

most indisputable facts of his life. But whatever the truth or ~~truth~~ of those experiences may be, he was as passionate in the declaration of the faith that they inspired as he was in fighting his battles or what he would have called the lower plane. He was quite aware of the discredit and loss of prestige which resulted, but he paid the penalty with the high courage that never failed him, and never thought of buying off the world by withholding any revelation, however extravagant.

It is in no spirit of depreciation that

one thinks of him as the Don Quixote of Fleet Street, for it is not only the fantasy of the immortal knight that he recalls, but his romantic fervour, his indifference to danger and to the ordinary values of life, his high pursuit of the satisfaction of the spirit, and his splendid chivalry—no less splendid for being sometimes a little grotesque. With all his faults he remains the most memorable figure in the journalism of the last half-century. And when criticism has done its utmost, the fact abides that there is no inspiration whose withdrawal would so impoverish the calling that he served so illustriously.

A GREAT JOURNALIST.

TRIBUTES FROM PUBLIC MEN.

Many of Mr. Stead's closest friends have now followed him to the grave, and of the Old Guard who remain many have been prevented either by infirmity or by the pressure of public business from sending us more than a cordial message of sympathy and regrets that they are unable to make even a brief contribution to the memory of an old friend. It is a sad consolation to be able to publish one of the last messages which were sent before his death to the public Press, from one of Stead's oldest and most ardent admirers,

Lord Fisher.

From his death-bed he dictated the message that

Lord Fisher has never regretted in all his life any episode more than his enforced absence from the unveiling of W. T. Stead's portrait bronze, but he is too weak in body to attend by that date. Stead was a consummate journalist, he was an honest man—and (thank God) he possessed the "Insanity of Genius," which will hand him down to posterity as "a Famous Man"; he was a lover of his country—and, like John the Baptist, he "constantly spoke the truth, boldly rebuked vice, and patiently endured for the truth's sake!"

Another tribute comes from one of his greatest colleagues, Lord Morley, under whom he gained his first experience of London journalism as Assistant Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. We quote the following letter from

Lord Morley

which was read at the unveiling of the memorial:

I wish with all my heart that I could be by your side at the commemoration of our friend Stead. It was my fortune many years ago to bring him up from the North to the field of metropolitan journalism. He rapidly made a high personal mark and greatly magnified and exalted the sphere of his profession. He proved himself a colleague as faithful as he was active, painstaking, and original. Without disrespect to the many able and conscientious journalists of modern generations, it may with truth, I think, be said of him that he was surpassed by none of them in any country in his sense of the commanding duties and responsibilities of the mission of the newspaper Press.

His temperament was eager, but he had a passion for being right, and to be right in facts and impression was with him, as it ought to be for all of us, the foundation of serviceable opinion and popular instruction. You are celebrating the memory of one who was an important new force in his day; the errors of such a man have long fallen out of account.

We have received the following tribute for publication in this Review from

Lord Northcliffe:

I honour the memory of W. T. Stead. He was a man of encyclopædic knowledge, with an extraordinary grasp of foreign affairs, in particular.

I sometimes wonder whether, had he been spared, he might not have done something to prevent the chaos and agony of Russia. His influence in that country was unequalled to that of any other foreigner, as I found during my visits to Russia.

Albeit a democrat of democrats, Stead was yet an unofficial counsellor of the late autocrat of Russia. Nicholas II. trusted him as he did no other foreigner. Had he lived, Stead might have succeeded in persuading the Czar to enact such reforms as would have averted, or, at least mitigated what, so far as one individual State is concerned, must be described as the greatest tragedy in modern European history. From being one of the great Powers, Russia has sunk to the lowest depths of degradation. She was never a "land flowing with milk and honey," but today she is a country seething with crime, ruin and anarchy.

Stead believed in Nicholas and the Emperor in him. Could they, between them, have staved off the catastrophe which has befallen unhappy Russia?

Another old friend,

Sir Harry Johnston,

sends us the following appreciation of the great journalist as he knew him:

Like several other friends of the late Mr. Stead, I was prevented by ill-health and by appalling weather which initiated the ill-health from attending at the unveiling of the memorial to Stead's memory. I willingly contribute these few lines as a poor tribute to a personality which promises to become immortal, so far as we can gauge the endurance of human memory. I was twenty-five when I first met Stead, and fresh from a plunge into the heart of unknown Africa. And I was just preparing for a journey of exploration to East Africa with the ambition of commencing there the first definite procedure for the foundation of a British East African Empire.

The bases of such an empire had been laid twenty years previously by Livingstone and John Kirk, and (not altogether consciously) by Stanley in the 'seventies, by Joseph Thomson in the early 'eighties; but all these pioneers, and Stead himself, conceived of great confederations for the education, civilisation, and eventual profit of the backward peoples: the black men and brown men. Their Imperialism was very different from the brand in favour with the later "Imperialists" of the 'nineties and the first ten years of the Twentieth century. I try to console myself for the shattering of ideals and the severance of friendships with the dead and with the living by hoping that through the League of Nations we are getting back to the Imperialism, the Education of the backward peoples—that Stead had himself so much at heart.

How Stead would have revelled in the idea of the League of Nations! What a tragedy of coincidences it seems that the reckless spirit of competition in a Steamship Company and the faulty functioning of an inept Board of Trade should have combined to send Stead to his premature death, when, had he lived, he might have foreseen and fought against the coming cataclysm of the Great War; and if he had failed to prevent the clash of arms have become the real President of the League

of Nations. To such an apex he would certainly have been carried by the votes of the British Empire and the United States.

I think the League of Nations is the best tribute to his memory. How often has it not been foreshadowed in his Christmas Annals, in his articles, paragraphs and notes; and in his conversation! How irritably—I remember—I used to argue with him and oppose such a solution twenty and thirty years ago; hoping as I then did before the breakdown of British policy in South Africa that a vast and reformed British Empire, British confederation of White, Black and Yellow might give law to the world and maintain order; with the English language—phonetically spelt—as the universal speech!

Stead preferred, as more practical and more stable, a confederation of mankind almost exactly on the basis of the present League of Nations. Indeed I am certain that those few men who got together and brought this League into existence a year ago must have consciously and intentionally borrowed their policy from Stead's writings and Stead's talk.

Was there ever such a talker or such a listener? Or was I peculiarly happy in my relations with him, my visits to him on the Embankment, in Hastings Street, in Bank Buildings and on Hayling Island; or in Strand restaurants at lunch, at Park Lane dinner tables, at Limehouse refuges of the Salvation Army? Stead was not so much a Father as a Brother Confessor. You could say to him anything that came from your brain and heart. He was never shocked, surprised, offended. And he was similarly outspoken on his own behalf; trusting to your discretion as you might most confidently trust to his. I know the greatest in the land, bearing the heaviest responsibilities, dreading most the treachery of the Press-man (though as a rule the truest gentlemen are to be found in Pressland)—could impart to the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* or the Founder of the *Review of Reviews* their inmost thoughts, their embarrassments, their hopes, their intentions (in order that he might understand their position), and be certain he would not betray their confidence.

I got many of my ideas from Stead, either from his writings or his talk; and in my reference library I value few things more than the bound volumes—especially of the first ten years—of the *Review of Reviews*. For prophecies that have been fulfilled, for the sure hailing of every dawning invention that was going to revolutionise the world of thought and action, I commend these to the study of all who are seeking for the springs of the New World, the new condition of things which may make life tolerable and of an average happiness to all human races on this conquered planet.

A special interest attaches to the following message from

Sir Oliver Lodge,

who has taken a leading part in the development of psychic research which owed much of its present popularity to

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

the pioneer work of the founder of this Review:

There are men of judgment and men of enthusiasm, people who pursue the safety of the middle path and people who rush to violent extremes, those who count the cost of any enterprise and others who follow their ideals regardless of consequences.

To the second of these categories W. T. Stead undoubtedly belonged. And it was owing to his exuberant enthusiastic nature that he achieved so much on the one hand, and laid himself open to such severe criticism on the other.

Nothing that he did was half-hearted. When he believed, he believed wholly, and was prepared to go any length in acting up to his convictions.

A cold-blooded scientific training would spoil him; he was not susceptible to it; the attempt would have destroyed his motive power. He was guided by instinct, and philosophic caution was abhorrent to him.

In literature he was an accomplished journalist, with the strength and weakness of that craft. When he wrote up General Booth's Scheme for Darkest England, how well he did it! And yet how easy it was for suspicious natures, themselves inert, to shrivel up the effect it produced, by acid criticism, and to check the springs of generosity which at first flowed freely in response to the eloquent appeal. When his soul was moved within him at the loathsome treatment of children of tender age by a class of criminals seemingly immune from the law, what wild and dangerous means he used to force the evil to the light!

Again when he had been favoured with a few first-hand psychic experiences, how saturated with conviction he became, and how blind and deaf he was to counsels of cautious moderation and critical care!

He had the defects of his qualities, but his qualities were great, and few of his critics have achieved anything like so much for humanity. His vivid personality was triumphant at moments of crisis and danger, and could be trusted to respond with absolute certainty. It is always a question how far any individual would retain his courage in fire or shipwreck, and think of others rather than of himself; most of us hope that by the grace of God it might be so, but none of us who knew W. T. Stead had any doubt that with him it would be so; we were sure that he would rise to heroism instinctively and inevitably at any opportunity for sacrifice or call of danger. This is no light thing to say of any man, and the memory of his selfless devotion will long enkindle generous hearts.

We reproduce also part of a letter written by

Mr. Wickham Steed,

the Editor of the Times:

He possessed the two qualities which lift

the exercise of our craft above a level that might otherwise seem sordid—a burning sincerity and a passion for justice. This I can say with full impartiality, since I do not remember having been in complete agreement with him on any single question; but neither did I ever detect in him the slightest taint of self-interest, other than the self-interest of which we are all guilty when we are striving for the victory of causes which we believe to be right.

Of his achievements as a writer and an editor it is not for me to speak. But I have always owed him a debt of gratitude for the advice he gave me almost exactly 30 years ago, when, as a youth eager to enter journalism, I saw him for the first time in his "sanctum" overlooking the spot where you will gather on Monday. I remember his words as if they had been spoken yesterday, and repeat them here as they may perchance be of interest, if not of value, to other aspirants to membership of the daily Press. "A journalist!" he exclaimed, "how can I know whether you are fit to be a journalist? There is only one way to find out. Try; if you have anything to say that you feel you must say, why say it, and send it to some editor, who will probably send it back. Don't waste time over mere phrases. Sail right into the heart of your subject at once. When you have written your masterpiece, imagine that you have to telegraph it to Australia at your own expense, and cut out every superfluous word, above all, the adjectives. Then, if anything remains, try it on an editor and see what happens. If you do not succeed, as you won't unless you have really got something to say that you cannot help saying, try again and again. Presently, you will find out whether you are fit to be a journalist or not."

We surely do well to commemorate our great men, and Stead had an unquestionable title to greatness in our craft. Erratic and even fantastic as were some of his ideas and enterprises, they were all marked by a touch of genius and by child-like good faith. He refused to be abashed by disappointments. To the end he believed the best of everybody and everything. He had a faculty for ignoring obstacles that sometimes, though by no means always prevented him from appreciating the relative value of some general principles; but, above all, he was a real man, responding to every thrill of human nature, overflowing with sympathy, commanding devotion because himself devoted to others, and ever ready to laugh without malice or rancour at his own disappointments and failures. Your committee has been well inspired in erecting a permanent memorial to his work for, rightly understood, it will remain an inspiration to those who knew him and it and to those who may come after him and us.

In his speech at the ceremony,

Mr. J. A. Spender,

Editor of the Westminster Gazette, pointed out that

We who are living now can scarcely realize the various objections which were taken to the new journalism in those days. Elders were very tenacious of their traditions. They vehemently opposed any departure from the code which prescribed a certain schedule of subjects as alone of public interest and worthy to be dealt with in a newspaper. Into this world came Stead, with his overflowing vitality, his unbounded curiosity which in later years triumphed beyond the confines of space and time—his unsleeping interest in everything human, his impetuous temperament, and his positive preference for shocking and even scandalizing people if he could rouse the complacent into thought. His predecessor was Lord Morley, and from Lord Morley he may have learned something of that seriousness in which, in spite of his exuberance, he invariably approached great public affairs. With him he had very distinguished young men who differed from him wholly in temperament and education, but who were captured by his genius, carried on by the tide of his splendid indiscretions, and who worked with him to produce results which were unique in the history of journalism.

Stead's great qualities came from a man overflowing with warm affection and emotion. It has been contended in recent days that journalism was a mere branch of commerce. There was no one who would more scornfully have repudiated that phrase than Stead. Again and again he staked his whole fortune and career on forlorn and unpopular causes. In his warm chivalry for men and women, particularly women, he even brought himself into conflict with authority. Let those who had one-half of his zeal for the right cast the first stone. Stead never resented any criticism of himself, however harsh, except one, and that was that he did what he had done in order to sell his paper. To him, journalism from beginning to end was a vocation abounding in opportunities, but weighted with solemn responsibilities.

Lord Bryce

has sent us the following message:

W. T. Stead was one of the most remarkable figures of his generation. Whether or not one agreed with his views and approved his methods, it was impossible not to admire his ardour and his energy, and his devotion to the causes he espoused. His mind was extremely active, bubbling over with ideas, and his memory extremely accurate. I remember how once when we had been discussing the inaccurate versions which most interviewers are apt to give of things said in talk, he offered to write out and send me an account of all I had said to him in a half-hour conversation. The account came next day, and was correct in every particular. The quickness of his apprehension and eagerness to diffuse the ideas which he thought the country needed, made him sometimes run ahead of the public, who needed a longer preparation than his zeal allowed for. This undue confidence in the power of truth, or rather in the speed with which truth makes

its way, was a part of that singular intermixture of simplicity and acuteness which made his talk so fresh and bright.

If Thomas Carlyle had lived to carry his idea of the Hero in various spheres of life down into the phenomena of our own time, Stead might have sat for the portrait of the Hero as Journalist, for there was in him a vehemence of conviction and courage superbly disregarding of consequences which went straight to its aim whatever the obstacles. He had that sense of his own mission which belongs to the prophet, and looked upon his profession as among the highest and perhaps the most stimulating of all callings. No one lived up more loyally to the view he took of it. He guarded scrupulously every confidence that was reposed in him. He believed all that He wrote. Following Duty as he saw it, he was never afraid of taking responsibility.

Dr. Clifford

has sent us this tribute:

Mr. W. T. Stead was my friend of many years. I knew him as one of the greatest journalists of his time and one of the most influential leaders in moral and social reform; but the chief thing I recall concerning him is the strength of his faith in God as the central reality of life. In the soul of him he was a Puritan; but a Puritan of the Milton type, thoroughgoing in his realisation of, and devotion to, the sovereignty of righteousness; convinced of the eternal and absolute values of truth, goodness, and beauty, wide ranging in his interests and sympathies, and always a forward-looking man.

That faith made him a hero. As Carlyle says of Luther, so we say of Stead; he was "a son of fact." He was not afraid of realities. He faced them as one resolved to make them give up their meaning. To doubt and fear he gave no heed. His face was towards the light, and on he marched in scorn of consequence. I saw him in Clerkenwell Prison as cheerful and buoyant as in his office overlooking the Thames. The princes and "great ones" of this world never stirred him to awe. In his passion for right and truth he wrought mightily and endured "as seeing Him who is invisible."

But he found his interpretation of God in Jesus, and his law of life in the spirit and example of Him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and give His life for the world. I remember that we were walking to the station at Wimbledon after a night spent in his home, and as we hurried along to catch the train, he shot away from me like a flash of lightning. A woman was a few paces ahead, carrying a heavy carpet bag. The sight was an appeal for help, and at once he gave it, carrying the load all the rest of the way. It was characteristic of the man. Life was opportunity for service.

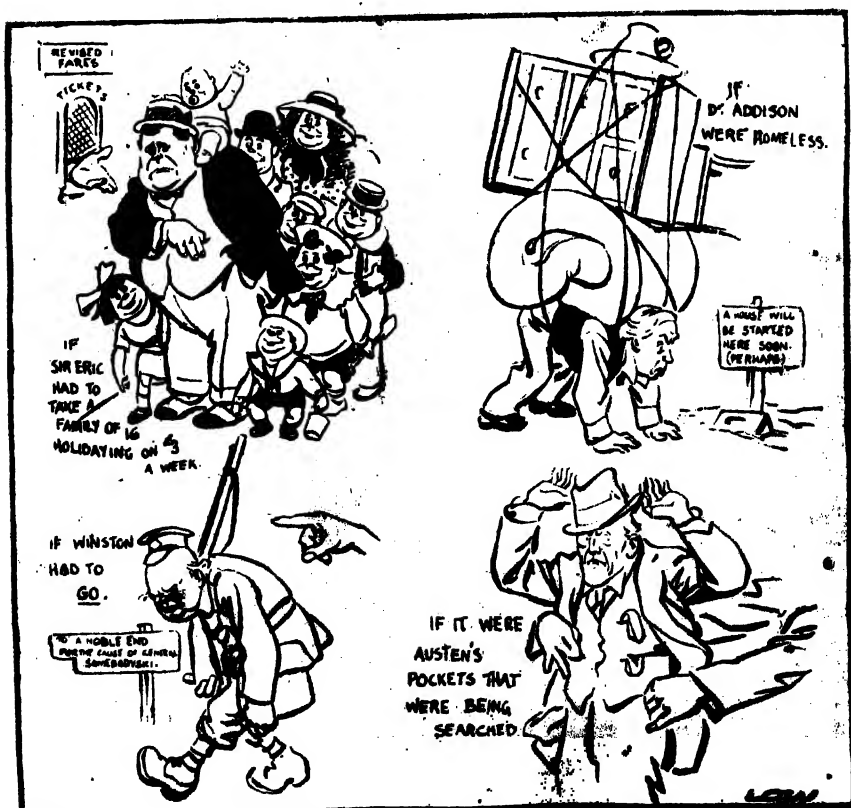
It is fitting to continue his true and noble ministry as far as can be done by the memorial on the Embankment; for the instruction, guidance and inspiration of generations to come.

The Right Hon. J. M. Robertson

sends us the following appreciation:

Stead was a man of many crusades, and I was associated with him in only two, of which one grew out of the other—the movement for conciliation during the Boer War, and a propaganda of Internationalism which followed upon that, an anticipation in spirit of the movement for the League of Nations. On other matters I was sometimes out of sympathy with his activities. But it was impossible for any one who knew him to fail to recognise in him one of the most generous and devoted philanthropists of his time. As to his courage it would hardly be possible to exaggerate. In talk with me he claimed to be constitutionally and professionally given to "getting round" antagonisms instead of defying them; but I could never see that he

hesitated to "defy all eminence" when he felt that justice and righteousness were at stake. And yet he had no fanaticisms—unless they were of a quite private and particular kind. Strongly as he held his religious beliefs, he had not the slightest intolerance on that score for men diametrically opposed to him; and it was the same with his politics. You might disagree with him acutely, but you could not discontinue liking him; and to work with him was always a pleasure, were it only for his intelligent, cordial, inspiring energy and business. I have written of him as "the most chivalrous of journalists," and it is in that aspect that I mainly see him in memory. He was one of the most remarkable public forces of his time and country; and I have never felt that he has been or can be replaced. He was a uniquely beneficent and lovable personality.



Europe's Danger Point: Can Poland Live?

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

None of the treaties which were prepared at Paris diminished the number of danger-points in Europe. That one would have thought to be the primary object of statesmen, and the acid test of their work. Instead of lessening the possibility of conflicts, everywhere the possibilities are multiplied. The new division of the Continent satisfies nobody. It whets appetites. It increases the violent spirit of nationalism. It robs one nation in order to give to another who is not thereby pleased but only encouraged to ask for more. Some countries labour under a sense of grievance because they are reduced: other countries labour under a sense of grievance because they are not sufficiently increased. The most foolish of all these dissatisfied people was the people of Poland.

It might have been supposed that the history of Poland, that unhappy country torn limb from limb by three great neighbouring empires, would have taught her to walk circumspectly, and to have consolidated rather than have risked her new-found freedom. Alas! the same ardent faults which ruined her before are going far towards ruining her again. Had she been content to settle down quietly within her frontiers and to have kept out of the tangled diplomatic game that is now being played, she might well have hoped to have become well organised, solidly established, and a real power in Europe. As it is, she becomes the mere sport of all the Powers.

Within her borders there is nothing but intrigue. East and West meet. There is no nation that has not some game to play more or less at the expense of Poland. She with her stupid ambition is content to listen to the contradictory counsels of the veritable cloud of diplomats that descended like locusts upon her. She did not hesitate to rush into the most reckless of wars, imagining that she could eat up Russia. She is the chequer-board on which politics are played, and these politics are and will be more perilous than the perilous politics that used to be played on the chequer-board of the Balkans.

There is a curious naïveté about her Ministers. At Spa I saw M. Grabski thunderstruck at the ultimatum which was presented to him by the British and French Premiers. He tried to express himself in non-committal language, but through his disheartened utterances there pierced the surprise, the pained surprise, which he felt at the idea of being deserted by those upon whose support Poland had counted. It was with a sort of stupefaction that the truth dawned not only upon him but upon all Polish politicians that in diplomacy it is only success which can count upon support. In all the many conversations which I have had with distinguished Poles they exhibited an almost childlike faith rudely shattered. They believed, poor simple folk, that the Great Powers had really some use for a defeated nation. I doubt whether they will profit by their experience.

They told me tearfully that they had been encouraged to proceed against Russia. This is only partly true. What is true is that the British War Office seemed to favour their famous expedition to Kieff, for Mr. Winston Churchill would certainly lose no opportunity of striking a blow by proxy at the Bolsheviks. But even the British War Office expressed its doubts. It was the business of Polish representatives at London to ascertain the exact state of feeling in England, to know what help might be expected in every contingency. That is what a Minister goes abroad to do—to keep his country informed accurately about the sentiments of the foreign country and of its statesmen above all. Now everybody has known that the British Cabinet has been divided, desperately divided, upon the Russian question for a long time. What I wrote months ago in this Review was not a secret which a Polish official can be excused for not knowing. He should have known, and he should have advised his Government that whatever Mr. Churchill might think or say—and in this matter not even Mr. Churchill showed any enthusiasm—Mr. Lloyd George, after all, remains Prime Minister, and Mr. Lloyd George would not thank Poland or any

person or country that thwarted his plans of peace with Russia.

For a year Mr. Lloyd George has sought peace. The fact is notorious. It cannot be disputed. It has been written by those who have come in contact with him and know his mind again and again. In plunging into this ill-fated adventure, Poland should have been prepared to take the consequences of failure. No one more than the Polish representatives have complained of what they term the enmity that the British Premier has shown towards their country. I do not think that their accusations are justified, but if they thought fit to make them they could not afterwards pretend that in opposing the Lloyd George policy they had a right to expect that they would not be let down. It was always obvious that there was a very good chance of their being let down. It was up to them to estimate the prospects.

Even if England had given much more encouragement to Poland than in fact she did, prudent politicians would have anticipated that in the event of ill-fortune befalling them the aid of England could not be relied upon. Although I do not approve of the policy of standing aloof when the peace of the world is threatened, in the hope that somebody will at last snatch the chestnuts out of the fire, although I consider that it was the duty of Great Britain definitely to forbid Poland from engaging in military adventures even at her own risks and perils, it is nevertheless impossible to hold that the silence or even the approval of Great Britain is a sufficient excuse for Poland's folly. What effective assistance could be hoped for if things went wrong? First there is the definite determination of the British people not to be drawn into another war. They will not tempt Providence again. They who take up the sword, lightly, repeatedly, and in a doubtful cause, will assuredly perish by the sword. Poland, which began her new career by quarrels with all her neighbours, Germany, Russia, even Czecho-Slovakia, the prudent little nation which, like her, born out of the war, intends to develop in peace, must not suppose that she can keep Europe scething, can carry a lighted torch and set fire to the four corners of her kingdom without suffering. She

cannot naively turn with reproaches upon Great Britain, even though Great Britain did not warn her clearly enough of the danger of playing with fire, even though Great Britain cannot run hither and thither with fire engines to put out the flames mischievously and madly started by wanton children like the Poles.

This is not to say that we ought to abandon them in their distress, but only that Poland must not look to the Allies for rescue whenever she chooses to behave unreasonably, nor must she adopt the exceedingly bad habit of blaming others for her own misfortune. Precisely the same remarks apply to the rôle of France. It cannot be denied that the French Government would have been glad to see Poland succeed against the Bolsheviks. It cannot be denied that certain persons in France egged on Poland to her own possible destruction. It cannot be denied that French officers took a leading part in the war, and that plans were prepared by those military chiefs who still believe that the remedy for European ills is force and nothing but force.

That Marshal Foch should be asked to draw his sabre and flourish it flashingly in the face of the world from time to time is an unfortunate fact. But nothing of all this absolves Poland from the responsibility of having entered upon the ways of war, instead of pursuing the path of peace. That there are intrigues cannot be doubted, but it is the business of Poland to become an independent nation. She should not allow herself to become a French colony, or to become a British puppet, any more than she should be dominated by Germany, or placed in subjection by Russia. Does it need any demonstration that all the divergent policies of the European nations find their centre in Poland, and that Poland is the most formidable danger-point on the Continent? For her own sake Poland ought to have remained quiet, accepted the frontiers marked out for her, and waited patiently for those frontiers not already fixed to be established. Like the frog in the fable, however, she blew herself up with ambition.

It is certainly strange that after five years of war there should be found men who will consent to march to new wars. If Poland were settled it would be easier

to understand her towering pride and her insatiable appetite; but when I read the vivid despatches that my colleague, Mr. Floyd Gibbons, sent from the Polish front I can only gasp in amazement that militarism should have taken such a hold on men. These poor Poles on their retreat were without shoes on their feet and were even without ammunition. It was with difficulty that trains could be procured for the wounded, whose faces were black with flies. I remember too the terrible picture painted by Mr. Henry Morgenthau, the distinguished American Ambassador, who, after passing two months in Poland, was plunged in the blackest pessimism. All the little peoples of Central Europe, he recounted, are in deep distress. They are hungry and half clad. They have insufficient work. His conclusion was that all the peoples who are barely born are already doomed to death. Other accounts which I receive confirm the horror of this picture of physical and moral misery. And yet while the factories were idle, while the people were starving, while hovers stalked abroad, while anarchy threatened, there were so-called statesmen who exploited national greed. To obtain fresh tracts of territory, to have a line of railway, they would sacrifice everything. Was there ever such a lamentable tragedy in the history of the world as this tragedy of little peoples, who even in their sufferings would not set to work to strengthen themselves and to make themselves secure, but must needs, driven by some devil, seek aggrandisement and empty power? Such human folly makes one despair.

Can Poland live? Assuredly she cannot live if she does not attempt to make friends with her neighbours. Whatever happens at this moment—and as I write the question of peace or war with the Bolsheviks still hangs in the balance, and tremendous changes may take place in these swift-moving times before these moments see the light—whatever happens now, whether Poland is crushed, whether Poland is assisted, whether Bolshevism triumphs, whether Bolshevism is overthrown, the situation in the near future must be that a strong Russia and a strong Germany will confront each other from opposite sides of Poland. If they remain hostile towards each other,

Poland will be the bloody battle-ground of their hates. If they combine in some kind of friendly accord, Poland will be trampled underfoot by the two giants. Only some reasonable policy of good will can save Poland. Buffer states are only made to be buffeted.

Should Poland again perish there will be no one willing to attempt once more the experiment of re-building the nation which was for so long divided up between Russia, Germany and Austria. If ever a prudent policy was called for, it was called for here. Poland is the pivot on which all European diplomacy must turn. Warsaw, in a real sense, is the centre of our world.

One startling result of the disaster that Poland so nearly brought upon the whole of Western Europe, is the suggestion which comes from our own War Minister that we may yet make an Ally of Germany. We may. Socialists in every country have long predicted that in spite of all the oratorical and newspaper condemnation of Germany which has quite naturally been heard for six years, the moment would come, and that quickly, when we would prefer to have Germany on our side. When Capitalism is menaced, they said, then even the hatreds of the Great War will be forgotten. All Governments will unite, all Governments will demonstrate their fundamental solidarity against the forces which threaten the present regime. Did we not support the most reactionary Government of modern times in Hungary? Nay, did we not scheme to put it in power? When it is a choice between Bolshevism and Despotism of the most cruel kind, we do not hesitate. Atrocities are abominable when committed by Bolsheviks, but they become almost virtuous when committed against Bolsheviks. Militarism may be execrable when directed against us. Militarism becomes respectable when the alternative is Sovietism. I venture to think that the Hungarian scandal did more to disgust the plain man in the street, and to open his eyes to the real sentiments of the ruling classes, than any amount of Socialist discourses and any amount of Bolshevik propaganda, which would have been treated with scorn.

If now we begin to flirt with the idea of making friends with the Hun, whom

DOCTORS AND THE PUBLIC.

A POSTSCRIPT.

That the article in the June-July issue of the *Review* describing the work of Mr. Raphael Roche dealt with a subject of widespread interest is evidenced by the large number of letters addressed to the Editor and to myself. It has not been possible to deal with them individually, but they raise sufficient points of general concern to justify a postscript to the original article.

Most of my correspondents are chronic sufferers, grasping pathetically at the hope of a cure—sufferers, by the way, whose very attempts to find a cure will probably have a taint of illegality about them if the medical profession succeeds in the endeavour reaffirmed at Cambridge to proscribe "unqualified practice." These letters make painful reading. More important are the communications from doctors, which testify that not every qualified practitioner maintains the dogma of medical infallibility. Some of them appear to be greatly annoyed. "Preposterous" is the comment of a physician on the inclusion of a cure by internal remedies of a case of prolapsed uteri of twelve years' standing. He considers himself dispensed from the necessity of considering any further evidence. Probably my self-revelation of amateur ignorance would have been considered even more complete if I had included, as I might have done, cases of rheumatoid arthritis among the cures recorded. In cheering contrast to this, is the attitude of a doctor with a large general practice, who asked for an opportunity to meet Mr. Roche, and to test his theories. This was easily arranged, and the doctor is continuing his investigations. He confesses himself strongly impressed. I have no wish to exaggerate his testimony, which does not amount at present to an endorsement of Mr. Roche's theories. "Whether he cures cases or not," says this medical witness, "I am satisfied that he can produce drug effects which are unsuspected by ordinary medicine. He has done by intangible

doses of a drug what I would have declared with confidence a month ago could not possibly be done with it. That establishes, in my opinion, a case for a careful examination of his claims."

While correspondents in general are mainly concerned with special cases, the doctors turn their attention principally to theory. A well-known, fully qualified diet specialist has written me in two letters an *a priori* criticism of the principle on which Mr. Roche's treatment is based. On such subjects I am incompetent to argue, but the test, after all, is experience. I am asked by one or two doctors to indicate more clearly the essentials of Mr. Roche's theories. To do so, it is necessary to face the initial question: What is disease? To put the matter in concrete terms: A patient goes to the doctor with a set of symptoms which are set down to "acidity." Treatment of such a case on ordinary lines is a matter of chemistry. Mr. Roche has no truck with "acidity" or "alkalinity." To him the chemical concomitants of a disease are not the things that matter. He holds disease to be a disorder of the Vital Force. This is a violent departure from the fashionable materialism of the schools, and the subject is too big to be dealt with here. The distinction must be grasped, however, if the treatment is to be understood, for it aims, not at correcting blood composition or the contents of the stomach by direct means, but at direct action on the Vital Force. Put that right, Mr. Roche argues, and chemical balance and all the rest shall be added unto you. Of course, if there be no Vital Force Mr. Roche is talking nonsense—rather fortunate nonsense for his patients, it must be admitted. But if there be a Vital Force, medicine which proceeds on purely chemico-physical lines is clearly at sea. The results somehow appear to suggest that this is not improbable.

Granted then, that the objective is to stimulate the Vital Force to cure disease, how is it done? On the principle (much

older than Hahnemann) expressed in the rule: "Similia similibus curentur"—let likes be treated by likes. Take a drug which will produce a certain set of symptoms in a healthy person—a matter of which the average practitioner knows little—and give it in an infinitesimal dose. It will then stir the Vital Force to throw off these symptoms where they exist. A reference to this principle of "similars" in my previous article draw a "poser" from an ingenious doctor. "Why," he asks, "on this theory do not diseases cure

themselves?" I put the point to Mr. Roche, who attributes it to the greater rapidity of drug action. Press a rubber ball against the wall slowly, and it will stay there, even with its side slightly indented. Give it the gentlest sudden touch, and it will bound away from the wall.

Other matters of a highly technical character are raised in letters. With these, I do not claim to deal, and in any case, they would not be suitable to these pages.—R. J. D.



[Simplestman]

The Tourist Season in Flanders.

[Murdock]

"Suppose he was a fine young man?"

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

IS THERE A BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA?

An editorial article in *Industrial Peace* (July) discusses in details the statements of the recent Labour mission to Russia, which attributes the internal collapse of the country to external causes, and in particular the allegation of Mr. W. H. Hutchinson, the Chairman of this year's Labour Conference, that the blockade "has reduced Russia to chaos and almost destitution."

Is there, in fact, any attempt to enforce an effective blockade of Russia at the present time? The article points out that the existing restrictions on trade with Russia are of two kinds—those which are enforced by Government action, and those which arise out of circumstances beyond Government control. As far as Government action is concerned the position is as follows:

There are no legal obstacles to negotiations with Russia for private trading purposes, nor for the conclusion of formal contracts, but the export of goods from Britain to Soviet Russia is not allowed without a license from the Board of Trade. Such licenses are not yet being granted, and the withdrawal of the prohibition is dependent upon the negotiations now proceeding with the Russian trade delegation. In ordinary acceptance of the term these restrictions do not amount to a blockade, which is generally understood to mean the maintenance of physical barriers by naval and military forces. In this sense, the only blockade in operation is that which prohibits the passage of arms and munitions to Soviet Russia, and which is maintained by naval agreement amongst the Allies. No action is taken by the British Government to close Russian seaports and frontiers or to prevent the importation of merchandise, other than warlike stores. It is true that Britain refrains for the present from shipping goods to Russia, but she does not attempt to interfere with other nations who may care to do so. The so-called blockade is therefore of a very mild type, and is negative rather than positive.

Far more cogent reasons are the real cause of the delay in a resumption of trade between Great Britain and Russia. In the first place, we have very little in the way of commodities available for export, and in the second we have no guarantee

that we should receive payment for any goods which we might be able to spare. Lenin cannot have it both ways. By abolishing all rights in private property he has made it impossible for commercial people to give him credit in the absence of any guarantees that full payment will be made for value received.

Apart from the accusation that the Allies are deliberately withholding supplies from Russia, the Bolsheviks have given great prominence in their propaganda to the charge that the prevalence of typhus and other diseases in Russia is due to the action of the British Government in cutting off supplies of soap and disinfectants.

But when has Russia ever been dependent upon British, or even foreign, trade for its medical and sanitary supplies? These articles are, in fact, made of raw materials which exist in greater abundance in Russia and can be manufactured by the most elementary processes. They have never been supplied to Russia from abroad, except in small quantities, at any time.

The total export of soap, soap stock and soap powder from the United Kingdom to the whole world did not amount to 90,000 tons in any of the three years immediately preceding the war and, when it is remembered that only a small percentage of our total trade of all kinds was done with Russia, it will be seen how insignificant must have been the quantity of soap supplied to that country. With regard to raw materials for soap making, there used to be more than four hundred tallow factories in Russia, and as to alkali, our total export to the whole world of chemicals, drugs, dyes and colours in 1913 was of the value of only £330,138. It is obvious, therefore, that a nation of 128 million people could not have relied upon the United Kingdom for their main supply of either soap, alkali, or disinfectants, nor was there any reason why they should do so. Chloride of lime, the prime disinfectant, is formed by the action of chlorine on dry slaked lime. Chlorine is obtained by heating common salt, and sulphuric acid in iron cylinders—a process which should not be beyond the capacity of a government which claims to be equal to the task of re-organising the social and industrial foundations of the world.

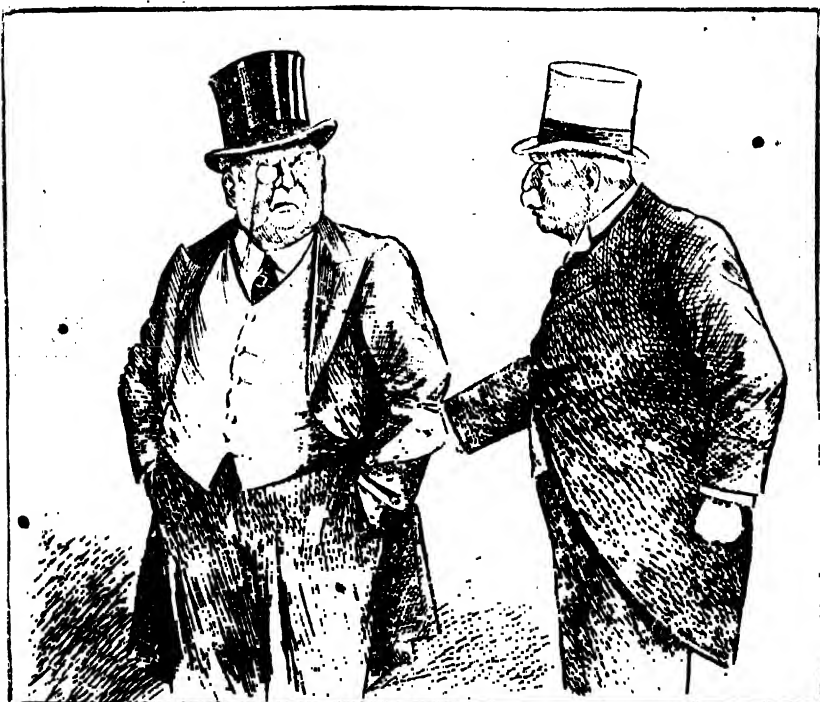
Even Mr. O'Grady, M.P., solemnly assured the House of Commons that he had met a young British prisoner released from Russia whose eye had been cut out without an anæsthetic because the Allies had withheld all supplies of anæsthetics from Russia. What are the facts?

The chief anæsthetics are chloroform and ether—the former is made from chloride of lime, alcohol and water—the latter is prepared from alcohol by the action of sulphuric acid. The annual production of pure alcohol in Russia used to amount to between 80 and 90 million gallons, and the other constituents of both chloroform and ether abound. The disuse of anæsthetics must be due, therefore, not to inability to manufacture them, not to the blockade, but to some other cause.

That cause is not far to seek. The effects of the insane Bolshevik fury, which aimed at the destruction of civilised society, were early manifested in the disorganisation of the

medical and surgical services. When door-keepers are made superintendents, and charwomen matrons of hospitals, when doctors are turned into scavengers and anæsthetists into rag pickers, a certain lowering in the standard of medical efficiency is hardly a matter for surprise. But it would never do to admit the shortcomings of Bolshevism, and so a convenient scapegoat was found in the blockade—and the dear gullible British public, as exemplified by Mr. O'Grady, is cut to the quick and begins to abuse the Government for its brutality.

Lenin has never once appealed to the British Government or to the British Red Cross for disinfectants or anæsthetics, yet he has not hesitated to spend many millions of roubles in constantly reiterated appeals to the British workers to sacrifice their own security and to adopt the same nostrums which have involved Russia in the abyss of ruin.



Westminster Gazette

Gloomy Forebodings.

[London]

First Tory Coalitionist: "What's the country comin' to? Here's that Bolshevik Montagu talkin' about Elementary Principles of Justice and Liberty, Lord Robert Cecil goin' about like a Monk talkin' about Christianity!"

WHY THE UNION HAS FAILED IN IRELAND.

Mr. T. W. Rolleston, an exceptionally well informed and experienced Irish journalist, contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* (August) an earnest appeal for a recognition of the real troubles that have produced the unending discontent of Ireland with the English Government. "Why," he asks, "do the Irish, alone of the people of the United Kingdom, hate England?"

Writing from the standpoint of a convinced Unionist, who attributes the failure of the Union solely to the fact that the Union has never been impartially or even honestly administered by British Governments, Mr. Rolleston contends that the traditional policy which devised the legislation of the eighteenth century that was deliberately aimed at preventing Ireland from becoming a possible rival in commerce and in industry to Great Britain, still manifests itself at frequent intervals. He recalls the furious protest against the proposed relaxation of the Irish commercial code in 1778, which drove Edmund Burke out of Parliament for daring to support a very moderate reform; and he contends that the outcry which was raised by the English motor interests against the proposal to start a branch of Mr. Henry Ford's motor factory in Cork in 1916, was inspired by the same latent hostility to Irish progress.

The heart of the trouble lies in the fact that while nominally a partner in the Union and actually a full sharer in its burdens, Ireland's interests have too often been regarded as something alien and remote, something to be attended to only when forced by one means or another on the notice of the Legislature, and not identified as a matter of course with those of Great Britain.

Of this instinctive feeling towards Ireland a striking instance occurred in 1897, when the Government (Conservative) finding that the existing incidence of poor-rate bore unfairly on landowners, brought in a Bill which relieved them of a certain proportion of this charge at the cost of the Consolidated Fund. *From the benefits of this measure Irish landowners were excluded.* Why? There was no reason whatever, except that they were Irish.

Twenty years later we have the same story again in a different setting and under a Liberal Government. In the winter of 1918 after the Armistice, the War Office returned to a landowner in Co. Dublin certain lands which had been compulsorily taken from her for public objects. When returned, they were found to have been very seriously deterior-

ated, to the extent, as sworn by a valuer, of £2,500. The owner applied for compensation; it was refused; and she sued the War Office, the case coming before the Master of Rolls on the 13th of December. The War Office denied liability on the express ground that although, under the regulation by which the lands were seized, there was a statutory provision for compensation, this provision applied to Great Britain alone. *It was expressly provided*, said Serjeant Matheson, counsel for the War Office, *that that was not to apply to Ireland.* The plaintiff therefore learned, and all Ireland with her, that although she as a taxpayer and citizen must pay her share of compensation to an English farmer whose lands were commandeered, there was no reciprocal obligation—the War Office might take her lands by force, treat them as it pleased, and deny all liability on the simple ground that she lived on the wrong side of St. George's Channel. It was a trifle, no doubt, this little item of wrong among the many wrongs inflicted, often perhaps unavoidably, in the stress of the world-conflict. But it is far from being a trifle that a whole people should thus be stamped with the brand of inferiority and disqualification.

This minor incident is, however, amply borne out in the extremely important question of Irish education. Sir Henry Duke said in 1917, when he was Irish Chief Secretary, that of about 3,000 Irish male teachers in Grade III, the commencing salary was only £63, rising by triennial increments to £84. Of the 7,700 female teachers there were 5,700 in Grade III, beginning at £50 a year.

It sometimes happened that the Principal of a school of 200 or 300 pupils in Dublin or Belfast received only £100 a year. He then added a sentence which really defies all attempt at adequate comment. "Having regard to their pay," he said, "he wondered why they did not come over to England in large numbers."

This observation was made by an Irish Chief Secretary, apparently without the slightest suspicion that he was saying anything remarkable, one hundred and seventeen years after the passing of the Act of Union. In that utterance we have actually heard for once the living voice of the system which has brought about the present situation in Ireland.

In secondary education, Ireland gets only £166,500 a year instead of the £233,000 which is her fair proportion in comparison with the expenditure in Great Britain. Nor is this deficit all; for while in England the Treasury bears the share of administration, examination, inspection, &c., this charge, which in Ireland

amounts to £30,000 is paid out of the votes for secondary education.

During one period, Mr. Rolleston points out, some attempt was made to introduce a just and rational policy towards Ireland. It began with Mr. Gladstone's Church Act in 1869, was suspended for twelve years and then resumed under the stress of the land agitation in the early eighties. It was continued by Mr. Arthur Balfour and his brother and ended with the National University Act of 1908.

It was admirable so far as it went, but it closed with half the work undone. The just and simple principle that Ireland, if she was a member of the Union, and paid the taxes of the Union, was entitled to full equality in every respect with England and Scotland, was still very far from being carried out.

Then came the turn of the tide. Mr. Birrell repealed the Wyndham Act in 1908 while it was in the full tide of success.

Next came a peculiar incident. It was an affair of no small magnitude in itself, and it gave a very powerful impulse to the Sinn Féin movement, which had hitherto failed to attract any serious support in Ireland. The Cunard Company had a mail contract with the Government—paid for of course by Irish as well as British money—one cause of which required their liners to call at Queenstown going and coming between ports in the United States and Liverpool. They wished to be released from this condition; they applied to the Government for permission to disregard it; the permission was granted, in spite of indignant protests from Ireland, and in 1913 steamers ceased to call. The effect of this was that every emigrant and every letter from Ireland had to go first to Liverpool and be shipped there for the U.S.A., with a similar delay and expense on the return journey. This stoppage of the mail and emigrant traffic was estimated as a loss to the South of Ireland of £400,000 a year.

Two very notable instances of unjust discrimination against Irish interests occurred during the war. All Mr. Lloyd George's promises to develop munition buildings and war work in Ireland came to nothing, and practically none of the colossal war expenditure was allowed to benefit Ireland. No attempt whatever was made to utilise the situation for a general development of industry in Ireland. But if there were certain objections to establishing munition factories in Ireland, there is no possible justification for the extraordinary action of the Food Controller in fixing the price of Irish-cured bacon at 10/- per cwt, less than English-cured, and so depriving the Irish bacon factories, which are famous all over

the world for the excellence of their bacon, of a large share of their supplies of pigs which were naturally sent to the English bacon curers, who could afford to pay a better price.

On August 5th, 1918, Lord French announced in a famous speech the intention of initiating a policy of generous economic improvement in Ireland. But no steps have ever been taken to execute that policy.

Instead, we have now a régime of blank coercion and oppression, a régime under which we have seen people forbidden to go to fairs to sell their produce, forbidden to attend the open-air concerts which have been one of the happiest features in modern Irish life, forbidden to study the Irish language, forbidden to hold a customary Christmas sale of Irish handiwork in the Mansion House, forbidden to make inquiries into the material resources of the country. And all this without one ray of hope that even if Ireland were perfectly tranquil and loyal anything whatever would be done towards giving her that position of full equality within the Union which is her manifest right, and the steady denial of which is the real cause of all the present troubles.

Parliament, Mr. Rolleston concludes, is trying at present to settle Ireland by tacking on it a measure which the whole country already detests. Why not give, instead, something that the whole country will welcome—something already granted in name and form and only needing to be put into effective operation? The true basis of imperial unity is the establishment of such an economic connexion as shall convince Ireland that her own interests are entirely linked with those of Great Britain.

Anti-English feeling in Ireland springs in reality from the sense that Ireland has been put by Nature into a corner, and that England has taken advantage of the circumstance to keep her here. She very properly wants to get out. The connexion must remain—the problem is to make it honourable and profitable for both parties, and I submit that the way to this end is clear. Clear, but not altogether easy, for it involves the defeat of the powerful commercial ring; it involves making Liverpool and Manchester and Southampton understand that they must not decree for ever the empty desolation of the great havens of Western Ireland.

Nevertheless, here, if anywhere, is the true lever by which this intolerable and shameful load of the Irish problem can be rolled from England. Shall we never see a British statesman who will set his hand to it?

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NOMINATIONS.

In an article on "The American Presidential Campaign" in the *Contemporary Review* (August), Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe reviews the curiously intricate proceedings leading up to both the Republican and Democratic nominations. His view is that the one predominant feeling that swayed the delegates at both conventions was that "there must be no more autocrats at the White House."

America, we must believe, has swung back to the plain average, to the conception of the Chief Magistrate as a simple citizen—trained in local affairs, speaking in the common idiom, happy in meeting his fellows in the quality of the small town. It seems impossible not to see that the central meaning of the party conventions is precisely that. And, or the European world, the meaning is that the return to a simple, restricted Americanism should have come in the hour of America's overwhelming opportunity.

The great mass of Republican voters wanted a good average Republican: not a militarist like General Wood or an uncontrollable Westerner like Senator Johnson. The party bosses object to every sort of powerful or heretical candidates, and were thus more or less in accord with the rank and file in the matter of these latter candidates. An "unexpected complication" helped their plans. General Wood's campaign had cost over a million and a quarter dollars, and it was clear that if he were nominated his opponents would accuse him of a plot to buy the Presidency. That fact gave the bosses an admirable excuse for discarding him. Governor Lowden was at first allowed to run neck and neck with Senator Harding. But the committee's disclosures as to the extent and uses of Mr. Lowden's "slush fund" were made at the psychological moment and, the other candidates having by then been eliminated, Senator Harding became irresistible.

At the Democratic Convention, in spite of the apparent strength of Mr. McAdoo's position, the ultimate choice of Governor Cox coincided exactly with the betting odds. At the first stage the Convention seemed to be dominated by the President, and the platform was "markedly Wilsonian," but with its adoption the

influence of the White House came to an end, and with that disappeared the chances of his son-in-law. Once more the way was left clear for the candidate of the Party Machine.

In both cases, in short, it is the Party Machine that has triumphed. As a result, the elected candidates on either side are pledged to more or less indefinite platforms. There are moderately clear lines of demarcation on the subject of Mexico and Canada; but in regard to Labour the Republicans have gone so far as to admit the principle of collective bargaining, while the Democrats are simply non-committal. Prohibition and Ireland have been ignored by the former, while the latter have "hedged" on both, and on the outstanding question of the Treaty and the League.

In the spheres of influence commanded by Mr. Johnson and his fellow irreconcilables, we may be sure that the Covenant will be kept to the fore, just as we may be sure the Hearst Press will continue its campaign of calumny and hate. But we shall be gravely mistaken if we imagine that there will be any great force of conviction in the advocacy of the League, even by the Wilson Democrats, during the autumn contest. Officially, of course, the party is committed to the Treaty and Covenant—but with a proviso as to innocuous reservations, which Mr. Wilson could not bring himself to sanction. This makes impossible a clear-cut encounter with the Republicans, whose official policy, obscured by the extremely ambiguous compromise drafted by Mr. Elihu Root for the platform committee, was designed to placate Mr. Johnson and his senatorial associates, while leaving the way open, in the event of the expected Republican victory, for ratification with ample reserves.

Why did Mr. Hoover's candidature fizzle out?

Six months ago it was being asserted on all hands that Mr. Hoover would probably have the choice of the two party nominations, and, much more positively, that the party which nominated him would be certain of victory. But something went wrong. The dominant group of the widely distributed Hoover forces was Republican; and as a consequence, Mr. Hoover was led to declare that the only nomination for which he was available was that of the Republican Party. The move was fatal; for party bosses surrender to a leader of this kind only when they fear him; and if Mr. Hoover was not, under any circumstances, to be at the call of the Democrats, then he could not be dangerous to those who

controlled the Chicago Convention. Here was the obvious tactical reason for his eclipse; but beneath it, we cannot doubt, there lay the deeper reason of Mr. Hoover's lack of political experience and of the power of popular appeal.

Mr. Ratcliffe endorses a volume of public feeling on this side in recording his conviction that "there was never an hour, in the interval before the gathering of the party conventions, when the American people would not have answered

a great call to the service of humanity, if given an informed and inspired leader." As it is, both the candidates that have been accepted are merely representative "of that America which, as Europe was induced to believe, had been left behind with the emergence of Roosevelt and almost forgotten with the rise of Woodrow Wilson. The phenomenon is not accidental. It is of very great significance to the world."

THE ROAD TO PSYCHICAL KNOWLEDGE.

First place in the new *Psychic Research Quarterly* (July) is given to an article by Professor F. C. S. Schiller on "Scientific Method in Psychical Research." In effect, the article is explanatory of what the "scientific spirit" really is, and a plea for a less impatient outlook on the series of investigations now being conducted by the Psychical Research Society. Starting with the fact that the possibility of communicating with the dead is one of the earliest of human beliefs, going back thousands of years, the writer asks why it has not been proved or disproved in all his time, and why, with the exception of the Society's work, no sustained attempt has been made to do either until now. "Certainly the evidence in favour of communication is not deficient in quality; neither is its quality to be disregarded though it does not of course come up to scientific standards." Yet it is quite as good as that for many old-time beliefs which turned out to be true enough when they were investigated scientifically.

Hitherto human inertia and obstruction have frustrated research. In view, however, of the enormous popular interest in the subject due to the bereavements sustained in the late war and to the abnormal conditions of the present time, there is a strong possibility that these obstacles may be removed. But there still remains a cardinal trouble—the trouble that the evidence is not, and cannot be, of the sort that is convincing to all, but only to some. There is always "bias"; and, as

in religion and politics, when "reason" encounters "bias," it gets worsted.

It is on account of this hostile bias that the psychical inquirer has had to fight so hard for the right to research, and has still to conduct his campaign on two fronts. Not only has he to contend, like other inquirers, against the obscurity of the facts and the complexity and deceptiveness of nature; he has also to maintain his "home front," and to win permission to inquire from the society he lives in. So much so, that hitherto the latter has been his chief concern. Until a few generations ago an inquirer into the "occult" *par excellence* literally took his life in his hands, not by reason of the diabolical repugnance of any supernatural "Dweller on the Threshold," but on account of the fiendish violence of his fellow-men. . . . There was nothing too monstrous and absurd to believe about him, nothing too atrocious to do to him. From the centres of "civilisation" to the wilds of Africa "witchcraft" was a statutory crime, and the burning of witches legally convicted of this capital offence was a popular entertainment. Can we wonder that such treatment neither improved the temper of the magician nor conduced to his scientific progress? It is astonishing rather that he hit upon so many good ideas. . . . But the magician had no leisure for the prolonged experimentation and calm inquiry which science nowadays requires. He had to devote most of his time and ingenuity to escaping from the attentions of the mob and the police.

The traditional social animus against Psychical Research has "lingered on in the academic world, because that is everywhere organised so as to penalise novelties and adventures of thought," but elsewhere it has undergone some abatement. Even in academic circles, the virus of

hostility has become much attenuated—thanks mainly to the eminent "respectability" with which the S.P.R. conducted its researches.

What scholar, *e.g.*, could fail to face the appeal of messages from the dead that were chiefly composed of recondite references to the classics? By devising the highly complex and ingenious, and in no wise popular, method of "cross-correspondences," the S.P.R. at once rendered such communications academically respectable, even as Freud rehabilitated the ancient art of dream-interpretation in the eyes of the medical profession by interpreting in terms of sex. Indeed it is hardly too much to say that the greatest achievement in Psychical Research with which the S.P.R. is so far to be credited was just this making of the subject respectable enough for serious research.

The "bereavement sentiment" is largely responsible for the present "boom" in Psychical Research. But this sentiment is transitory, and also selfish in that it aims rather at personal consolation than at the increase of knowledge, and it will leave the scientific question much where it is unless it can be well advised and wisely guided. If it is so guided it may yield what it has never before been possible to get, namely, the provision of resources for systematic Psychical Research, "on a scale worthy of the magnitude, importance, and difficulty of the inquiry."

The writer defines "scientific proof" not as "mathematical demonstration" but as "the hypothetical certainty of a coherent system of assumptions and the practical value of a well-chosen one." Under this definition there are three methods in Psychical Research which cannot lead to scientific proof, and a fourth which may end in such proof, but cannot end in absolute certainty. The first method is the metaphysical and *a priori* one, of which Hume's argument against miracles and the *a priori* "proofs" of the soul's immortality are examples. The second is an attempt to settle the question for good and all by a single conclusive case; which is to be rejected as quixotic. The third alternative is to pile up the evidence with a series of cases, not singly cogent but all supporting and corroborating each other. But the sceptic is still at liberty to take each case separately on its merits, and ignoring other facts, to pulverise it.

(4) What, then, remains? The only possible procedure that can lead to scientific proofs in Psychical Research, as in the empirical sciences, is to accept the guidance of Scientific Method. Now Scientific Method is essentially hypothetical, *i.e.*, experimental. It treats all "facts" as data to be tested, all "principles" as working hypotheses to be confirmed, all "truths" as claims to be verified. All allegations, therefore, must be tested, and are valued according to the scientific consequences to which they lead. At the outset, therefore, Scientific Method is content with provisional conclusions that are not greatly trusted, and to the end it is never content with decisions that cannot be revised and improved on, if occasion should arise. At the same time, it is recognised that the human mind does not respond to the infinite gradations of logical probability, but declares itself satisfied and certain so soon as the evidence for a belief seems to it adequate. After that the question is humanly settled—unless and until something occurs to reopen it. For there is no absolute *chose jugée* in science.

The severest test of a scientific belief is its application to reality.

It is therefore fatal to pseudo-science like, *e.g.*, astrology. If a man professes to believe that the date of a man's death can be calculated from a knowledge of the date of his birth and of the conjunction of the planets at that time, he can fairly be summoned to act as if this knowledge had a very direct application to the life insurance business. If he doesn't, it may justly be inferred that his belief is, at most, a half-belief, and that his real state of mind resembles that of the Scotsman who was willing to take his dying oath to the truth of an improbable assertion, but not to bet sixpence.

On the other hand,

The electrician cannot doubt the reality of electricity as he turns his "current" on and off, nor the biologist that of life, as he watches its growth and decay, even though neither the one nor the other knows what "electricity" and "life" really are. Whether we like it or not, we have to recognise that the ultimates of science are known to us only in their operations and not *per se*.

This scientific temper could be transferred with advantage to Psychical Research. Telepathy, for instance, would cease to be doubtful as a force in nature if it could be controlled like "electricity." This, of course, is the pragmatic argument from the "working" to the "truth" of beliefs. Professor Schiller believes it to be the only road for Psychical Research, and only possible to follow provided that sufficient endowment be furnished for the body that already has the subject in hand.

DOES GERMANY MEAN PEACE?

In the *Fortnightly Review* (August), Mr. J. Ellis Barker publishes certain reflections on the Spa meeting under the heading: "Will Germany keep the peace?" Without giving an exact answer to this paramount question, he adduces several reasons why she should not. To begin with, there is the historical fact that since the earliest ages Gauls and Romans, French and Germans, have been fighting for superiority and for the possession of the Rhine Valley, and "every element was in due course followed by a war of revenge on the part of the vanquished." Then, there is little hope that the essentially war-like character of the Germans will change overnight.

The average German is at least as much interested in military affairs and in war as the average Englishman is in sports and politics."

He admits that at the moment the German people in general are heartily sick of militarism and of war, but this, he suggests, is a passing phase. The Germans have discarded the Hohenzollern monarchy; but they have not by any means become enthusiastic republicans.

On the contrary, they are discovering the shortcomings of democracy and are turning once more towards that autocratic form of government under which they have lived and flourished for centuries. That may be seen from the result of the recent elections. It should also not be forgotten that the revolution of November, 1918, did not break out because the Germans had a serious quarrel with the monarchy as a political institution, but because the Germans believed that William II. was chiefly responsible for the war and for Germany's downfall. . . . The Germans, though democrats by profession, are militarists at heart. Most Germans blame the ex-Emperor rather than his allies as a soldier than for his failing as a ruler. Leading democrats, in discussing and abusing William II., call him a crowned coward and a despicable deserter before the enemy. Such attacks are greeted with loud cheers at public meetings. Many Germans maintain that the revolution would probably not have occurred, and would certainly not have succeeded, had the Emperor played a soldier's part, placed himself at the head of his troops and braved death.

As we know, German education has long been on Chauvinistic lines. "The German professors have belittled to the utmost the achievements of all other nations; and they have always treated

with particular contempt the French and the Poles." They have habitually described the Poles as "the Frenchmen of the East."

The Germans dislike, of course, all the nations which were ranged against them during the war. However, realising that they cannot fight once more all the world, they have, for prudential reasons, determined to be on more or less good terms with England and America and have reserved their bitterest hatred for the French and the Poles. The hatred borne to these two nations is almost indescribable.

A war with France or with Poland would satisfy Germany's hatred and would therefore be very popular. Besides it would, if victorious, be exceedingly profitable to Germany both from the political and economic point of view. Before the war Germany was the leading Power on the Continent. Her predominance has passed to France. The defeat of France would restore to Germany her old pre-eminence in Continental Europe, while a victory over the Poles would give back to Germany her old frontiers in the East and would vastly increase Germany's power and influence in Eastern, South-Eastern and Southern Europe. It might force some of the newly created weak States to place themselves under Germany's protection.

Economically speaking, Germany would have everything to gain by a successful war against France and Poland. She has lost some of her best agricultural districts by the cessions to these countries, and will henceforth have to depend largely on foreign food. Again, the defeat has been absolutely disastrous to her manufacturing industries. Upper Silesia and the Saar Valley contain 45.7 per cent., or nearly one-half, of Germany's coal. These districts provided approximately as much coal as the whole of the United Kingdom.

During the period under review coal production in the Saar Valley has almost trebled, and in Upper Silesia has more than quadrupled. In 1913 these two districts produced 31.9 per cent., or nearly one-third, of Germany's coal. These two districts produce fifty per cent. more coal than the whole of France. The manufacturing industries usually settle about the coal pits. With these coalfields Germany would lose a very large part of her manufacturing industries.

If she is to regain her prosperity, there would seem to be but one field open to her for exploitation—Russia. Control of the material resources of Russia would alone enable her to cope successfully with

a blockade such as that which brought her to her knees in 1918. Meanwhile, so far as the continued attractiveness to Germany of an "Eastern policy" is concerned, it is significant that in a German book, entitled "Stretch out the Hand to the Russian—a Book for the Reconstruction of Germany," which was published at the end of last year, the writer recommends that "in order to facilitate the opening up of Russia by Germans and its colonisation by millions of Germans, . . . Russian should be made a compulsory subject in the German intermediate schools, in the so-called gymnasia Greek should be replaced by Russian and German education should be shaped with the deliberate object of preparing a Russo-German *rapprochement* which should be followed by the most intimate co-operation of the two countries and by their eventual amalgamation."

An Eastern policy appears highly attractive to many patriotic Germans, not only because they think that their country may militarily, politically and economically re-establish its pre-eminence with Russia's help, with the

assistance of the boundless resources of that country, but also because in such a policy they hope to receive the support of the Magyars, who are as warlike, as stubborn, and as irreconcilable as are the Prussians themselves. Poland and the other border States have become independent at the cost of Germany, of Hungary and of Russia. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that at some time or other these three countries might re-establish the old triple alliance of the eighteenth century and partition once more Poland and deal with the other States which have recently arisen.

Incalculable circumstances and events may determine the action of Germany, Hungary, and Russia. Tradition, passion, and interest may bring about their co-operation. Germany may either deliberately try to re-draw the map of Europe according to her own ideas, or she may choose to participate in the quarrels of her neighbours, or she may be dragged into a war more or less against her will. In any case it is, of course, quite clear to the Prusso-Germans who wish to re-create Germany's pre-eminence by force of arms that Germany's political and military power is lamed as long as the country is disunited. A bold and daring foreign policy is, naturally, impossible for Germany as long as it remains a democracy. Therefore, the first step towards the rehabilitation of Germany would be the destruction of the Republic and the re-introduction of a strong autocratic Government.

AUSTRIA THE SCAPEGOAT OF EUROPE.

In the *Quarterly Review* (July) Dr. Josef Redlich, an Austrian ex-Minister of Finance, gives an exceptionally lucid and well balanced account of the appalling state of bankruptcy and despair into which Austria has fallen since the Armistice.

In the last resort, the despair prevalent throughout German-Austria is firmly rooted in the consciousness of the absurdity of its separate existence. A country almost without coal, but with an industrial metropolis as large as Berlin; a country of pronounced alpine character, unable to feed its population from its own harvest for more than a few months of the year; an independent state composed of provinces which do not acknowledge the unity of this state because they know that this unity is no guarantee of prosperity, either political or economic; a nation, one-third of which lives in Vienna and its industrial environs, whereas the rest are peasants living on small freeholds, cultivating their fields and meadows by antiquated methods, people of that real old-world type of German ploughmen which long ago disappeared in commercialised and imperialist

Germany—such are the natural conditions under which Austrian life has to be lived. And the drawbacks of these conditions are aggravated on all sides by those seemingly temporary but in fact lasting circumstances which have been created, not only by the war and the defeat, but also, in equal measure, by the disruption of the old Empire and by the Peace.

Look, first of all, at the utter destruction of its currency. This country has, instead of money, an immense mass of bank-notes, issued by the Austro-Hungarian Bank, which still enjoys the privilege accorded to it by a Government now dead and gone. This country has a budget, showing an income of 6 milliards against an expenditure of 17 milliards; and each month the deficit grows in consequence of a steady rise in the wages and salaries of the many thousands of public employees and pensioners. Observe, next, the hopeless position of the big industries in and around Vienna, which have neither coal nor raw material, foreign credit not being available on account of the depreciation of the Austrian exchange. Last, but not least, the lamentable condition of the railways, with their absolute lack of fuel, their scanty and worn-out engines and carriages, makes transport almost impossible. I shall refrain from

describing in detail the distress of Vienna and its population, for it is already well known to the world at large. I only refer to it, because, I think, this distress makes any further explanation of that feeling of despair unnecessary. All is told if one remembers that this city has, during the last two years, been forced to obtain all the necessities of life on credit from abroad.

The dissolution of Austria began at the outset of the war when the severance of economic unity between Austria and Hungary immediately inaugurated a severe period of famine for Vienna, which later spread to most of the towns in Austria. The elaborate system of war rations which had to be imposed was based from the first upon maximum prices that were set far below the cost at which commodities could actually be provided, and consequently supplies began to fail quite early in the war.

This system of artificially produced starvation was naturally answered by the reaction on the part of the Agrarian districts: an attitude of hostility towards all urban districts in Austria and especially towards Vienna.

The metropolis giving shelter to more than 2½ millions of inhabitants during the war appeared to the provinces as an odious, insatiable ogre, devouring the scanty reserves of food-stuffs hoarded by the peasantry; and the pressure of the starved population in the provinces became so heavy, that even the leading administrative officers of the Central Government had to take into account these strong provincial and local feelings. The Imperial governors of Bohemia, Galicia, and Moravia first closed the frontiers of their administrative areas against the export of

grain. In the Czech provinces the rising political and national movement incited the peasantry methodically to diminish the quantity which they were bound to deliver to the State. Sabotage against the military absolutism became, from this standpoint, a sacred national duty. The whole system of the "State," the structure of that great body of centralized administration, on which the Austrian State had rested for two centuries, was thereby sapped and slowly destroyed. Long before the collapse of the monarchy, central authority in Austria had practically vanished in consequence of the economic chaos created by the abolition of all interior free trade in favour of an impotent sort of military state socialism.

It was this process of decomposition which ultimately drove Austria into revolution and produced the mood of utter despair that dominates the Austrian Republic to this day. The bitter fight against Vienna which was waged under

the Empire by Magyars, Czechs, Poles, and Jugoslavs has been continued in this purely German Republic by a majority of the citizens of its several provinces. The explanation of this astonishing tragedy is that Vienna, which was formerly the capital of an Empire of 52 millions of people is now the capital of a small state of 6½ millions, of whom one-third live in Vienna alone. The complete control of economic life by the Central Government is bitterly resented by the agrarian population, and this resentment has been intensified by the sharp political opposition between "Red" Vienna, with the Central Government which its Social Democratic majority controls, and the provinces, which govern themselves through their own assemblies and are everywhere, outside of Lower Austria, governed by a Christian Socialist majority.

The industrial working classes of Vienna, united with the vast army of public servants and a certain section of the intellectual class, who have been specially hard hit by the depreciation of the currency, stand in fierce opposition to the conservative freeholding peasants of the alpine districts, allied with the majority of the urban bourgeoisie and the nationalist elements of the middle class, who uphold the Pan-German idea.

Overburdened by the immense war liabilities of the old Austrian Empire which Austria must now shoulder alone, the country has no hope of salvation from its present bankruptcy and starvation unless by either amalgamating with Germany or by joining a confederation of the Central European states. Both alternatives are ruled out by the Treaty which the Allies have forced upon the country, but it is evident that this prohibition cannot be indefinitely enforced. On the other hand, the new states of Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slavia are so well content with their newly acquired independence that they are strongly opposed to entering into a combination whose sole immediate object would be the restoration of Austria or rather of Vienna, at their expense. On the other hand, the Allies are not likely to permit Austria to amalgamate with Germany, even though the most bitter opponents in Austria of a union with Germany in the past have by now been driven in despair to urge such a

union themselves as the sole remedy for a hopeless situation.

M. Redlich puts forward the suggestion that a special conference should be called for the European powers to reconsider the desperate situation which cannot be allowed to continue as a running sore in Europe. He hopes that in such a conference the Allies would reach the conclusion that a scheme of economic federation must be adopted by the Central European states, and he believes that if the Great Powers supported such a policy strongly, they could over-ride the formidable forces that would oppose it, both in Austria and Hungary and in the Slav states.

The fulfilment of such a programme would mean much more than a solution of the Austrian problem in its narrower sense. It

would restore to the world-policy of the Allied Powers that element of an ideal conception of European order which, after its proclamation by President Wilson and its endorsement by the Allied Governments, was so lamentably lost sight of in Paris. The old Empire of Austria-Hungary was nothing else than a league of many nations, though in the antiquated form of a close combination under the rules of an hereditary dynasty and two dominant nationalities.

A new federation of a great part of Central Europe, based on the mutual understanding and free-will of democratic national states, would mean nothing less than the first instalment of what has been justly called the greatest idea that has grown out of the last terrible crisis of mankind—the idea of a lasting and effective league of all nations of the world for preserving general peace.

PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF AIR TRAVEL.

A year ago this month—on August 25th, 1919—the first daily international air service, that between Paris and London, was inaugurated. The anniversary is taken by Mr. G. Holt Thomas, the founder of this important venture, as an opportunity to describe under the title "Commercial Aeroplanes," the position and problems of commercial flying as the history of this experiment presents them to him, and to discuss the future of air travel and transport. The article appears in the *Nineteenth Century* (August).

To begin with, he utters a warning.

Everything which has been done so far should be accepted as an experiment. Much of the first year's so-called commercial flying might, to avoid confusion, be simply wiped off the slate. If it proves anything at all its teachings are purely negative. They not only do not help us but, if we are not very careful, they may even lead us to form false conclusions. Now, for instance, can one describe it as "commercial" flying if one is obliged—as we were during the early stages of our first year—to use a converted war machine which would not show anything like a profit, which was in fact operating at a distinct loss, even when we were able to fill it with as much as it would carry.

The first matter this authority handles is that of the charges for aerial transport. When the London-Paris daily service was

started, the rate for express parcels was 7/6 a lb. As this included a special motor collection in London and a motor delivery in Paris, and as it meant a journey of 250 miles by air at a speed of 150 miles an hour, Mr. Thomas thinks that even this high charge was value for money to any consignor in a hurry. But the Company had to face "the general turmoil and perplexity of the business world" which made it extraordinarily difficult to focus attention upon a completely new method of transport, and as a "propaganda" move the charge was soon reduced from 7/6 to 5/-. Again, as a matter of expediency, the 5/- was made 2/6; and to-day large consignments of air-borne goods to the Continent are accepted at the rate of 1/8 per lb. As there were no funds for a huge advertising campaign, these successive rate reductions were the only policy that could be pursued in order to attract the necessary amount of regular patronage. A similar policy had to be adopted by the aerial mail service. The first experimental charge on the London-Paris route was 2/6 per ounce. Under the new contract for an air-mail from London to Brussels the charge is to be 2d. an ounce, and from London to Amsterdam 3d. an ounce above the ordinary postage

There are two main aspects to the development of aerial transport.

One is what one may term its special express "uses, in which the highest possible speed in transport is aimed at, and which implies necessarily the payment by one who use such a service of special rates immensurate with the time saved. Under such a heading, obviously, will come return express air-mail services between cities several hundred miles apart, in which extremely fast aeroplanes will be reinforced by such system as that of the pneumatic tube to get letters quickly to and from aeroplanes; or else the postal authorities may find it more convenient to adopt the "aerogram" system which I have advocated, and remit letters in the form of telephonic messages to be telephoned to and from the aeroplane's point of departure and arrival. In any case, without going too much into detail now, there is this very clearly indicated development of the greatest speed with air travel will permit. And then, as the second line of development, there is this question in favourable circumstances of carrying loads in bulk at speeds which are not the maximum it is possible to attain. Assume, for example, that you have one of the new motors designed for commercial work which develop about 500 horse-power. If you restrict to content yourself with a speed of not more than about 75 miles an hour, it is possible with such a power, and with a well-designed aeroplane, to carry appreciably more than two tons through the air without alighting for a distance say of 300 miles. But if you wish a moderate speed as this is not thought sufficient, if one decides that one must attain speed throughout of 100 miles an hour, then the technical demands of this greater speed mean that the commercial load you can carry will be about a ton or just a trifle less.

The question of night flying will very soon become one of critical importance. European airways must be well organized for a regular system. "Already, it is true, steps have been taken to supply experimental lighting at certain main aerodromes; but what is urgently wanted, now, is a scheme not merely in one or two countries but in all European countries; and it is essential, too, that any such system should be perfectly uniform in character."

The comfort and convenience of business men must be studied:

It should soon, for instance, be within the powers of the designer to produce a multi-engine aeroplane capable of providing a perfectly comfortable sleeping berth for twenty or thirty night travellers; and, as atmospheric conditions, so far as flying is concerned, are usually at their best at night, an army by air should, from the point of view

of practical comfort, compare very favourably indeed with that of a journey in a railway "sleeper." The machine one has in mind would have its motors in a proper engine-room; and it would be quite possible to isolate this compartment so that the passengers were not troubled by any continuous roar of motors. A big, powerful machine, such as this would be, should not be tossed about by the wind-gusts which affect smaller craft; one might, indeed, make a night journey in such a machine with far greater comfort than in any land or sea vehicle.

The chief merit, of course, of an airway journey by night would be the speed attained. A London business man, entering the night air mail after dinner, and flying through the hours of darkness, should arrive by breakfast-time next morning at cities as far distant as Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Madrid, Danzig, Warsaw, or Copenhagen. This is no novelist's dream. It is perfectly within attainment by a concentration of aircraft design upon a specific type of machine and by a united action, on the part of European Governments, to provide the organisation of illuminated main aerodromes and emergency alighting points which is necessary if the requisite factor of safety is to be obtained.

No vast expense is entailed. It is merely necessary that Governments should move in unison, "each providing and equipping its own section of the main traffic way," and that aerial transport companies of the various countries concerned should meet together and decide upon a definite design for a really practical night-flier. On the basis of a motor developing a horse power of 450 to 500, "a designer could give us a commercial machine that would fly at 150 miles an hour. But such a machine would sacrifice so much to the attaining of speed and would carry such a small load that the rates for transport would have to be unreasonably high." However, the latest continental air express goes some way to solve the triple problem of speed, load, and the comfort of its passengers.

With its motive power centred in one engine developing about 450 horse-power this machine provides a miniature but perfectly appointed Pullman saloon in which there are armchair seats for eight passengers. Behind them, in a separate compartment, sits the pilot; and this machine, even with its full load, and with fuel for several hours' non-stop flying, will move through the air at a maximum speed as great as 125 miles an hour, which, in view of the horse-power by which the result is attained, may be taken to be a very conspicuous success in commercial aeroplane design.

ROME AND THE REUNION OF THE CHURCHES, FAMOUS DOMINICAN PREACHER'S STARTLING ADMISSIONS.

Is Rome altogether intransigent in her attitude towards the attempts at a reunion of Christendom that are being made by the other Churches? Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., the celebrated Dominican preacher, writes on the Lambeth Conference in *Blackfriars* (July), the monthly organ of the Dominicans in Great Britain, with a profound respect and sympathy for the Church of England which leads him to believe that the Pope might easily be glad to make all the concessions in his power in order to achieve re-union. Father McNabb recalls the prognostications of Newman, Keble, and many other acute thinkers who were convinced that the Church of England was doomed to extinction; but "contrary to the expectations of even the wise, the Church of England has not met an early death."

Indeed it may even be said to have risen from death to life. Largely through the influence of the genius and seer who prophesied its dissolution, it has gone on to a fuller life that it has had since the struggles of the Sixteenth century. Not even the men who did not follow Newman Romewards in 1845, would have prophesied that in less than four score years some three hundred Bishops in full communion with Canterbury and York would meet at Lambeth to discuss the spiritual destinies of the two great States who now control not only London and Washington but Alexandria, Jerusalem and Constantinople!

This resurrection of the Church of England, Father McNabb continues, has sprung from such resolve, has encountered such opposition, has been fraught with such surprises, and we may truly say, has been crowned with such success that it is one of the chief phenomena of the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries.

That a movement beginning in the common room of one of the lesser Oxford Colleges should have taken less than a century to become almost a world-wide force is a spiritual fact of first importance even to those who are not glad of the fact. Its importance to us, Roman Catholics, is not merely that it has given us two Cardinals, many Bishops, thousands of converts, and a spiritual impulse which can be found even in the vestments the priest wears at the altar, and the hymns our people sing in their homes.

Father McNabb pays a fine tribute to the religious zeal and the admirable

organisation which have enabled the High Church Party to achieve such a dominating influence in the Church of England. Taking the available statistics of population he compares the achievements of the Anglicans with those of the Church of Rome, and asks whether the Roman Catholics, with all their organisation and their energy, have in fact produced a growth in members "greater than that section of the Church of England which calls itself Catholic." He insists upon the necessity of facing these facts boldly and not with the complacent attitude of belief that the Church of Rome is gaining far more converts than any other Church.

He speaks of the Church of England as a great religious force existing side by side with the Church of Rome in this country; and regarding the prospects of the future without arrogance he sets down various reasons for hope of an ultimate amalgamation of forces between the two Churches.

1.—It is evident that the forward movement amongst those in communion with the Sees of Canterbury and York is a Romanewal movement. Or . . . the movement towards regaining, under a sense of continuity all those truths, all that sacramental life, that ecclesiastical communion and fellowship with Christian churches which in the words Rev. Spencer Jones, were torn from the Church of England "by an organised co-spiracy of fraud and force."

2.—The movement has left its marks even in the official statements of the Lambeth Conferences.

3.—If this last Lambeth Conference was generous in its admissions towards its Mother Church, it has been met by admissions no less generous.

4.—The *Ecclesia Anglicana* may well expect that its desires for reunion will be met by Rome's traditional breadth of toleration. Of this toleration we have a new proof in *Codez Juris Canonici*. Though this body of laws has been the elaboration of centuries and is of more importance than the *Magna Charta*, yet its opening canon declares that "although in the Code of Canon Law discipline of the Eastern Church is of mention, yet it regards only the Eastern Church, and does not oblige the Eastern Church." Now this Eastern Church, which is of such concern to Rome that it exempt from the normal legislation, hardly numbers one hundred Bishops, whose sees are among nations of little international importance. On the other hand the Bishopric in commun-

with Canterbury and York number over three hundred; and belong for the moment to the two most powerful nations left by the war.

5.—The See of Rome at Trent and Vatican and in the *Coder* officially exalts Bishops by calling them successors of the Apostles. In doctrine no other church has so exalted the Bishops; and, in fact, the Bishops in communion with the Apostolic See, are given more honour and authority than any other Bishops in the world.

It is by no means inconceivable that, if the common ground between the Church of Rome and the Church of England could be sufficiently extended and defined, Rome might yet come to a complete understanding with the Western Church,

similar to that which keeps her and the Eastern Church united. Father McNabb quotes a remarkable statement by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Clifton, Dr. Brownlow, that:

"Of one thing our Anglican friends may be assured. No jealousy or selfish feeling of personal dignity on the part of the Catholic Hierarchy will ever stand in the way of Reunion. Speaking for myself, I can say from my heart that I should be too thankful to petition the Holy Father for permission to resign my See, to take down my canopy and throne from the Pro-Cathedral and to lay my episcopal crozier at the feet of a Catholic Bishop of Bristol."

LOUVAIN UNIVERSITY AFTER THE WAR.

On January 21st, 1919, barely ten weeks after the armistice was signed, the University of Louvain began its first academic year since the occupation of Belgium by the Germans. Thanks to the great ability and energy of Mgr. Ladeuze, Rector of the University, says the Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., in the Irish Jesuit quarterly *Studies*, the full academic year was completed with remarkable success and the second year, which is now drawing to an end, has been still more successful. During the war, no attempt was made to repair the wreckage caused by the German invasion, and the University library as well as almost all the buildings facing on the Central Market Place were still in ruins when Mgr. Ladeuze decided to re-open the University.

Fortunately for the University, its buildings were scattered over the town and only three out of about twenty were actually destroyed. Except for the Library, the University is now equipped once more with all the buildings necessary for its work. As the catalogue of the Library was burnt along with the books, the total number of volumes destroyed is not exactly known, but is estimated at between 250,000 and 300,000. It was never rich in ancient MSS., and its real strength lay in mediæval theological texts.

Under the Peace Treaty Germany is obliged to repair in full the damage done to the University and the Library. Restitution is in many cases impossible, but the general principle has been adopted that for every MS. destroyed in the fire, another of about equal age and value must be handed to the University. For modern books, no attempt is being made to replace copy by copy, but Germany is being required to hand over a number of books published in Germany equal in value to the printed volumes destroyed in 1914.

For books published outside of Germany restitution has already been made by private and public generosity. Belgian private donations alone had almost reached the sum of 90,000 volumes by the end of the German occupation; the Vatican has made a free gift of all its publications, and of many volumes from its great library; and private generosity in Europe and America has been such that the new library will, it is hoped, contain a considerably larger number of volumes than before the war. And these volumes are to be worthily housed. On the occasion of Cardinal Mercier's recent visit to America, a national committee was formed to aid in the work of restoration at Louvain, and 500,000 dollars have been subscribed for the erection of a new library. Building has recently been begun, on a site near the Institut Léon XIII.; for it has been decided to leave Les Halles free, once reconstructed, for administrative purposes.

At Louvain before the war, the average number of students was little less than 8,000, and the University was unusually

well staffed in many of its faculties, and equipped with nearly twenty institutes specially founded and organised for scientific research, and not a penny of the immense endowments of this development of the University had been contributed by any official fund or ministry. One magnificent donation has been given to it since the end of the war, for the remainder of some 150 million francs from the funds of the American Relief Commission in Belgium has been divided equally by Mr. Hoover between the four Belgian Universities, which can henceforward count upon an annual revenue of nearly one million francs from this source alone.

During the occupation, the Germans, with the intention of dividing Flemish

from French Belgium created a new Flemish University at Ghent, which was throughout the war the only university in Belgium, since the others deliberately remained closed out of sympathy with Louvain. With the return of peace, the German-made university has been swept aside, and the present Government has appointed a special commission to investigate the demand of the Flemish population for a special university of their own. Mgr. Ladouze has for long been well known as a believer in extending the use of Flemish in teaching, and before the war, he inaugurated his administration of the University by introducing Flemish courses in medicine and science, and subsequently in legal subjects and history, economics and chemistry.

A "MAX" REMINISCENCE.

Mr. Max Beerbohm's literary gifts are now so rarely displayed that one seizes on them greedily when one finds them. A "reminiscential essay" which makes its first appearance in the *Fortnightly Review* (August) will not disappoint his readers. It is entitled "No. 2, The Pines," and embodies a character sketch of the two famous inmates of that Putney residence, Algernon Swinburne and Theodore Watts-Dunton.

"Max" received from Watts-Dunton an invitation to "have luncheon and meet Swinburne."

No. 2—prosaic inscription! But as that front-door closed behind me I had the instant sense of having slipped away from the harsh light of the ordinary and contemporary into the dimness of an odd, august past. Here, in this dark hall, the past was the present. Here loomed vivid and vital on the walls those women of Rossetti whom I had known but as shades. Familiar to me in small reproductions by photogravure, here they themselves were, life-sized, "with curled-up lips and amorous hair" done in the original warm crayon, all of them intently looking down on me while I took off my overcoat—all wondering who was this intruder from posterity.

The room I was ushered into was a back-room, a dining-room, looking on to a good garden. It was, in form and "fixtures," an unashamedly mid-Victorian room, and held its stolid own in the riot of Rossettis. Its window-sash bisecting the room, its folding-doors (through which I heard the voice of Watts-Dunton

booming mysteriously in the front-room), its black marble mantelpiece, its gas-brackets, all proclaimed that nothing ever would seduce them from their "Martin Tupper." The "Watts-Dunton" ceased suddenly, and a few moments later its owner appeared. He had been dictating, he explained. "A great deal of work on hand just now—a great deal of work." I remember that on my subsequent visits he was always, at the moment of my arrival, dictating, and always greeted me with that phrase, "a great deal of work on hand just now." I used to wonder what work it was, for he published little enough. But I never ventured to inquire, and indeed rather cherished the mystery: it was a part of the dear little old man; it went with the something gnome-like about his swarthiness and chubbiness—went with a shaggy hair that fell over the collar of his eternally crumpled frock-coat and shaggy eyebrows that overhung his bright little brown eyes, the shaggy moustache that hid his small round chin.

While waiting for the "great moment" of Swinburne's entry, "Max" talked to Watts-Dunton, who explained—very laconically—that the great man always went out for his long walk in the morning. At last the "legendary being and divine singer" made his appearance in the flesh. Here he was, shutting the door behind him as might anybody else, and advancing—a strange small figure in grey, having an air at once noble and roguish, proud and skittish. My name was roared at him. In shaking his hand, I bowed low.

of course; and he, in the old aristocratic manner, bowed equally low, but with such swiftness that we narrowly escaped concussion." After the introduction they sat down to the meal.

Watts-Dunton sat at the head of the table, with a huge and very Tupperesque joint of roast mutton in front of him, Swinburne and myself close up to him on either side. He talked only to me. This was the more tantalising because Swinburne seemed as though he were bubbling over with all sorts of notions. Not that he looked at either of us. He smiled only to himself, and to his plateful of meat, and to the small bottle of Bass' pale ale that stood before him—ultimate allowance of one who had erst clashed cymbals in Naxos. This small bottle he eyed often and with enthusiasm, seeming to waver between the rapture of broaching it now and the grandeur of having it to look forward to.

Swinburne's silence was ended—by Watts-Dunton—when the roast mutton was replaced by apple-pie.

Watts-Dunton leaned forward and "Well, Algernon," he roared, "how was it on the Heath to-day?" Swinburne, who had meekly inclined his ear to the question, now threw back his head, uttering a sound that was like the cooing of a dove, and forthwith rapidly, ever so musically, he spoke to us of his walk; spoke not in the strain of a man who had been taking his daily exercise op Putney Heath, but rather in that of a Peri who had at long last been suffered to pass through Paradise. And rather than that he spoke would I say that he cooingly and flutingly *mung* of his experience. The wonders of this morning's wind and sun and clouds were expressed in a glow of words so right and sentences so perfectly balanced that they would have seemed pedantic had they not been clearly as spontaneous as the wordless notes of a bird in song. The frail sweet voice rose and fell, lingered, quickened, in all manner of trills and roulades.

There were other luncheons, and they were all the same as this one.

And now, clearer still, as I write in these after-years, do I see that dining . . . of The Pines; the long white stretch of bluecloth, with Swinburne and Watts-Dunton and another at the extreme end of it; Watts-Dunton between us, very low down over his plate, very easy and hirsute, rather like the dormouse at that long tea-table which Alice found in Wonderland. I see myself sitting there wide-eyed, as Alice sat. And, had the hare been a great poet, and the latter a great gentleman, and neither of them mad but each only very odd, and vivacious, I might see Swinburne as a glorified blend of those two.

When the meal ended—for, alas! it was not, like that meal in Wonderland, unending—Swinburne would dart round the table, proffer his hand to me, bow deeply, bow to Watts-Dunton also, and disappear. "He

always walks in the morning, writes in the afternoon, and reads in the evening," Watts-Dunton would say with a touch of tutorial pride in this regimen.

That parting bow of Swinburne to his old friends was characteristic of his whole relation to him. Cronies though they were these two, knit together with bonds innumerable, the greater man was always *aux petits soins* for the lesser, treating him as a newly-arrived young guest might treat an elderly host. But I rather fancy that, to the last, he never did, in the fulness of his modesty and good manners, consent to regard his presence as a matter of course, or as anything but a terminable intrusion and obligation. His bow seemed always to convey that.

Watts-Dunton was always ready to talk. Once the conversation turned on Browning.

"Browning, yes," said Watts-Dunton, in the course of an afternoon, "Browning," and he took a sip of the steaming whisky-toddy that was a point in our day's ritual. "I was a great diner-out in the old times. I used to dine out every night in the week. Browning was a great diner-out, too. We were always meeting. What a pity he went on writing all those plays! He hadn't any gift for drama—none. I never could understand why he took to play-writing." He wagged his head, gazing regretfully into the fire, and added, "Such a clever fellow, too!"

When Watts-Dunton spoke of Whistler, it was "seldom without a guffaw." Whistler had played a trick on Swinburne and had used Watts-Dunton as the medium for it—at least that was Watts-Dunton's story. It was in connection with the "Ten-o'clock" lecture. Swinburne had criticized this in a review. Whistler used Watts-Dunton to get him to do this, and when it appeared promptly wrote to the *World* a derisive letter about the poet. That led to a quarrel, and later to a *bon mot* from Whistler that was almost as pathetic as it was witty. Watts-Dunton told "Max" about it.

"When I took on the name of Dunton, I had a note from him. Just this, with his butterfly signature: *Theodore? What's Dunton?* That was very good—very good indeed. . . . But of course," he added gravely, "I took no notice." And no doubt, quite apart from the difficulty of finding an answer in the same vein, he did well in not replying. Loyalty to Swinburne forbade. But I see a certain pathos in the unanswered message. It was a message from the hand of an old jester, but also, I think, from the heart of an old man—a signal waved faintly, but in truth wisely, across the gulf of years and estrangement; and one could wish it had not been ignored.

TAKING STOCK OF SOCIALISM.

"The dead hand of Fabianism, pre-occupation with Municipal reforms, the growing power of the Labour Party, the glamour of the Big Union, all these have squeezed out Socialist idealism." Thus Mr. Joseph Dalby in an article entitled "The Need of a Vision," in the *Socialist Review* (July-September). The article is a trenchant comparison between the immediate methods of modern Socialism and the ideals that thinking Socialists cherish in regard to the regeneration of the human race. It is a reminder, from the Socialist standpoint, that with "eyes glued upon the progress of Capitalist organisation, we are blind to all else, save the instant need of attacking him with his own weapons, on his own plane." The belief is that "eventually we shall capture this great political and industrial machine, which we call Civilisation, give it a new direction, a human bias, so that its great potentialities may be turned to account."

It is probable that we could not go on believing this, had we any clear idea of what social life could be in terms of actual personalities. We should then see that you cannot put new wine into old bottles; that the end of the social machine to-day being power and profits the whole complicated structure is vitiated from the source, instead of being something neither good nor bad, except as directed to a good or a bad end. The motive behind it all is immanent in its very structure; which machine as it is, is also something more than a machine, because it is the expression of perverted human personality. What is wanted is a new vision of society based upon the things men live by, in the light of which we may criticise not only the ends towards which the existing social structure is directed, but also the structure itself, conditioned as it is by those very ends.

Take, for example the Socialist theory of work—production for use instead of for profit. This might be satisfactory if human needs were standardised; but they are not. "Our needs to-day seem to be all in the direction of complexity," so that "if production for use means production for what the consumer thinks he needs, it means that even under a non-profit-making system the producer is still going to turn out vaster and vaster quantities of ephemeral commodities to satisfy the public want for empty vanity." Why does this want exist, and what is the remedy for it?

What has happened is that the tyranny of

the machine has reduced the average workman to a machine-minder, so that his creative faculties, which should find an outlet in the doing of the common work of life, being atrophied, are dominated by his possessive instincts which run riot. This, of course, has happened also amongst the wealthier middle and upper classes, except in so far as they have the sense to allow the parasitical artist to choose for them. The remedy for all this is plain; it is to restore to the common people the use of their creative faculties by giving them scope in common work. A man whose daily work has been mechanical and soul-numbing will always want the wrong things; just as his appetite is for stimulating rather than wholesome food, so in all things he will demand a cheap and meretricious plenty rather than the honest and the beautiful. The only way to change the nature of the demands of the people for the goods of life is to change the nature of their work.

Thus the view that work is necessarily an evil thing, and that the ideal State is one in which there should be the greatest possible amount of leisure, is fallacious. Those who desire a Leisure State do so because they want as much leisure as possible in order that they may have plenty of time to spend in any sort of pleasant activity once they have got the absolutely necessary work done.

In effect, this view divorces use and beauty, for it assumes that man is an animal with respect to certain elemental needs, which are to be satisfied as quickly as possible in a cut-and-dried mechanical way; which done, he will then be free to live his life on a superior plane away from all the disgusting physical necessities, as the playboy of the world. Does your business man dichotomise life when he says: "Business is business; there is no room for sentiment there. After I have left the office I am a different person with the will to think of the needs of others, and a heart to sympathise with them, but don't mix up such things with business." This dual view of life is equally vicious, whether it appears in the modern business man who keeps his business life and his human life in two separate compartments, or in the State Socialist who is satisfied with mere efficiency in the supply of man's economic needs, and relegates all that is human, all the joy and aspiration of labour to the playground. It is just that primitive urge towards the satisfaction of the elemental needs of life which gives worth and virility to art, which is man's joy in labour.

Art and, not less important, the spirit of Service can, maintains this writer, transmute arduous toil into pleasurable work. Some progress has been made in

the restoration of handwork, as opposed to machine work, to its ancient place of honour; but does the present economic demand permit of the movement being extended? Machinery must always be employed for a certain amount of jewellery work, but do we really require all the machine-made goods now being produced under the artificial stimulus of fancied needs?

If the people of this country could be fed and clothed, whilst five million men were withdrawn into the Army, and another two million put into the making of useless weapons of destruction, and if now, when an ever-increasing proportion of the so-called workers is engaged in travelling, office work,

buying and selling, advertising, and all the other elaborate devices for wasting time, and yet somehow we are all in some fashion fed, housed, and clothed: it is difficult to see why we should starve if we produced half the things we need by handwork.

The writer realises that the present struggle between Capital and Labour is a struggle for power, and that whatever way it ends, it will bring us no nearer to the new Co-operative Commonwealth. That can only be achieved by the slow and patient federation of small local units, each striving to rebuild the tradition of craftsmanship and the spirit of Christian co-operation.

WERE THERE AERONAUTS IN 500 B.C.?

Writing on "Aerial Warfare in Ancient India" in *Discovery* (June), Mr. Ikbal Ali Shah recalls the interesting fact that the science of aviation was conceived in India as early as 500 B.C. Incised in the caves of Ellora are figures of ancient Hindu aerial machines, and there are references in the traditional books of the Brahmans, particularly the Ramayana and Mahabharata, to the use of "flying carriages" in the earliest period of Indian history. The Ramayana (compiled about 500 B.C.) informs us that Rawan, a King of Ceylon, used to fly over his opponents' armies, "and not infrequently caused them severe loss"; while after the defeat and death of that monarch at the hands of the Brahmans his "flying carriage" became the property of Ramchandra, the Hindu Chief, who flew in it from Ceylon to his capital at Ajindhia. In the Sanskrit literature one comes across numerous aeronautical terms. Amongst these are *Vaman-yana*, meaning: To propel a flying carriage; *Vaman-Chirya*, meaning: To fly in a flying carriage; *Vaman-Perbhoot*, meaning: A procession of flying carriages; and *Vaman-Arij*, meaning: One who works a flying carriage (an aeronaut).

Such phrases are very frequently met with in the Hindu epic writings. It is generally admitted that, when a language is in process of formation, new words and terms are coined as the necessity arises. Is it venturing too far, therefore, to assert that, if flying

machines had not existed in Ancient India, such phrases could surely never have come into common use? Why, then, do we find them so deeply embedded in old Sanskrit?

Bombs or "explosion torches," which were hurled from the flying machines, are also mentioned.

The manner of making these primitive bombs is treated of in several ancient manuscripts which exist in India. There are, it is well known, recipes for making fireworks both for purposes of destruction and purposes of pleasure. Rural poets have rendered these recipes into a "poetical" verse, and in the Indian villages which lie beyond the railway zone there are few rustic youths who cannot recite these ancient formulas. The pandits—priests—state that these recipes are almost contemporary with the great epic poems.

The method of manufacturing these "aerial torpedoes" was as follows: a pasteboard cylinder about two feet long was filled with charcoal, saltpetre, and nitre, mixed with nails and sharp pieces of glass. The fuse was of coconut fibre, which was ignited before the "bomb" was cast.

Certain rites and ceremonies supposed to be celebrated prior to the manufacture of these explosives increase the strong presumptive evidence in favour of the antiquity of the "art of fireworks" in India. It is a regrettable fact, however, that the absence of any indication of how the flying machines were flown weakens the otherwise presumptive evidence in favour of their having actually existed.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

Several of the German reviews began the month by expressing their views of the new German Government. Typical expressions of opinion were to be found in the Nationalist *Deutsche Politik* for July 2nd and the Democratic *Hilfe* for the 5th respectively. The first article, by Dr. Theodor Heuss, well summed up the difficulties which had to be overcome before Herr Fehrenbach was able to announce his success in forming a Cabinet—difficulties which appear to be less easy of solution in Germany than elsewhere—the difference between having a parliamentary tradition and not, one supposes.

The choice of ministers. . . . When in the course of the crisis the question was put to the Democratic Party Dr. Petersen returned answer: First appoint your Chancellor, who will outline his programme and select his ministers; the question of confidence will then be more capable of answer. That was correct, but in practice the issue had been narrowed by the decision of the Social Democrats—to abstain from joining the Cabinet. The possibility of bringing in the Left was thus made much more remote. As soon as it was apparent that, parliamentarily speaking, the Cabinet was to be a Minority Cabinet, it became necessary to feel one's ground more thoroughly, with greater prudence. The Cabinet that was formed existed on the sufferance of the Opposition; and the Opposition is all the more strong in that it has no responsibility. The Majority Social Democrats are quite well aware of this and they will enjoy the experience of being spectators, having no responsibility, but possessed of power. . . . The grouping—Centre, People's Party, Democrats—these naturally have their own inner tension, opposition, and outcome of the electoral struggle. A part of the Press has recommended the Democrats to adopt a policy of *Schadenfreude*. . . . The critical hour of this Cabinet will not come until after Spa. But this hour will be one of crisis not only for the Cabinet, but for Germany.

The view of *Die Hilfe*, given in an editorial, was on the whole non-committal:

We will not now make the attempt to judge whether all the Ministers of the new Government are the right men in the right place. They now hold office, and those among them, who as individuals enjoyed confidence only in a limited circle, must now, if the Govern-

ment is to achieve anything at all, have a share in the confidence vouchsafed the Fehrenbach Government as a whole. The way in which Fehrenbach has refrained from placing himself at the head of a purely "bourgeois" Government; the manner in which he managed to secure the confidence of the Social Democrats, who were by no means willing to give it; his way of making bridges of reconciliation behind him, both to the right and the left—all this was effective and aroused hopes of confidence. As far as numbers go the parliamentary foundation of this Government is rather weak. But the same reasons that led to its formation, work also in favour of its preservation.

And in point of fact the Fehrenbach Government not only survived until the end of the month but was able to weather its first serious crisis—which was not in domestic, but in foreign politics, the Spa Conference. Except for an unfortunate exhibition of intransigence by the controller of the National Liberal Party, the coal and iron magnate Hugo Stinnes, the German Delegation at the Conference, which was headed by the Chancellor and the new Foreign Minister, Herr von Simons, a capable lawyer who had formed part of the first German Peace Delegation at Versailles, fared much better than had been expected, either on the Entente side or in Germany itself. The vote of confidence it received on its return towards the end of the month was sufficient proof of the fact. The chief point of criticism was the undertaking to deliver stated quantities of coal every month, to be reckoned towards the reparations. But the Foreign Minister was able to defend this provision in the Reichstag, and most other details in the arrangements concluded met with no serious criticism—at least, with a criticism that was likely to affect votes.

As might be expected, most of the German reviews for July deal with the result of the Spa discussions. A representative view of the Left was found in the Majority Social Democratic weekly *Die Neue Zeit* for July 30th, in an article by Erwin Barth, from which the following extracts may be given

The obligation to deliver monthly two billion tons of coal appears to be impossible of fulfilment, even with the greatest efforts on the part of the workers and the maximum economy of coal by our country. Up to the present we have delivered: in September, 1919, 417,000 tons; October, 599,000 tons; November, 622,000 tons; January, 1920, 125,000 tons; February, 673,000 tons; March, 573,000 tons; April, 718,000 tons; May, 682,000 tons. Now the May delivery is to be doubled each month; it is to be feared that we have not sufficient transport facilities for the task.

Our hope is to reach the production this year of 126 millions of tons (Upper Silesia included). After requirements of ourselves have been met—for gas, railways, electricity, and so forth, there will be left over 71.5 millions—in 1913 the allowance was 85.7 millions within the present boundaries of Germany. Out of these 71.5 millions we have to supply coal to Holland, Scandinavia and Switzerland, otherwise we should receive nothing from these states for our population. In consequence of the deliveries to the Entente we have only a half for our own industry, for domestic purposes and in connection with agriculture, of what we had in 1913.

That well sums up Germany's difficulties. Herr Barth does not, however, venture to prophesy that what has been undertaken will prove to be absolutely impossible. Nor does he indicate any line he would have wished to be taken as an alternative to the acceptance of the Entente demands. He considers, on the contrary, that the signature at Spa was dictated by good sense, as at least giving a time of delay, during which—it is the obvious interpretation—the situation may turn more to Germany's advantage and the "top line" come for a yet further relaxation of the most oppressive clauses in the Treaty of Versailles. Significant that such a view should find expression in the principal weekly paper of a party which stands in opposition to the Government. It is a sufficient indication of the line which the Social Democrats are likely to take in connection with foreign policy.

Before leaving the subject of Spa a word must be said, if only for the sake of historical completeness, on a question much debated there, but given far less attention in Germany than the question of the coal deliveries. The reference is to the disarmament demands of the Treaty and the manner in which they were being carried out. It will be recalled that General Von Seckt presented

the facts, as ascertained by the German military authorities, to the Allied Delegations, and that Mr. Lloyd George, although remarking that the figures of arms not yet traced were smaller than those supplied by the Allied experts, said they were yet astonishing enough. It may be interesting to record the precise statistics given by the German General; they were reproduced by *Die Hülfe* for July 15th:

Rifles in Germany's possession at the end of the war	6,000,000
Rifles lost during the retreat	1,500,000
Rifles given up to the Allies	1,000,000
Remainder	2,810,000
In the possession of the Security Police	117,000
In the possession of the various Einwohnerwehren	800,000
In the possession of the Reichswehr	260,000
That is	977,000
Untraced	1,833,000

The Democratic weekly contradicts what it calls Mr. Lloyd George's deduction from these statistics—that Germany still had another million men under arms—and then proceeds to give the results of the Spa Conference under this head:

At Spa we have been compelled to reduce the Reichswehr, which now numbers 200,000 men, to half this figure, 50,000 by October 1st the remaining 50,000 by January 1st, 1920. The Security Police must be merged into the usual—the so-called "blue"—police, which is to be altogether 150,000 men. The Einwohnerwehr must be dissolved entirely and their superfluous weapons given up or destroyed. If we had been able to obtain the "superfluous" weapons which are still in the hands of Kappists or Spartacists, or even more criminal sections of the population, we should have done it long ago. But if we take away the weapons from all the Einwohnerwehr, and reduce the militarily-organised police forces, we are less in a position than before to compel the disarmament of the foe of the state and of society.

In point of fact there was a distinct attitude of defiance in the South, particularly Bavaria, in regard to this demand for the disarmament of the Einwohnerwehr. The Munich Government and people appeared to have too lively a recollection of the terrors of the so-called Soviet Government, which was an opportunity for the terrorisation of the city by bands of criminals, to wish to deprive themselves of the protection the Einwohnerwehr undoubtedly proved themselves able to provide in emergencies. And seems probable that, although agreement

to accept what Berlin had signed was outwardly secured, in reality there would be a disposition on the part of Bavaria to do what she conceived to be dictated by her own interests.

This leads to a consideration of a new development of Bavarian independence which appeared to be taking place during the month. This should not be understood to imply that there is any real separation in the South, as certain publicists, particularly in Paris, appear to imagine, but merely that there is a growing resistance to what is regarded as the excessive centralisation introduced by Berlin since the Revolution. In July the French Government, probably in response to the dictates of a policy which has just been hinted at, sent to Munich a fully accredited Minister of diplomatic rank. The attitude taken in Berlin was that the step was not in accordance with the German Republican Constitution. But no official protest was raised and the fact that the Bavarians received the Mission appeared to indicate that they thought they knew their own business. At the same time the opening speech of the Bavarian Prime Minister, von Kayr, in which he denounced all rumours that Bavaria wished to separate herself from the Republic, must be cited.

To turn to another part of the Republic, we should note the joy with which the plebiscite results in West and East Prussia were greeted. In the former the German votes were 98 per cent. of the whole, in the latter 92. In certain newspapers the fact was made the subject of a renewed agitation over the injustice of giving the "Polish corridor" to Poland, but before the month was ended the possibility of this corridor being menaced by the Bolsheviks was sufficient to divert criticism from what had been done to what ought to be done in the event of the danger materialising. Herr von Simons expressed the average German view of the Poland versus Russia question when, speaking in the Reichstag, he asserted in effect that Germany was opposed equally to a western attack on Russia and to an attempt to force Soviet ideas on the rest of Europe. The remark might be interpreted to mean a refusal on the part of Germany to take up the anti-Bolshevik fight, as had been hinted in certain

quarters, also that the Bolsheviks could not count on German co-operation, as certain of them appeared to imagine. The truth about Germany and Bolshevism appears to be that, much as certain extremists on both Left and Right would like to see the Russian armies completely triumphant, as meaning the irrecoverable ruin of Poland and the best opportunity possible of evading all the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, any moderate Government which is at all thinkable in Berlin to-day must have a "western" orientation and be desirous of entering only into normal trade relations with Russia.

The chief other articles on foreign political and economic questions in the German reviews for July were Enrich Pagel's on "Japan's Recent Economic Development," in *Die Neue Zeit* for July 23rd and 30th; Robert Müller's picture of Vienna, the "dying city," in the *Neue Rundschau*; Dr. Erenyi's on the "Hungarian Crisis" in *Deutsche Politik* for July 2nd. Of literary and other general articles of interest the following were the most noteworthy: Professor G. Herkner, on Engels and Lassalle, in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*; Wilhelm Verhufen, a "Criticism of the parliamentary system," in the *Neue Rundschau*; "Liturgical Movements of the Present Day," in the Roman Catholic monthly *Stimmen der Zeit*. There were also regular reviews of the most important plays of the month in *Das literarische Echo*, *Die Neue Schaubühne* and the *Preussische Jahrbücher*.

Among recent deaths of distinguished Germans there should be recorded those of the painter Max Klinger and the Munich Professor of Economy Max Weber. Obituary notices with biographical notes and critical appreciation appeared of the first in *Die Neue Zeit* for July 30th, of the latter in *Das literarische Echo* for August 1st and also in *Die Welt bühne*—an article by the well-known critic, Julius Bab.

FRANCE.

July, so far as the movement of French opinion is concerned, was a quiet month. Spa discovered a "mixed" press; it was felt that though M. Milland had suc-

needed in obtaining the Allies' formal adhesion to a fixed plan of campaign in case Germany failed to carry out her undertakings by the stipulated date, he sacrificed a good deal for the sake of this victory. M. de Lacombe's remarks on this subject in the *Correspondant*, are noticed below. The one-day Conference at Boulogne which took place towards the end of the month temporarily switched off attention from Germany to Russia. It was regarded in some quarters as a deliberate attempt by Mr. Lloyd George to force the dreaded "Prinkipo" policy upon his French colleague; and the *Temps*, the *Echo de Paris* and the *Journal des Débats* voiced scepticism as to the results of this unforeseen "conversation" and warnings on the danger of being converted to Mr. Lloyd George's views on the Allies' Russian policy. But the tone of the press, though unmistakable, was not violent.

The serious reviews embody, as usual, the more responsible and considered reflections on the international situation. Also as usual, Allied Diplomacy and Germany's intentions with regard to disarmament are dealt with more trenchantly than elsewhere by M. Poincaré in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (July 1st). More than ever, he is thoroughly pessimistic. He claims possession of evidence that the German munition factories are going at full swing: that they are re-arming, in fact, as fast as they are being disarmed, if not faster. The German complaints as to the behaviour of the coloured troops in the occupied zone are, to him, a palpable dodge to get the Army of Occupation reduced, and so weaken the guarantee for the execution of the Treaty. Germany knows that coloured troops are sent there, because the available European force is wanted elsewhere; and she hopes by rousing European sentiment against their employment to reduce their numbers to a minimum. As regards Italy, his attitude is that of hoping for the best. He is anxious not to be too hard on Signor Nitti, more especially since he is no longer at the head of his country's counsels; and he does not wish to bring up against Signor Giolitti the non-intervention policy he advocated during the war. However, in the *Revue* of July 15th, he makes a slightly obscure

reference to those who played a very moderate part in the Victory and now believe themselves the authors of it. One is tempted to ask if Italy is included in this commentary. A somewhat dismal note of doubt and fear pervades this second article also. As for the Syrian troubles, he denies that Faisal really represents Arab feeling, and complains that French action in this quarter is embarrassed by the doings of other people in Thrace and Asia Minor.

In *Le Correspondant* for July 10th, the political chronicle is written not by M. de Lacombe, but by an unknown "Interim." M. de Lacombe was always more judicial than M. Poincaré, more anxious to examine both sides of a question; but his substitute appears to lean very distinctly to the Left. He soundly rates his Government for having made itself look imperialistic, and says that success at Spa depends on what the French do rather than what Germany does. But the most interesting passage in his article is that in which he claims that "at last" Frenchmen are beginning to show sympathy with Irish nationalism and disgust with the British handling of the problem. He quotes Cardinal Logan and Dr. Coffey with approval. As regards British foreign policy in general, his remarks are guarded. He suggests, however, that, in spite of M. Venizelos's confidence, Greece would never have undertaken the campaign against Mustapha Kemal if she had not been assured of British support.

M. Bernard de Lacombe returns to his post in the following issue of this journal (July 25th), when he sums up—not without lamentations—the net result of Spa from the French standpoint.

Some promises for the disarmament of Germany and for her furnishing coal, as regards which the French Ministry of M. Millerand succeeded in making the stipulation that, if Germany defaulted, the Allies would proceed to exact guarantees by the occupation of fresh territory. Such is what France gained at Spa. But the date of disarmament has been postponed, the quantity of coal we were to receive has been reduced, credits to the German Government are to be opened by the Allies, above all by France, for the ravaging of Germany, before we have received a single sou from her, the question

of the money indemnity, which was the chief of all the problems put before the Conference, and on the solution of which depends the resurrection of our devastated districts, the relief of our financial situation, the lightening of our debt, these matters have not been settled, and France continues to wait for reparations. . . . The delays, as one could easily foresee, have settled nothing, but have complicated everything.

French magnanimity and the permanence of the war spirit in an ungrateful Germany figure largely in M. de Lacombe's discourse. He is bitter on the subject of the provision for feeding the German miners. These advances, as he terms them, to the German Government are being made to enable it to keep up the price of the exported coal to the level of that exported from England to France. So French industries will continue to languish for lack of cheaper coal, thanks to the condition imposed by Mr. Lloyd George, "on this occasion defender of the English coal merchants' interests." And, France, of all people, in contributing to the credits, is going to help pay for her own impoverishment! The writer contrasts with these disappointments the solid advantages gained by Great Britain by the low valuation given to the merchant tonnage acquired by her as part payment of indemnity.

The *Correspondant* for July 10th has interesting, if guarded, appreciations of Signor Giolitti and Senator Harding. In the *Deux Mondes* (July 1st) M. Raphael-Georges Lévy, continuing his rejoinder to Mr. Keynes, discusses Germany's capacity to pay; and in the following issue M. Edmond Vermeil, writing on "German politics," claims that there is a "new Pan-Germanism" in the country which is in every respect as dangerous as the old variety. An alarmist article contributed by M. L. de Norvins to the *Revue Mondiale* (July 1st) on "The Multi-Millionaires and the 'Reds' in the United States," discovers that many of the war profiteers, especially those of the hyphenated description, have applied the funds for Bolshevik propaganda. In the *Mercure de France* (July 15th) a long article by M. Marc Modelé deals with the "Persian Problem," and handles the British Government critically in respect of the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919.

ITALY.

There were four leading topics of discussion in Italy during July. They were: Spa, Albania, the tension between the Italians and the Yugo-Slavs in the Adriatic, and the Greek-Italian dispute over the possession of the Dodecanese. This last led to a delay in the signature of the Turkish Treaty, but the prospects of a settlement appeared to be bright at the close of the month. As regards the Adriatic, it looked as if two incidents, the insulting and firing upon an Italian warship from Spalato, and the subsequent retaliatory pillaging of the Yugo-Slav Club at Trieste—it looked as if these might lead to something more serious. But the incidents were closed by an exchange of apologies. One never knows, however, when such incidents are likely to recur, so long as the Adriatic question as a whole remains unsolved. At Spa the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Sforza, was held to have obtained the best share in the indemnity for Italy that was possible, and to have contributed his influence to the attainment of a moderate solution. The Albanian situation remained rather obscure, fighting of a desultory character taking place while the official envoy, Baron Aliotti, was in contact with the Albanian Government. In such encounters as there were the Italian troops remained successfully on the defensive.

Among the review articles of the month special attention should be directed to an essay by the philosopher Benedetto Croce, now Italian Minister for Education, in the *Nuova Antologia* for July 1st, on the subject of the history of Dante criticism; also to an article in *Il Marzocco* for July 18th, outlining Croce's school-policy, which appeared likely to encounter considerable criticism at the hands of the two contending parties in the sphere of Italian education, the Catholics and the Freemasons. The writer of the article, Professor Gargano, while not denying that the burden of satisfying all the parties was a heavy one, yet maintained that Croce would in all probability make a success of the work which Signor Giolitti had assigned to him.

English readers, by the way, should not lose sight of Charles Rickette's "Pages of a Diary in Greece," which appeared in that excellent literary review, *La Ronda*, for April last.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

A FABIAN'S PARADISE.

Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb (Longmans, 12/6 net).

For anyone other than Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb to have written this enormously pompous book would have been as ludicrous that a reviewer could not be expected to take it seriously; but history has such a fatal habit of bringing the visions of the Sidney Webbs to life that we are compelled to study it diligently and with trepidation. And the awful question confronts us continually on every page, of whether the subtle machinations of the Fabian Society, which have within a single generation succeeded in covering the country with an immense unwanted bureaucracy, will in the course of another twenty or thirty years have really accomplished the evolution, out of the present groaning chaos of our overburdened political and social system, of the nightmare of red tape, departmental regimentation and government by statistics which the authors have here elaborated with an enthusiastic appreciation of every detail of their Utopia. Were it not, indeed, for their uncanny power of getting their ideas translated into action, we would wonder why Mr. and Mrs. Webb, who are eminently practical sociologists, should have thought it worth while to compile this comprehensive idealistic survey of conditions that are, we hope, and at any rate still seem to be, wholly impossible of achievement.

We can only take the book as we find it and try to appreciate it for what it is worth. The dedications, which the authors reserve to their last page, is so valuable a summary of the spirit of their work that we are compelled to quote it:

We want to get rid of the "stiffness" of private interest which now infects our institutions; and to usher in a reign of "Measurement and Publicity." It is to a free Democracy, inspired by the spirit of social service, and illumined by ever-increasing knowledge, that we dedicate this book.

We imagine that the words "Measurement and Publicity" suggest to most minds nothing so much as Mr. Selfridge's colossal store, which is, in fact, a fair approximation to the author's conception of the Socialist State.

While the main part of the book is constructive, the first chapters, which are much the most convincing and suggestive part of it, are destructive and offer an extremely lucid account of the existing congestion—or as the authors prefer to call it "hypertrophy"—of our political and economic systems. The immediate need for a sweeping reform of the constitution could not be more clearly or concisely put. There can be no possible defence of a system of government under which a single Parliament of overworked members, most of whom can make no pretence at being expert in foreign affairs or economics, or even in political administration, is made responsible for an incalculable variety of public affairs, ranging from peace treaties to railway fares, or public health. Moreover, the present Parliament has shown more conclusively than any of its predecessors that a democratic franchise is liable to such manipulation by clever party organisers that a government which is returned by enormous majorities may within six months have entirely lost the confidence of the country. Quite obviously, the present parliamentary system needs to be reorganised from top to bottom, both by a large devolution of power from the House of Commons to some other legislative body or bodies, and by the employment of some method likely to secure that more representative candidates will find it possible to take an active part in public life without sacrificing their whole private interests in having to undertake such exacting duties.

As their ideal solution of this main difficulty, Mr. and Mrs. Webb propose to split the functions of the existing Parlia-

ment into two parts, creating two separate Parliaments, which they call respectively the Political Democracy, dealing with national defence, international relations, and the administration of justice, and the Social Democracy, which shall control the national administration of the industries and services by and through which the community lives.

We regard this splitting of the House of Commons and dividing the powers and functions into two co-ordinate national assemblies, one dealing with criminal law and political dominion, and the other with economic and social administration, not merely as the only effective way of remedying the present congestion of Parliamentary business, but also as an essential condition of the progressive substitution, with any approach to completeness, of the community for the private capitalist.

We should note, in passing, that the one part of the existing constitution which satisfies the authors' political scheme, and wins their approval, is the hereditary monarchy, and they point out that even at present, "the heir apparent to the Ceremonial Headship is specially educated and trained for the job, under the direction and supervision of the Cabinet."

For the full details of this ingenious scheme of a dual Parliament, we must refer our readers to the book itself. Each Parliament would be elected on a different franchise, and by a different method, for the Social Parliament will need to express the public opinion of localities, while in the Political Parliament "the issues may be expected to be more in the nature of the divergent opinions of persons than the differences among the interests of localities."

But the new political system must, of course, be based on a total re-organisation of the economic structure of society, and with this process of transition the authors are principally concerned. Here also, their powers of critical analysis make out a devastating case against the present conditions, which they describe constantly as the "Dictatorship of the Capitalist." In other volumes they have done invaluable work in tracing the growth of the trade union movement, and have helped to awaken public opinion to the fact that modern trade unionism is rapidly restoring to industry all those restrictions upon

the hours and conditions of labour, and those strict regulations for the government of every industry which were destroyed in the overthrow of the Guilds at the beginning of the era of free trade. Mr. and Mrs. Webb, however, are strongly opposed to the school of labour publicists who advocate the ownership of all means of production in each industry by the trade unions concerned. They object that experience shows that the trade unions and even the co-operative societies, with their fine inspiration of mutual service and protection, have too frequently shown their readiness to exploit any monopoly they may obtain in production in order to secure a larger share of profits for themselves. They see no escape from profiteering except by a universal extension of State control.

In spite of their most determined efforts to be re-assuring, we still feel that their plans of an enlarged State control over industry could not do otherwise than hamper that "civil liberty" which the profess to regard as the real object of a social reform. By "progressive socialisation" they believe that much of the greatest part of industry can be brought under State ownership and control, but they graciously admit that:

It may even be predicted with confidence that there will always be a toleration of unsocialised industries and services—such as the whole realm of individual production, horticulture, peasant agriculture and artistic handicrafts; the purely personal vocations of the poet and the artist; the prosecution of many minor industries and services that may be most conveniently conducted on an individual basis; possibly the experimental promotion of some new inventions and devices; not to mention the operative organisation of religious rites and observances.

Apart from this list of nine or ten tolerated fields of individual enterprise, all the main sources of livelihood for the mass of the population are to be placed under State control, and the bulk of the book is devoted to working out such questions as how the foremen and managers and directors are to be selected, and how the general policy of each industry is to be conducted. The Fabian method of organisation is, in fact, nothing else than the Government of industry by an endless series of committees.

It is always astonishing that mind:

acute as those of Mr. and Mrs. Webb should continually refer to the fact that the Post Office, the War Office, and Admiralty, and other Government Departments are already among the greatest of industrial producers and consumers, without ever mentioning the fact that this very extension of State control has proved so costly that it has become literally impossible to raise enough public revenue to cover our national expenditure. Nor is there any doubt that a further extension of bureaucratic control would add still more to the financial burdens of the State, while it would no less certainly retard production and introduce inefficiency and waste into highly organised industries. Already the result of bureaucratic control has been to make several of the most important industries dependent upon subsidies from the taxpayers. Obviously such a process cannot continue indefinitely, without producing a complete collapse.

The root of the trouble lies in the gratuitous assumption by Socialists, in contradiction of all the known facts of history, that it is possible to change human nature by education so far that everyone will work for his neighbour's benefit as much as for his own. John Stuart Mill and his disciples did undoubtedly carry too far the assumption of the orthodox economists that "enlightened self-interest" is the mainspring of all human activity; but at any rate it was approximately true of ninety-five people out of every hundred, and it remains true. Mr. and Mrs. Webb's assumption that the ideal of social service will keep a whole people working at their top pressure could not be held by anyone who had known his fellow beings on normal terms. But then the State is gradually acquiring effective powers for dealing with those who do not respond to the appeal to public service. The Ministry of Health is already in being, and its arrival is a long stride towards the fulfilment of the Socialist State. Its functionaries have already got ample power to incarcerate either in hospitals or in lunatic asylums anyone whom its advisers, in consultation with Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, may declare to be physically or mentally unsound. It remains a mystery how two intelligent

minds which are apparently in earnest in their devotion to "individual liberty" should be able to convince themselves that it can be achieved by an unlimited extension of bureaucracy. With their general purpose of trying to find a stable basis for large scale production that will obviate all friction between employers and employed everyone must sympathise. But their book leaves us more inclined than ever to believe that the modern industrial system is hopelessly too heavy and that either Capitalism must totter on until it collapses of its own weight in revolution, or else it must come to a no less certain end by the strangulation of private enterprise through Socialist interference.

The Chartered Millions. By John H. Harris. (Swarthmore Press, 15/- net).

On July 29th, 1918, the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council issued a Report with reference to the claim of the British South Africa Company that 70,000,000 acres of Southern Rhodesian land, included in the Company's administrative area, should be legally acknowledged as a commercial asset of its shareholders. The land referred to is "unalienated" land, that is, land occupied by natives; and the claim was advanced primarily to the exclusion of the British Crown, and secondly to that of any independent European settlers who might be concerned. The claim was based on two concessions granted by Lo Bengula, late king of the Matabele, and known as the Rudd-Rhodes concession and the Lippert concession, both of which had become the property of the Chartered Company, and the question turned largely on the validity of these concessions. Their Lordships decided against the claim. But their decision was not technically a judgment, and it left the way clear for a new move by the Company, namely a claim for compensation in respect of the cost of "acquisition, maintenance and development" of the land and minerals of the territory they have held for some twenty years on the assumption of absolute ownership. That claim is still *sub judice*, and it is the uncertainty regarding it that has elicited Mr. Harris's book.

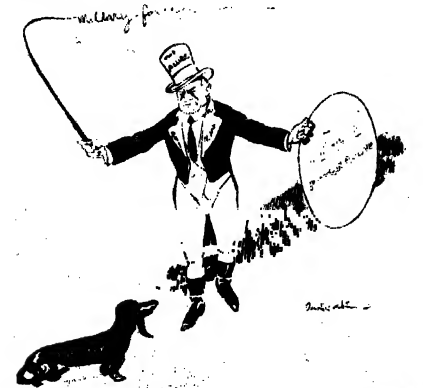
Briefly stated, Mr. Harris challenges the right of the Company to any such

compensation as that proposed—about £8,000,000—on two grounds. The first objection is that the territory in dispute was obtained by force, and to some extent by fraud. The Chartered Company's early dealings with the Matabele are known to have been questionable; here Mr. Harris presents them in such an ugly light as to appear merely piratical. His charges, however, are levelled not at the Company's London directors, but at the men on the spot, particularly Sir Starr Jameson, whose secret agreement to invade Matabeleland—made while the British High Commissioner of South Africa was protesting his peaceful intentions to Lo Bengula—is incorporated in the volume. He is, indeed careful to exonerate both the Directors and the Government from any crime except that of allowing themselves to be hoodwinked. But the prime actors in the tragedy of the rebellion are denounced ruthlessly as *agents provocateurs* and worse, and the subsequent expropriation of the native lands and even of their cattle is considered by him to put the Company outside the pale as regards claims for compensation, though he admits and even emphasizes the good points in their later administration.

The second objection to the claim is financial. When, as must eventually happen, Rhodesia becomes a self-governing dominion, the amount of the claim, if substantiated, will be the

amount of the public debt with which it will start its new career—a heavy handicap. But it is on the moral issue rather than the financial one that Mr. Harris expends his eloquence. One must admit, at once, that he has framed a very circumstantial indictment. On the other hand, his well-known "anti-slavery" bias must be taken into account as affecting not his facts but the interpretation he places upon them. To take an illustration: he puts forward evidence of conduct on the part of certain Company officials which is hardly distinguishable from the practice of slavery, and comments thereon with appropriate warmth. But he is not nearly so severe on the missionaries who accepted native lands from the Company, used them ostensibly as "refuge areas" for the natives, and for a while exacted compulsory labour from them, and even rent. It is true that ultimately the missionaries set their faces against exactions of any kind. But is it not also true that the Company's administration has grown steadily more considerate of native welfare and sentiment, since the stormy days of its "fire and sword" founders?

The book, however, apart from any special appreciation, raises a point of vital importance. What is to be our policy in regard to the native land question, not only in Rhodesia but in every subject community where native customs and instincts survive? Lo Bengula's "concessions," it should be said in justice to the Company, cannot be interpreted otherwise than as a signing away of the land belonging to his subjects. The question is not so much whether he knew what he was doing as whether he or any other chief in his position had or has any legal or moral right to do it. The native land question has been at the root of ninety per cent. of all those miserable "little wars" of the last hundred years, and it is imperative that failure to understand it, on the part either of native rulers or concession hunters, should be rendered impossible for the future. A word should be added on Mr. Harris's description of Rhodesia from the settler's standpoint. Assuming the correctness of his figures as to cost of living, etc., it is a "paradise" that no sane Englishman should be in too great a hurry to attain.



The Bulletin

(Sydney)

The European Circus.

The Ringmaster: "Come on! Go through or—the whip!"

Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

Records of the Great War.

The "Royal Mail" War Book. Being an Account of the Operations of the Ships of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., 1914-1919. By H. W. Leslie. Forty pages of illustrations (Heinemann, 10/6 net).

Mr. Leslie may be congratulated on having written a story of the war done by the R.M.S.P. as well as a history of the work done by the R.M.S.P. during the war. In the early days of the struggle the Company supplied six of the ships forming the Tenth Cruiser Squadron, detailed to blockade Germany by keeping watch and ward over a large stretch of the North Sea; other vessels of the same line were to be found in most of the theatres of the naval operations. The *Asturias*, the first hospital ship torpedoed by the Germans, belonged to this fleet. The toll of ships and men exacted first by the *Königsberg* and the *Möewe*, and later by the submarines, was exceptionally heavy, but there were great triumphs achieved, and most admirable work accomplished. No better tribute could have been penned to the officers and crews of the Merchant Marine.

Paris in Shadow. By Lee Holt (The Bodley Head, 8/6 net).

The Diary of an American writer who has lived in France most of his life, and is in close sympathy with her people. The period covered is the year 1916-17; that is to say, largely a period before America had entered the war. In those days Mr. Holt was a "neutral," chafing against his neutrality, and his record describing every-day doings carries the impress of his feelings to some extent. His Paris world was perhaps not very large, or very important, as importance is reckoned. But he knew every nook and corner of it, and his recital, given with a temperamental quietness of diction, has intimate and revealing touches.

Fiction.

The Man of the Forest. By Zane Grey (Hodder and Stoughton, 8/6 net).

This story of the White Mountains is, one feels, the real thing in adventure stories. It is the commonest thing in the world to apply the adjectives healthy, full-blooded, adventurous, to stories of the Wild West, but to come across a story which genuinely deserves them is considerably more rare. To

start with, Mr. Zane Grey obviously knows the wild places he describes, and the animals, human and otherwise, that are to be found there. The story is not exactly original. It tells of two young girls who went out West to live with a rich old uncle, a rancher in the White Mountains; of how certain bad men conspired to kidnap them with the intention of gaining possession of the rich old man's possessions on his deathbed; and of how the bad men's plans were set at naught chiefly by the exertions of two men of the wild, the one a hunter and the other a Texan cowboy, who fought the girls' battle for them. Yet the story is fresh and so, curiously enough, are the characters. And the descriptions of wild life are fascinating.

Who's That a' Calling? By Kate Horn (Stanley Paul, 7s. 6d. net).

The horrors of this book seem a little behind the times. Dope fiends were surely last year's scare. Still people who like their colours gaudy may still enjoy it. Certainly the horrors are vile enough. Especially the central horror, the attempt by an utterly base woman to corrupt her innocent daughter. Indeed so vile is this that we find a certain difficulty in swallowing it at all. That women keep flats of the sort described in this book we are aware, but that a "high-born" woman should summon her daughter from the country, where she is being well looked after in her "ancestral home," to join in and be corrupted by this life is, to say the least of it, unusual. Still as a young man says in this book: "There are many such places in London, in the most fashionable quarters, where deeds of darkness are committed every day." To which a young girl replies: "The earth is full of darkness and cruel habitations." So we suppose we should be surprised at nothing.

Double Life. By Grant Richards (Grant Richards, 7/6 net).

There was a second-rate, or more probably a third-rate, novelist, who made a decent living and had married a decent wife. One day he took his wife to Newmarket in search of local colour, and that is where the trouble and the fortune begins. For the wife became excited about racing, and, after losing, suddenly finds that she has won a sum so ridiculously large that she dare not tell her husband. She therefore continues to gamble on the turf, buys a race-horse under an assumed name, goes to Monte Carlo and has about as hectic a year of it as a thoroughly

decent woman could imagine possible. Finally after she has won several races fate puts an end to her progress, and with shame and contrition she at last brings herself to confess to her husband that she has made considerably more than thirty thousand pounds behind his back. The story is as exciting as one would expect and full of tips on gambling for the uninitiated. But husbands would be wiser to keep this amusing book from the knowledge of their wives.

Jenny. By Sigrid Undset (Gyldendal, 7/6 net).

"Jenny" is another of that admirable series of modern Scandinavian novels that Messrs. Gyldendal are earning our thanks for producing in such excellent translations. It is not of course another *Growth of the Soil*, but novels of the excellence of that book of Knut Hamsun's are not to be looked for every publishing season. Still "Jenny," which introduces us to the artists and Bohemians of Scandinavia is an interesting study, especially in the first half of the book. There we meet with a young group of Scandinavians in Rome, and the characters and their setting are convincing and natural. Afterwards, somehow, the plot seems to become too tangled and too portentous, and the final tragedy we confess does not convince us. Still the book is good reading, and as a study of modern artists (not very modern perhaps) in Rome it is certainly interesting.

The Twilight of the Souls. By Louis Couperus (Heinemann, 7/6 net). **Dr. Adrian.** By Louis Couperus (Heinemann, 7/6 net).

Mr. Louis Couperus is a man with a European reputation, and, as those who have already read the two earlier volumes in what he calls *The Book of Small Souls* are aware, he does not exactly write the kind of book that, as reviewers say, will "help to while away a journey pleasantly." He is grey. He is, doubtless, depressed. But he is also undoubtedly capable of producing beauty. The theme of these four books is a family theme. The interest is in the relationships of the various members of this family, young and old, imaginative and unimaginative, to one another. The books, like the characters they describe are extremely sensitive, perceptive, almost neurotic. They are not happy, still less are they robustly healthy. The blood of the family, one feels, is running thin, becoming too refined for human contacts. Insanity is always a threat and sometimes more than a threat. But the books are beautifully written, and the translation of Mr. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos is in itself a pleasure to read.

Linda Condon. By Joseph Hergesheimer (Heinemann, 7/6 net).

Mr Hergesheimer is one of the few American novelists one can, with the best will in the world, read with the feeling of security one has when reading an educated European. He will at least never let one down with that

bump into the ridiculously pathetic, or the ridiculously bombastic, that one fears in many Americans of real ability. He has, for better or worse, a European's sense of values. *Linda Condon* is not a first-rate novel. It is not comparable with *The Three Black Pennies* nor even *Java Head*, but it is at least a very well written, very well constructed novel. The story, or part of it at least, reminds one of *What Maisie Knew* in its analysis of a young and entirely innocent girl's upbringing in surroundings that are neither innocent nor even pleasant. The accessories to the story, the different social atmospheres through which the heroine passes, the characters the influences are well realised; it is she herself who never takes on life entirely. One sees her, as it were, as a very clever sketch indeed; one feels one would recognise her if one met her rather than that one has met her in Mr. Hergesheimer's book.

Books on Spiritualism.

The Foundations of Spiritualism. By W. Whately Smith (Kegan Paul, 3/6 net).

A very sound little treatise by the author of "The Mechanism of Survival." The present position of Spiritualism reminds him—as regards the actual evidence—of that of astronomical science before Copernicus. "The more closely the apparent motions (of the sun, moon, etc.) were observed, the more complex was the system of excentrics, etc., required to explain them. . . . In a somewhat similar manner we are being forced into admitting more and more complicated concatenations of Telepathy, Subliminal mental activity, Secondary Personality, and the like in order to evade the spiritistic explanation of certain psychical phenomena." In rejecting a good deal of spiritistic "evidence," the superstructure of the fabric, the author inclines to the view that whilst wholly accepting the fact of Survival, the gathering of evidence should be left to the experts.

The Verdict —? A Study of the probable origin of certain psychic phenomena, together with a Record of very striking personal experiences. By Tertium Quid (Kegan Paul, 6/- net).

The author divides his book into two parts. The first discusses the relationship of the Telepathic Theory to Spiritualism, and challenges the assumption that most spiritualistic phenomena can be explained by this theory. The second part deals with personal experiences with mediums. "Tertium Quid" writes seriously on a serious subject and succeeds in maintaining the rôle he adopts: that of the impartial judge who weighs the evidence on either side, leaving it to the jury to decide, without more personal comment than is necessary for their "direction." He has made a profound study of spiritualistic literature of the more scientific kind, and his own experiments

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make more than usually interesting reading. The book is dedicated to Sir Oliver Lodge, whose attitude towards Spiritualism his own resembles.

The Fellowship of the Pictures. An Automatic Script, Taken down by Nancy Dearmer. With an Introduction by Percy Dearmer (Nisbet, 3/6 net).

This little book purports to have been dictated to Mrs. Dearmer, through the medium of automatic writing, by the spirit of a friend who was killed in France. *Fellowship* as a principle of life is its theme, and it seeks to reconcile that principle with Divine Purpose, and to suggest how the individual can give practical effect to it. The style is homely, and the thoughts are expressed in remarkably simple and clear terms that are, at the same time, different in essence from what one ordinarily reads on this subject. The book is an interesting addition to the literature of psychics both in its content and in respect of the self-evident *bona fides* of its distinguished sponsors.

Startling Revelations from the Heaven Worlds.

Edited by John Lobb, F.R.G.S. (L. N. Fowler, 6/- net).

Mr. Lobb is known as the author of "Talks with the Dead" and "The Busy Life Beyond Death," and has some reputation as a student of spiritualistic philosophy and phenomena. We must frankly admit, however, that the revelations in his latest book are less startling than his esoteric manner of presenting them. For this reason it will not prove easy reading for the uninitiate. There are parts, however, such as that dealing with the chemical theory of materialisations, which are well worth reading, and the thought and reasoning of the author are throughout maintained on the higher plane.

Miscellaneous.

Studies in Jewish Nationalism. By Leon Simon. With an Introduction by A. E. Zimmern (Longmans, 6/- net).

A thoughtful examination, by one of the younger protagonists of the Zionist Movement, of the different phases of Jewish nationalism. Religion is the most important of these phases, and Mr. Simon shows how the "tribal deity" of the ancient Jews became, by evolution, a universal deity, while at the same time retaining for the Jews themselves an intensely national character. Arguing from the Jewish standpoint, he compares the Jewish religion with the Christian, and shows that the latter was imposed on the former without, while the former, so far as Jews were concerned, sprang from the soil. The relationship between Hebraism and Hellenism, the real meaning of the "Jewish Problem," and the different aspects of Jewish colonisation in Palestine are touched on with knowledge and imagination. Mr. Simon follows the teaching of Achad-ha-Am in regarding Palestine mainly as a "Spiritual Centre" of Jewry.

A Day Continuation School at Work. Pa by Twelve Contributors. Edited by J. Wrag M.A., and R. W. Fergus B.Sc., A.R.C.S. With Illustrations (Longmans, 8/6 net).

The Part-time Continuation School is in its infancy, and many of its problems yet unsolved. What is the best kind of teacher for these schools, and how can he be secured? Should emphasis be laid on "vocational" or a more liberal education? How are pupils to be kept in elementary schooling which takes up time that would otherwise be given to enjoyment or possibly to money-earning? How is employer of juvenile labour to co-operate in the work? These and many other questions are discussed in this volume by contributors with practical experience. A mass of useful information on the actual working of a Continuation School, not omitting such phases as physical culture and camp schools, is given. No educationist can afford to pass this book by.

Essays in Moderation. By Arthur Her (Swarthmore Press, 5/- net).

Mr. Herald's essays embody a plea for commonsense Christianity in our human relationships. He begins by defining "Moderation." The term does not imply tepidness or timidity; it stands rather for a proper "sense of proportion" in regulation of things material and spirit. The present "distinction between the sacred and the secular is false"; in a well ordered and happy life the two sides cannot be separated. Later on, Mr. Herald assumes the rôle of a 20th century Sir Thomas More and sketches for us a Utopia. His scheme frankly traverses a good many "democratic" fetishes, but it is none the worse for that. Certainly it is about time we realised that democracy as a political system was made man, not man for democracy.

Reprint.

The Story of Newfoundland. By Birkenhead (Horace Marshall, 5/-).

A new and enlarged edition of a volume "The Story of the Empire" series, originally issued more than twenty years ago, the principal addition being a chapter on Newfoundland's part in the War. Our "colony" is not specially in the public eye at present, but Lord Birkenhead's graphic history of its political and industrial history always good reading, and will be especially so if the proposal to federate Newfoundland with the Dominion of Canada materialises in the near future. For some centuries the colony was mainly identified with the fish industry, but of late years paper-making has become almost a staple. We should welcome more information on this industry than what is contained in the author's rather scanty reference to it.

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THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

No. 369. Vol. LXII.] Founder: W. F. STAD. [SEPTEMBER, 1920

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

[In our next issue we shall commence publication of a series of four articles specially written for this REVIEW by Mr. H. G. Wells, in which he gives his opinion on the "Probable Future of Mankind." After his long silence during the compilation of his recently published history of the world, the return of Mr. Wells as a contributor to the periodical press is an event of unusual importance. His speculations in these brilliant articles as to the probable future of the human race if it cannot find means of avoiding wars, that will inevitably be far more deadly than anything which has yet been experienced, and his constructive suggestions for the avoidance of wars, will rank among the most arresting and valuable writing that Mr. Wells has ever published.—EDITOR.]

LONDON, September 8th, 1920.

The Threat of a Coal Strike.

As we go to press, public attention is focussed, to the exclusion of almost all other considerations, upon the impending strike of the coal miners, which is due to take place after September 25th if some way has not been found in the meantime of settling the dispute between the Government and the Miners' Federation. At present there is a deadlock. The miners stand firm by their demands for an immediate increase of two shillings, one shilling, and ninepence per shift for adults, youths and boys respectively, who are engaged in working the mines. Coupled with this demand for an immediate rise in wages, they insist that the price of domestic coal must be reduced to half by fourteen shillings and twopence a ton. The Government has flatly refused to concede either of these demands, on the ground that the claim for increased wages is not justified by the rise in the cost of living since the last concessions were made to the miners, while it refuses also to consider the pro-

posal that the large surplus profits—amounting to at least £66,000,000—which are being made from the export of coal should be diverted from the redemption of the National Debt, and used to provide the public with coal at less than its cost price. Having decided to press for these demands and to stand or fall by them both together, the miners issued a statement to all the members of the Federation asking them to ballot on the issue of whether the demands should be backed up by a strike. A ballot of the entire Federation was taken, and the result showed a majority of nearly three to one in favour of a strike. The actual figures were 606,782 for a strike, and 238,865 against. Of the total membership of the Federation 94 per cent. actually voted, so that the result is a fair indication of the general feeling among the miners. By the rules of the Federation a majority of two-thirds is necessary before a strike can be declared, and the number of votes cast in favour of a strike is 49,018 in excess of the requisite two-thirds. An attempt was made in many quarters to discredit the result on the ground that at least 100,000 boy voters took part in the ballot, and it

is presumed—though we have seen no satisfactory evidence to support the view—that the great majority of these votes were cast in favour of a strike. However, even if 100,000 votes are deducted from the majority favouring a strike, there still remains more than the necessary two-thirds majority of adult voters favouring a strike.

Hopes of a Settlement.

But while the necessary majority for a strike has been amply secured, there is an unexpectedly large majority opposed to it. In Yorkshire particularly, there is only the bare majority of 58,530 in favour of a strike compared with 55,979 against. In Nottingham also the figures were almost evenly divided, with 17,010 supporting a strike, and 13,887 opposing it. In other districts, however, majorities of six to one, or even fifteen to one in favour of a strike were recorded. The Miners' Federation is so well organised and disciplined that if a strike should take place, it is most unlikely that there would be any serious revolt against its decision, even in those districts where the minority feels most strongly. Nevertheless, the existence of this solid minority has profoundly affected the attitude of the miners' leaders, and whereas a strike seemed almost inevitable a few weeks ago, there has been such a modification of the miners' policy that it now seems more than probable that the dispute will be settled by conciliation. Meanwhile, however, preparations for the strike are progressing steadily, and the Government is actively completing its arrangements for safeguarding the normal distribution of food and the continuance of transport in the event of a strike. It is already known that the country has been divided into five principal districts for purposes of food distribution and transport, and Ministers and experienced civil servants have been appointed to supervise the plans in each area. At the same time steps have been taken to strengthen the police and military forces in the localities that are most likely to be affected by any general disturbance. The miners on their side are losing no time in mobilising their resources, and the working partnership

between trade unionism and the co-operative movement which has been developed carefully during the past year may now be tested if the need should arise. Shortly after the railway strike a year ago, the Co-operative Wholesale Society's Bank promised that in all future strikes it would be prepared to advance loans to any trade union up to at least the extent of the securities deposited with it. Consequently the trade unions, which nearly all keep their deposits with the C.W.S. Bank, can count in the event of any general plan of campaign, upon advances to the extent of their securities, without having to touch their capital at all. As their aggregate resources amount to many millions of pounds, the trade unions are, therefore, in a much stronger position financially than ever before.

The Government's Attitude.

Nevertheless, while Labour has made such enormous progress in its membership and the organisation of its capital, the prospects of a national strike by any union that affects so large a proportion of the workers as the miners, have become more remote. Labour, realising its strength, gained by the combination of all its forces, is also realising its responsibility more and more. Trade Union leaders have declared, one after another, in recent months that a national strike by any of the large unions is so serious an undertaking that it must be avoided at all costs, unless the issue is so grave that the whole mass of trade unionism would be affected by the principle at stake. Consequently, there is always less fear that any one union will rush into a strike unless it is satisfied beforehand that all the other unions will give it unanimous support. Last year, when the railwaymen plunged the country into a lightning strike, they acted without first obtaining the consent of the other members of the Triple Alliance. The result was that the railwaymen incurred intense resentment on the part of the other members of the Alliance, and the miners have profited by their experience, and will not resort to any extreme action unless the Triple Alliance is genuinely in their favour. The recent ballot was, in fact, no sooner declared than the Triple

Alliance expressed their unanimous opinion that the miners' demands were just and reasonable, and ought to be granted forthwith. But that does not mean that the railwaymen and the transport workers are prepared to take part in a strike in support of those claims. What it has meant up to the present is that the Triple Alliance has given its moral support to the miners, and the Government now realises that it must go some way at least towards meeting the miners' demands. Sir Robert Horne, as President of the Board of Trade, has expressed his willingness to reconsider the scale of the miners' wages if any means can be devised to guarantee an increase of output in return for higher wages. His conciliatory attitude has enormously strengthened the hands of the older Trade Unionists like Mr. Clynes and Mr. Will Crooks, who have declared emphatically that they will oppose a strike. The memories of the last miners' strike in 1912 are still so vivid in many parts of the country that suffered terribly from the unemployment which resulted from the stoppage of the supplies of coal, and there is such a general desire to prevent industrial unrest which can only lead to unemployment worse even than what is expected in the coming winter, that the issue between the miners and the Government has been narrowed down. Everyone realises how serious would be the results of a coal strike now, and the other unions, without whose support the miners could scarcely venture to embark upon a strike, are so deeply concerned with the problem of reducing the cost of living, that there is a general disposition to denounce any violent action so long as arbitration before an impartial tribunal like the Industrial Court, still remains to be tried.

Unrest in other Industries.

Apart from the miners, however, serious trouble has arisen in several of the principal industries.

A lock-out has been enforced against the Electrical Trades Union owing to the strike which has been in operation for

some weeks at one of Messrs. Cammell Laird's establishments near Sheffield, in which the E.T.U. claimed that employers may not take on any foreman who does not belong to the union in place of one who does belong to it. What was a small dispute about one man has thus become a national conflict, involving a vital principle, and all the employers in the engineering trades have decided to act together. Their action has enabled the Ministry of Labour to make use of a very valuable provision in the recent Industrial Courts Act. The Minister of Labour appealed to both sides to resume work while a public inquiry was being held into the merits of both parties to the dispute, and while the E.T.U. agreed to this suggestion, the employers refused. Dr. Macnamara thereupon exercised his power to convene an inquiry at once, and it seems likely that the employers will have to withdraw their refusal, which undoubtedly prejudices their case in the eyes of the public. If the lock-out is allowed to continue, it will cripple within a few weeks many of the most important industries that are combined in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and will so lead to widespread unemployment and also give a new impetus to the rise in cost of living. Several other Labour disputes of national importance have also arisen simultaneously at the beginning of the month, in a way which suggests that the organisers of "direct action" have been busily working up the grievances of various unions with a view to exploiting the possibilities of a miners' strike. The most important of these is the strike of the compositors in Liverpool and Manchester, which has resulted in the complete suspension of newspapers for several weeks in those two towns. It is a particularly remarkable case of a breach of agreements arrived at by the national printers' unions. The Typographical Association has, in fact, protested strongly against the action of the two branches which have struck work, and threatened them with expulsion. But their threats have so far proved ineffectual, and the Master Printers are now contemplating a national lock-out in the whole printing trade outside London if the recalcitrant branches are not compelled to abide by their agreements.

The Congress at Portsmouth.

With these various troubles agitating the industrial world, and under the shadow of anticipated unemployment and destitution in the coming winter, the Trade Union Congress is at present meeting in Portsmouth. In the extent of its representation, it surpasses all previous records, and includes 950 delegates who represent some six and a half million trade unionists. Mr. J. H. Thomas, who is this year Chairman of the Congress, opened the proceedings with a bold and somewhat truculent speech, but the general feeling of the Congress shows a profound sense of responsibility at a very critical time. Many important issues have to be discussed on its agenda, the most important of them being the proposals for a General Staff of Labour to co-ordinate the demands and the activities of the whole trade union movement. The question is made all the more important by the spontaneous creation a few weeks ago of the Council of Action, which came into being ostensibly to express the determination of organised Labour to prevent any further military adventures on the part of the Government. Elsewhere in this issue we publish a symposium of representative opinions on the probable developments that may be expected to arise from this startling innovation in the political life of the country. The Council of Action, as originally created, comprised representatives of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and the Executive of the Labour Party. It originated during the offensive by the Bolsheviks against Warsaw, when the Government was believed to be contemplating the despatch of munitions and most probably military advisers as well to assist the Poles in their defence. Undoubtedly the presence of MM. Kameneff and Krassin in London was largely responsible for the extraordinary speed and efficiency with which the Council of Action was brought to life. Its principal members were in constant communication with the Bolshevik envoys in London, and its constitution was so closely modelled upon the Russian system of Soviets that there could be no doubt as to its origin. It was no sooner formed than local Councils of

Action were immediately created all over the country, and at mass meetings summoned with hysterical appeals to save the nation from being involved in foreign wars—which nobody had ever contemplated undertaking—Bolshevik propaganda was poured forth from thousand of platforms, and the literal cry which heralded the advent of the Bolshevik revolution in Moscow, of "All Power to the Councils," was to be heard in every industrial centre.

Preparing for a General Strike.

It was quite obvious from the outset that the situation in Poland was only used as a pretext for creating a complete reorganisation of Workers' Councils on the Russian model, with a view to subsequent action in the event of a general strike. The speed and completeness with which they were organised showed that most elaborate preparations had been made during the past month for launching this new movement when any opportunity should arise. Some of its most conspicuous members, such as Mr. J. H. Thomas, who were certainly not among the active originators of the plan, have endeavoured to reassure the public by declaring that the Council of Action was created solely to deal with the Polish question, and would cease to exist as soon as that question was decided. But there is every sign that the Council of Action had come to stay. It has met almost every day since it was formed, and as the Polish crisis has gradually disappeared, its activities have become more and more directed towards participation in industrial affairs at home. Its position has still to be regularised by a vote of the Trade Union Congress, but Mr. Thomas in his opening address at the Congress has found it necessary to repeat his own original declaration that the Council of Action is "a direct challenge to the constitution" of the country. It claims the right of the working-class not only to assert their wishes through a centralised organ of representative opinion, but also to intervene with the threat of industrial action if the Government of the day adopts any policy which organised Labour disapproves. It is scarcely credible that the Council of Action will confine its interference of the

kind to matters of foreign policy. The conflict that must inevitably arise between organised Labour and the Government whenever such interference takes place, can scarcely have any other result than an appeal to force on both sides. Once the scheme of the Council of Action has been duly ratified and confirmed by the Trade Union Congress, it will, in fact, represent the families of between six and seven million trade unionists, who, it may be presumed, would respond to its instructions rather than those of the Government. In the event of such a conflict arising, neither side could claim that it had "public opinion" solidly behind it. The only solution of the very unfortunate situation which has arisen, would seem to be the dissolution of the present Parliament, which has admittedly lost all power to command the confidence of the country, and a general election, which would naturally produce a more representative Parliament than was elected under the feverish conditions that followed upon the Amnistie. So long as the present situation continues, there can be no cure for the distrust with which Labour regards the Government. The organisation of the Councils of Action has been developed with a view to mobilising the whole resources of Labour for a conflict with the Government. Each local council has been organised with special executive committees which are to be responsible for the distribution of food to the workers on strike, and the maintenance of transport. The co-operative societies are to be used as agencies for distributing food to the workers, and a system, which has already been put into operation in several of the strikes that are now in progress, has been developed by which the unemployed workers are to receive their strike pay, not in cash, but in coupons which will take the place of money at the co-operative stores.

General Weygand saves Poland.

When we wrote last month, the Bolsheviks were already closing in fast around Warsaw, and it seemed certain that unless a miracle should happen, the Polish capital must fall into their hands, and the greater part of the country pass at once under the

Bolshevik Terror. A miracle did happen, just as a similar miracle saved France from destruction four years ago, when the German armies that had already reached the outskirts of Paris were thrown back in confusion by the sudden rally of the French forces on the line of the Marne. It was the same indomitable French spirit that saved Poland three weeks ago, when, after the British Government had apparently made up its mind to abandon Poland to her fate, a sudden decision in Paris authorised General Weygand to assume the supreme control of the Polish armies that were defending Warsaw. How that decision came to be taken is still a mystery. It involved not only a reversal of the policy which M. Millerand had agreed upon with Mr. Lloyd George at Lympe, but for all practical purposes the termination of the entente between France and this country. Having decided upon so dramatic a breach with English policy, the French threw all caution to the winds, and announced at once that they would recognise the administration of General Wrangel in the Crimea as the *de facto* government of Southern Russia. With that indefensible decision we cannot have any real sympathy. One after another, Kolchak, Yudenitch, and Denikin, have all in turn appealed to the Allies for political and financial support, and their eventual overthrow has proved each time that the spirit of Russia is irrevocably set against counter-revolutionary enterprises that are organised from abroad. But the salvation of Poland is a triumph for European civilisation, so great that for her part in its accomplishment, France must be forgiven for almost any indiscretion of foreign policy. General Weygand, himself Marshal Foch's right-hand man throughout the desperate campaigns on the Western front, rallied the routed Polish forces from the moment that he assumed control, and inspired such resolute confidence by his own cool and magnetic leadership that the Poles mustered their whole resources for an immediate counter offensive, and flung the Bolshevik armies back headlong across the Polish frontiers. On the Northern front, between the Vistula and the borders of East Prussia, the Bolsheviks had allowed themselves to be caught into a

trap that gave an ideal opportunity to the employment of strategic manoeuvres. By forced marches and a furious mobilisation of transport, General Haller, who took over the command of the Northern sector of the defence, forced his way forward towards Grodno, and trapped a great force of the Bolshevik army, that had worked its way along the Prussian frontier to close the gates of the corridor from Dantzic. With their only line of escape intercepted in the rear, the Bolsheviks were obliged to surrender in tens of thousands, while as many more crossed the Prussian frontier, and laid down their arms. More than 100,000 Russian prisoners actually surrendered on Polish soil.

The Menace of Typhus.

Poland at any rate has been saved from the military destruction that a month ago seemed altogether inevitable. The Bolshevik armies have been so utterly defeated that any renewal of the offensive campaign against Poland would seem to be impossible for some time to come. Moreover, Trotsky is likely to have his hands fully occupied in the South, where General Wrangel has extended his authority from the Crimea over a wide area around, and has joined forces with the Don Cossacks. The winter is approaching rapidly, and the season when campaigning in Russia is possible is already nearly at an end. But a more deadly peril now threatens both Poland and Southern Russia, and perhaps even the whole of Central Europe. Five months have elapsed since the Council of the League of Nations issued an appeal to all the signatories of the Covenant asking them for funds to assist in dealing with the growing menace of typhus in Poland and Eastern Europe. The appeal has met with scarcely any effective response, and Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government has had to issue a fresh appeal asking for a paltry £250,000 as an immediate first instalment of the £10,000,000 that will be needed to prevent the spread of the disease. In Russia, Mr. Balfour declares, typhus seems to be epidemic, and every reliable witness who has recently returned from Russia has represented urgently to the Government that the country has already been swept

from end to end by the disease, that scarcely a town or village has escaped, and that half the doctors engaged in trying to fight it have died of it. From this vast centre of infection, he points out, the disease is carried westward by an unceasing stream of immigrants—prisoners returning to their homes, or refugees flying for safety. Two millions of them have already passed the Polish disinfection stations since the armistice. Under normal conditions, the number of typhus cases during the summer months ought to be very small, but it is in fact enormous, and the Government has issued a solemn warning to the public that unless effective steps are immediately taken, the plague will be far more deadly this winter even than it was a year ago. No more terrible statement could be issued by responsible witnesses. Last year, hundreds of thousands of half-starved and destitute inhabitants of the European cities died like flies from epidemic diseases, that their constitutions had lost all power to resist.

International Co-operation or Chaos.

More than ever is it essential, if civilisation is to be saved, and Europe is to escape a period of famine and plague that will reduce the population far more drastically, even in a few months than did four long years of slaughter on the battlefields, that the countries which have survived the catastrophe of the war, and that still retain a vigorous and well organised economic life, should unite in the closest alliance, and strive for the immediate and general reconstruction of Europe. Mr. Sisley Huddleston argues eloquently elsewhere in this issue on the necessity of re-building the ruins of the Anglo-French Alliance, and points out that the sudden divergence of policy between the two allies threatens to involve the destruction of all that has been done to pave the way towards a resuscitation of Europe. Even in Italy anarchy has already raised its head so defiantly that chaos reigns throughout all the Northern industrial towns. Soviets are in actual possession of Milan and half a dozen of the principal manufacturing towns, while the workers themselves, armed not only with rifles and with munitions, but with tanks and

armoured cars, have forcibly seized the factories and are conducting them on Bolshevik lines. At any moment similar conditions may arise in Germany, or in Austria, or Czecho-Slovakia or any of the new Central European states, and if once capitalism is violently overthrown, credit must inevitably disappear, and the countries that embrace Bolshevism will find it as impossible to obtain imports from abroad—if only because there will be no security that their debts will be repaid—as the Bolsheviks themselves find it during the first years of the revolution. Every incident that tends to estrange the alliance between any two of the Allies that are seriously striving for reconstruction is a blow to the hopes of a European revival and hastens instead of retarding the final collapse of Europe. For Europe is indeed fast approaching the conditions in which an economic and political collapse can scarcely be avoided. We are beginning already to feel the first effects of it in this country, and for the first time since the outbreak of the war unemployment on a large and dangerous scale is becoming evident. The vicious circle of prices and wages has risen so high that the demand for commodities of every kind is already seriously restricted, while the first urgent needs of replacing what could not be obtained during the war have already been met. Everyone has by this time become accustomed to the necessity of making drastic retrenchments in personal and other expenditure, and one industry after another is beginning to find it impossible to dispose of its products in the quantities that have been produced during the past two years. The effective demand at home is steadily declining, while the European countries which are still so short of many commodities that they could absorb all our surplus production if they had the means to pay for it, are still so far from having restored their trading credit that they cannot find any way of paying us for what we have to sell. Unemployment on an altogether abnormal scale is certain to overtake this country in the coming months, and if the Supreme Council does not accomplish a real settlement of the financial and industrial difficulties of Central Europe, the reaction of Continental poverty will be felt profoundly in this country also.

Ireland and our Foreign Relations.

Even in France, as in America, we are pursued by the Nemesis of our Irish policy. Mr. Gavan Duffy's expulsion from Paris was directly due to the intervention of the British Foreign Office, which found that his propaganda attacking the Government for its vindictive attitude towards the Lord Mayor of Cork was producing so deep an impression upon public opinion in France that it must at all costs be interrupted. M. Millerand appears to have made up his mind to accede to Lord Curzon's request, but the protests that have been raised throughout the whole French Press at this submission to dictation from London have only added to the ill feeling and distrust that is already poisoning the attitude of France towards ourselves. It would seem impossible to accentuate the violently anti-British feeling that is raging through the American Press, but the continued imprisonment of the Lord Mayor of Cork has added new fuel to the fires of hatred; and the bulletins of his gradual decline towards death that are everywhere reported, with appropriate comment and denunciation are almost the only news from this country appearing in the American newspapers. The Government's attitude in connection with the Lord Mayor of Cork defeats all explanation. His arrest was made under the new Coercion Act which was ostensibly passed for the suppression of crime in which evidence was available, but no jury could be found to convict. But no crime whatever has been proved, or even credibly alleged, against the Lord Mayor of Cork. He was charged on four distinct counts, not one of which could be regarded under any reasonable administration as an offence at all. The first, on which he was, in fact acquitted by the Military Court-Martial before whom he was tried, accused him of having in his possession a copy of a secret code of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Why it should be a crime for the Lord Mayor of an important city to have access to the secrets of its civil police, we cannot comprehend. The secret code at any rate was discovered by a military raiding party in the Lord Mayor's desk, and on that account he was convicted, not unreasonably, of having the code under his control.

The implication in the allegation that this was a crime for the Lord Mayor is, presumably, that he was directly concerned in organising the murder of members of the R.I.C. We have excellent reason for believing that the Lord Mayor had no sympathy whatever with the secret societies which have been responsible for the murder of Irish policemen. But the Government base their suspicions against him on the fact that his public speeches since his accession to office after the murder of his predecessor in the mayoralty, have been uncompromising in their appeal to his fellow citizens to organise by every means in resistance to the present authorities governing Ireland. One of the two remaining counts upon which he was convicted was that he had in his possession a copy of a resolution (published in every newspaper in Ireland) in which the Corporation of Cork pledged its allegiance to the Dail Eireann, which is the constituent assembly of Irish Members of Parliament who met together in Dublin after the last general election and decreed that the government of Ireland was in future to be conducted by the elected representatives of the Irish people, regardless of the actions of Dublin Castle. If to have that resolution in one's possession was a crime, everyone in Ireland who bought a copy of any Irish paper containing it would be equally liable to prosecution. The other remaining charge against Lord Mayor McSwiney was that he had made a speech some months ago which apparently the Irish Government had never before taken any notice of, although it had been widely reported in the Irish Press.

The Tragedy of Lisburn. From the day of his arrest, Alderman McSwiney refused to recognise the authority of the Government to try him, and declined to take food, asserting defiantly that he would be a free man within a month whether alive or dead. He was convicted by a Military Court Martial, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. After his arrival at Brixton Prison, his fate became rapidly a question of international importance. Urgent appeals for his release were sent to the Government from all sections of

public opinion, and almost the entire press has joined in the demand for his liberation. Even the King, in response to telegrams of entreaty addressed to him, lent his own influence to the agitation for a reprieve, but the Government has remained obdurate. Mr. Lloyd George, persisting in the insinuation that the Lord Mayor was personally responsible for the murder of policemen, refuses to alter the Government's decision unless some guarantee is forthcoming that no more policemen will be murdered in Ireland. Obviously no such guarantee can be forthcoming, for it is well-known, and particularly in Irish official circles, that the assassinations in Ireland have been the work of secret societies which in many Fein. It is incredible, for instance, that the leaders of Sinn Fein, whose chief anxiety at the present time is to avoid any collision between the Irish people and the armed forces of the Government in Ireland, should have been responsible for the murder of Inspector Swanzy at Lisburn in the middle of last month; although it is universally believed in Cork that Inspector Swanzy, who was in charge there of the police at the time, was directly concerned in the murder of Alderman McSwiney's predecessor as Lord Mayor of Cork. No steps have ever been taken by the Government to establish the real authorship of Alderman MacCurtain's murder in Cork, and the evidence at the inquest pointed so clearly to the suspicion that the murder was perpetrated by the police, that throughout Ireland they are held responsible for it. The Government found it necessary to withdraw Inspector Swanzy and give him other work in Lisburn. Here, however, he was followed by the secret societies, and on August 21st he was shot dead in broad daylight in the streets of Lisburn as he was returning from church. The result of this flagrant outrage, committed in a predominantly Unionist town in Ulster, was what could only be expected. The Orangemen broke loose at once and commenced a campaign of fearful reprisals against the whole Catholic population of the town, although they were admittedly innocent of any part in the murder. Every house belonging to either a Catholic or a Protestant who was known to have Nationalist sympathies immedi-

tely became an object for attack. Beginning with the public houses owned by Catholics, the Unionist mob sacked and looted whole streets of houses, and after they had got completely beyond control, under the influence of looted drink, they seized the furniture in the houses, made bonfires of it in the streets, and then set the houses themselves on fire. Damage to property amounting to more than half a million pounds was done in Dublin alone.

The Pogrom in Belfast. Within a few days these savage outbreaks spread to Belfast, and here also the military and police, under the official supervision of General Hackett Paine, who was before he war Chief of Staff to the Ulster Volunteers, stood by without preventing the progress of incendiarism and robbery until damage to the extent of more than a million pounds had been done. But the actual destruction to property is only a small item in the campaign of wholesale extermination which has now been launched in the Unionist counties of Ulster against the Catholic population. So many houses have been burned down in the Catholic districts of Lisburn and Belfast, and so many families have been driven out on to the streets as fugitives with all their property destroyed, that thousands of refugees, with their families and children have had to leave their homes in Ulster in despair until the agricultural package has been repaired. Nor is there any likelihood that the Unionist population will allow them to come back. For several months now, in the shipyards in Belfast and in many of the principal factories of Ulster, the Unionist majority have used violent measures to prevent the Catholic minority from working with them. Many thousands of Catholic families have thus been left without means of subsistence, and have to depend on charity to keep them alive. Meanwhile, this savage policy of "reprisals" or murders committed by uncontrollable secret societies, has been enforced in one fish town after another. In East Ulster, the Government is actually conniving at a campaign against the Ulster Catholics, which has no parallel in recent times apart from the "deportations" of the

Armenians by the Turks. But in the Southern provinces as well, the same policy is being carried out, though less deliberately and completely, by the armed forces of the Government itself. In Limerick, Fermoy, Tuam, and an increasing number of important Irish towns, the police and soldiery have broken loose time after time and wrecked whole quarters of the towns. From all over Munster, fresh circumstantial accounts are told daily of reckless and callous shooting of men, women, or children as they walk along the roads. So long as the country is governed by a system which involves the presence of an immense number of armed and ill-disciplined troops, such abuses are sure to occur. But at present they are fast becoming a common practice. One of the worst and most recent features of the present régime is the destruction of creameries, admittedly by the troops or the khaki-clad police, who have been given the nickname in Ireland of the "black-and-tans." Most of these creameries have arisen all over the country as a part of the co-operative movement inaugurated by Sir Horace Plunkett and his colleagues. They have been one of the principal factors in building up the modern prosperity of the country, and they are a highly important part of the economic organisation which has made Ireland able to export large quantities of her surplus agricultural produce. Day after day new instances are reported of the destruction of these creameries by the Government's armed forces, sometimes in retaliation for conduct on the part of the people which has caused resentment among the police or soldiers, but quite often out of a sheer spirit of hatred towards the country which they are forcibly occupying.

The "Peace Conference" in Dublin.

It is in these conditions that a Conference was called to gather the opinions of all moderate politicians in Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George has himself appealed to the moderate men in Ireland to produce a workable scheme which he could introduce, and the Peace Conference that met in the Dublin Mansion House was the most representative assembly of its kind in modern Irish

history. It passed a unanimous resolution calling upon the Government to introduce a generous measure of self-government at once that would concede full control of Irish finance, and all local powers, while reserving all questions of military and naval defence to the Imperial Parliament. It thus gave expression to the universal demand for a genuine measure of self-government, which has been urged week after week by many of the most conservative and influential public men in Ireland. All over the country, magistrates, Deputy Lieutenants of counties, and public officials are announcing their resignations as a protest against the Government's failure to make any attempt at a real settlement. The Peace Conference in Dublin has made it impossible for the Government to pretend any longer that it cannot obtain guidance from responsible public opinion in Ireland. But the first act of the Conference was to send an urgent petition for the release of the Lord Mayor of Cork, stating, what everybody knows quite well, that if he should die in prison, all chance of converting Irish opinion to faith in the goodwill of the Government will have disappeared. That entreaty has passed unheeded, and the Government's whole record in its treatment of Ireland shows that its constructive proposals will be treated with the same indifference. The "malignity" of the Government's policy towards Ireland, of which Mr. Lloyd George himself complained in speaking of the early years of the war, was never more virulent, and it becomes more and more difficult to avoid the conclusion, which is universally accepted in Ireland, that the Government has made up its mind to provoke as widespread a rebellion as possible in order to have an excuse for shooting the leaders of Sinn Féin and for wreaking its revenge upon the country that has defeated all its measures of coercion. Fortunately Sinn Féin has so organised and disciplined the Irish people that they are determined to avoid an outbreak at any cost. But there are limits to human endurance, and if the present policy is pursued much longer, Ireland may be goaded into revolt.

Mesopotamia, Egypt and Ireland. Apart altogether from the ethics of the Government's Irish policy, there remains the question of its cost. We cannot go on indefinitely paying for the upkeep of a huge army of occupation in Ireland. Still less can we afford to destroy property to the extent of tens of thousands of pounds each week, and to cripple one of the vital organisations of Ireland's food supply. The policy of coercion is too costly to enforce indefinitely. In Mesopotamia, we are faced with a precisely similar situation. There also, we are spending at the rate of 50 millions a year to keep up an army of occupation which already amounts to 90,000 troops, and which is calling for reinforcements almost equal in number to those which are already there. There too, our policy of coercion has resulted in an infamous destruction of property, and the slaughter of at least 10,000 Arabs in the spring of this year. Only one gleam of hope illumines the ghastly record of the Government's military adventure. Lord Milner, having failed in his mission to Egypt to produce any settlement with Egyptian nationalism, has at least shown the courage to admit defeat, and now recommends an agreement under which the whole British army of occupation is to be withdrawn from Egypt, while we retain all the control over the Suez Canal that is necessary to safeguard British interests. We have thus at once effected an immense economy, and restored peace in a country where our rule had brought massacre and misgovernment. This hopeful solution was scarcely published before another similar departure was announced in the appointment of Sir Percy Cox to a special mission to Mesopotamia of which the object is to come to an agreement with the native population who have been driven into insurrection by our maladministration, and to prepare for the complete withdrawal of our army of occupation. We have cut our losses in Egypt. We are about to cut them in Mesopotamia. How long must we wait before the Government comes to the conclusion that we had better cut them in Ireland also?

Diary of Current Events

FOR AUGUST.

August 1.—Polish and Soviet Armistice delegates met at Baranovitchi. An exodus from Warsaw was begun.

The Turkish Government has resigned.

August 2.—The Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill was formally presented by Sir Hamar Greenwood to the House of Commons.

Mr. D. Lynch, Sinn Fein M.P. for S.E. Cork, has resigned his seat.

Miners at their International Congress at Geneva discussed the subject of the prevention of war. Mr. Smillie contended that the miners were in a position to effect this.

M. Krassin returned to London.

A new Turkish Cabinet has been formed with Damad Ferid Pasha as Grand Vizier.

Cowes week began.

August 3.—A manifesto has been issued by the People's Union for Economy calling for a change in Government policy of retrenchment.

The International Miners' Congress at Geneva passed a resolution urging all miners to strive for world-wide nationalization of mines.

Dr. Macnamara stated that there were still 20,000 disabled ex-service men without work.

An I.L.P. resolution calls upon the Labour Party to bring about the impeachment of Mr. Churchill for his policy in Russia.

The Bolsheviks have suspended the Armistice negotiations on the plea that the Polish delegates were not authorised to conclude a preliminary peace as well as an armistice. Brest-Litovsk has been captured.

August 4.—A permanent health organisation is being set up by the League of Nations.

M.M. Kamenef and Krassin were received at Downing Street by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law.

The conclusion of a secret treaty between Germany and Soviet Russia in regard to Poland is reported.

Lithuania has granted permission to the Red Army to occupy Lithuanian territory in prosecution of the war against Poland.

Italy has reached an agreement with the Albanian Government at Tarana whereby she acquires the island of Saseno at the entrance to the Gulf of Avlona and the right to fortify Capes Linguetta and Treponti, together with certain economic privileges.

It has been suggested that the Emin Feisal should be made ruler of Mesopotamia in the room of his brother.

August 5.—A report on the expenditure on stationery by Government departments has been issued by the Select Committee on Publications and Debates Reports. Attention is called to the great excess in several departments of the actual expenditure over the estimates.

The Prince of Wales's Queensland visit has come to an end. He has returned to New South Wales.

A report on fruit prices, submitted by the Standing Committee on Trusts to the Board of Trade blames the operation of the co-operative societies as being one of the chief causes of the "scrambling" for fruit in 1919.

A Grand Committee of the House of Commons rejected an amendment to the Early Closing Bill which sought to permit the sale of sweets in theatres after 8 p.m.

The United States Government has provisionally forbidden the Western Union Company to land on the coast of Florida a cable that was intended to connect with British lines in Brazil. Destroyers have been sent to intercept the cable ship.

August 6.—The increase in railway fares came into operation.

The Irish police report 415 attacks on persons and 727 attacks on property during May and June.

The Empire Cotton Growing Committee has prepared a scheme for the cultivation of cotton within the Empire. If adopted, the proposal will cost £200,000.

The United States State Department has published a secret treaty between Austria and Soviet Russia providing for Austria's absolute neutrality.

August 7.—The Boy Scouts' Jamboree at Olympia ended.

The Imperial Press Conference at Ottawa was brought to a successful conclusion. Among the questions discussed was a proposal for Imperial preference for Canadian raw material for paper.

German military leaders have asked for Allied permission to send troops into the East and West Prussian plebiscite areas. Governor Cox, Democratic nominee for the U.S. Presidency, in a speech at Dayton, Ohio, declared himself strongly for the ratification of the Peace Treaty and the Covenant.

August 8.—The weekly sugar ration has been increased from 8oz. to 12oz.

The Soviet Government has rejected the British proposal for a 10 days' truce between Poland and Russia, but has invited the Poles to meet at Minsk to discuss peace preliminaries.

August 9.—The King and Queen concluded their visit to Cowes.

The South Norfolk by-election resulted in the return of Mr. G. Edwards, the Labour candidate, by a majority of more than 2,000 over the Coalition Liberal. This is the loss of a seat to the Coalition.

The Conference at Hythe terminated. Agreement was stated to have been reached as to the measures to be taken in aid of Poland, should the Bolshevik peace terms prove impossible of acceptance.

Representatives of Labour organisations met at the House of Commons and appointed a "Council of Action" to organize a general strike if war with Russia should occur.

Dr. Mannix landed at Penzance from his destroyer and left for London.

August 10.—Lord Montagu of Beaulieu was married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Miss Pearl Crake.

The result of the Woodbridge (Suffolk) by-election was declared. The Coalition candidate (Sir A. Churchman) was elected.

The Royal Dublin Society Horse Show opened at Bales Bridge.

Mr. Lloyd George's statement on Poland to the House of Commons declared that the independence of Poland was a European need.

According to M. Kameneff, the Soviet peace terms provide for the reduction of the Polish Army, the surrender of war material, the withdrawal of Ukrainian troops and the cessation of war industries. The "Council of Action" discussed the Polish situation with Mr. Lloyd George, and after this House of Commons statement decided to call a national conference to consider their policy.

Peace with Turkey was signed at Sévres.

August 11.—The Westminster Abbey Fund has now reached £114,574.

The Government has decided to end the bread subsidy before the end of the present financial year.

An "Appeal to all Christian People" for the re-union of the Churches is issued by the Lambeth Conference.

A communiqué issued by the French Foreign Office stated that the French Government had decided to recognise General Wrangel's Government as the *de facto* Government of South Russia.

August 12.—The Miners' Federation decided to take a ballot of its members in regard to enforcing the dual claim for the wage advance of 3/- a day, and a reduction of 14/2 in the price of coal.

The Government has accepted the recommendations of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee for the increase of

goods rates to 100 per cent. over pre-war rates and a graduated increase of workmen's fares.

Mr. Lloyd George has written to M. Kameneff pointing out that the delays of the Soviet in entering into Armistice negotiations give rise to justifiable suspicions of their intentions.

The U.S. Government, in a Note to Italy, refuses to recognise the Soviet Government.

August 13.—The Prince of Wales concluded his Australian tour with a speech at Bathurst, N.S.W.

A deputation from the Dublin Corporation, headed by the Lord Mayor, visited Dr. Mannix in London.

France has addressed a Note to Washington, expressing agreement with the American Note to Italy, and explaining why French recognition has been accorded to General Wrangel.

In Paris, M. Venizelos was shot at and wounded by Greeks with revolvers.

The Tennessee Senate has voted for the amendment of the constitution providing for women suffrage. This is the last state to declare in favour of the suffrage.

August 14.—At the annual conference of the National Socialist Party, a resolution was passed in favour of a strike against war, but an amendment pledging the party to support the Council of Action in a strike for the recognition of the Russia Soviet was rejected.

Fighting continues in Mesopotamia, and the British garrison at Kufa is still invested. The first steps have been taken towards setting up a national government in pursuance of the mandate.

E. Ray, the Oxhey golf professional, won the Open American championship by one stroke. Harry Vardon tied for second place.

August 15.—The first cheap Sunday excursions were run and were well patronised. There has been fighting in Persia between British troops and the Jangalis.

The Olympic Games began at Antwerp.

August 16.—A Radio Research Board has been formed, with a view to co-ordinating the activities of Government Departments in the development of Wireless Telegraphy.

The Westminster Abbey Fund now amounts to £116,171.

In consequence of the "Council of Action's" activities, the All Russia's Central Council of Trade Unions has telegraphed "Heartfelt thanks" to British Labour.

August 17.—Captain Fryatt's ship, the *Brusels*, was sold to Mr. T. B. Stott, a Liverpool shipowner, at the Baltic Exchange for £3,100.

The Japan Society presented an address on vellum and a silver bowl to Viscount Chinda, the retiring Japanese Ambassador.

The British Delegates of the Council of Action, Mr. Adamson and Mr. Godling, who visited Paris to confer with French

labour colleagues, were ordered by the French Government to leave the same evening.

The Council of Action has decided on a new policy to stop only those trades which are necessary to the carrying on of a war with Russia and to leave the rest to continue working so as to ensure the nation's food supply and other necessary services.

A British Political Officer is reported to have been killed in Mesopotamia,

August 18.—On July 1 there were nearly 120,000 women still remaining in the various Government offices out of a total staff in all departments of 368,821.

The Polish counter offensive has cleared the Reds from the north of Warsaw and has forced the enemy farther back on the east of the city.

The Prince of Wales has issued a message of farewell to the Government and people of Australia.

General Smuts outlined in the House of the Assembly the Government's policy in regard to enemy assets in South Africa.

August 19.—Mr. Adamson and Mr. Gosling issued a statement with reference to that purpose of their mission to France.

Mr. Lloyd George arrived at Lucerne.

Both north and east of Warsaw the Bolsheviks have been driven back with great losses, over 10,000 prisoners being captured.

The Danzig Constitutional Assembly in the absence of the Polish members and against the votes of the Independent Socialists, has passed a resolution asking Sir Reginald Tower to declare the neutrality of Danzig.

Serious risings have occurred in Mesopotamia, the country north of Baghdad being as disturbed as that to the south.

August 20.—Colonel John Ward, M.P., addressing the General Workers' Conference at Oxford, defended the actions of Poland, and said that the "Red" diplomats were too clever for British Labour.

The terms of the peace made by the Russian Soviet Government with Armenia indicate that the Russians are linking up with the Nationalists in Turkey.

The Poles have reached the line of the Bug south of Brest Litovsk. In the north they are advancing up the Narew and along the railway to Soldan, in the direction of the East Prussian frontier.

August 21.—Mr. W. C. Bridgeman, M.P., formerly Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, has been appointed Secretary of Mines. Major Sir P. Lloyd-Greame, M.P., has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.

The discovery of a new star in Cygnus by an amateur astronomer of Bristol has been reported to the Astronomer Royal.

August 22.—Labour demonstrations were held throughout the country to demand "Peace with Russia."

Six Irish policemen were shot dead during the week-end.

Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti had two conferences at Lucerne and discussed the present situation in Europe.

Polish forces have recaptured Soldan and Mława, on the direct Danzig railway, and are advancing east.

General Lord Rawlinson has been appointed to succeed Sir Charles Monro as commander-in-chief in India, when the latter vacates his command in October, and General Sir W. R. Birdwood will take over in Northern India.

August 23.—A world surplus of wheat is probable during the coming cereal year, which begins on September 1.

The call for a one-day strike in Scotland as a protest against the increase in rents was largely responded to in Glasgow and elsewhere.

Mrs. Lloyd George was created a Dame Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire, in recognition of her services in the war.

There has been serious fighting in Mesopotamia, north of Baghdad.

The Polish success continues. The Warsaw-Danzig Railway has been regained; Brest-Litovsk captured; 35,000 prisoners and 200 guns taken.

The Polish Government has at length heard from its delegates at Minsk, and the Reds demand that the Poles shall supply weapons to 200,000 workmen.

As a result of the conversation between Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti at Lucerne, a communique has been issued declaring that the Soviet Government has broken faith in the peace terms offered to Poland, and that dealings with it are impossible, much as the world desires peace.

In the Olympic games England won the 1,600 metres relay race. South Africa was second and France third.

August 24.—The Irish Peace Conference met in Dublin, and one of the resolutions stated that the grant of full national self-government could alone bring peace to Ireland.

The meeting of the British Association opened at Cardiff, where Prof. Herdman gave his Presidential Address. His subject was the scientific and practical value of oceanographic research.

The Poles have taken Bialystok; 100 miles north-east of Warsaw, and their victory appears to be complete. Over 70,000 prisoners have been taken and 20,000 Reds have fled across the frontier into East Prussia.

Responding to an invitation of the Arabs beyond the Jordan, Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner in Palestine, has offered a separate British administration to help them to govern themselves.

August 25.—Mr. Lloyd George has issued a statement from Lucerne to the effect that if the Lord Mayor of Cork were released, every hunger striker would have to be let off.

The King replied to Mr. Redmond Howard's appeal for clemency for the

- Lord Mayor of Cork, in which he stated that the appeal should receive "immediate and careful attention."
- The Poles, advancing on Grodno, took Louza, on the Narw.
- French Socialism has definitely rejected Bolshevism and M. Jouboux has warned Lenin against meddling in French politics.
- In view of the serious situation in Mesopotamia Sir Percy Cox is leaving England to take up his duties as High Commissioner.
- August 26.—The Employers have rejected the claim of the London and Southern Counties Building Trades Operatives' Federation for a standard wage of 3/- an hour and a 44-hour week.
- The Poles have captured Oswiec and in the South East have advanced to Rouno.
- A declaration by the Polish Government states that their peace aims remain unaltered; the Poles have no desire to appropriate foreign territories.
- The Port of Danzig has again been opened for the transport of munitions to Poland and for immigrants desiring to enlist in the Polish Army.
- Surrey made the highest score of the season, 619 against Northamptonshire.
- August 27.—Sir Hamar Greenwood has arrived at Lucerne and been in consultation with Mr. Lloyd George on the Irish situation.
- The Polish Army, having completed the encirclement of the trapped Bolsheviks in the North, are rounding up scattered bands. Their prisoners number 80,000.
- Columns of General Wrangel's forces which landed in the Northern Caucasus, have captured Ekaterinodar, the Kuban Cossack capital, and the port Novorossisk.
- The Prince of Wales visited Samoa and was given a warm welcome.
- Middlesex beat Kent at Lords and Lancashire beat Essex. Surrey beat Northamptonshire in a match in which 1,475 runs were scored.
- August 28.—The final report of the British Labour Delegation to Russia refers to the "prevailing fear" inspired by the Red Terror.
- The Polish delegates at Minsk rejected the Soviet terms as inconsistent with Polish sovereignty.
- A serious situation has arisen in East Prussia owing to the Bolsheviks crossing in such numbers as to concern the East Prussians.
- August 29.—Both in Berlin and in Paris apologies for the wrecking of the French Consulate at Breslau have been proffered to France.
- The trouble in Mesopotamia is spreading to the Mountafik area on both sides of the Lower Euphrates.
- August 30.—Fierce rioting occurred in Belfast.
- One of the latest of the Irish outrages is the murder of Major Johnstone, J.P., in County Donegal.
- An English hunger striker has died in Birmingham Prison Hospital, where he was serving a sentence for contempt of Court.
- Marshal Pilsudski has made a statement in regard to the Polish advance, in which he says that the Supreme Council line has no value from a strategic point of view.
- General Wrangel and the Cossacks of the Don, Kuban, Terek and Astrakan have come to an agreement.
- A Jihad is being preached in Mesopotamia and the situation is serious.
- The Prince of Wales arrived at Honolulu.
- August 31.—The result of the miner's ballot is: For strike, 606,782; against, 238,865. The Triple Alliance has resolved that the miner's claims are "both reasonable and just."
- Lord Stamfordham, in a letter to Mr. Bottomley, explains the constitutional position of the King with reference to appeals made to him to use the prerogative of mercy in the case of the Lord Mayor of Cork.
- The Poles have captured Augustowo and Sukalki, east and north of Grodno.
- The chief Polish delegates returned from Minsk to Brest-Litovsk, and the Soviet delegates returned to Moscow.
- Mr. Daniels, the United States Secretary of the Navy, states that the American Navy is destined for the world's Naval primacy.
- The French Ambassador handed to the German Government a note demanding early moral and material reparations for the attack on the French Consulate in Breslau.
- Middlesex won a great match against Surrey at Lords, and gained the County Championship.

OBITUARY.

- Aug. 4.—PROFESSOR JOHN PERRY, Emeritus Professor of Mechanics at the Royal College of Science (70).
- Aug. 9.—LADY WANTAGE (83).
- Aug. 11.—SIR PETER GRIGGS, Co. U. M.P. for Ilford.
- Aug. 12.—MR. WALTER WINANS, famous horse breeder and revolver shot (68). PROFESSOR POITZER, famous ear doctor.
- Aug. 16.—SIR NORMAN LOCKYER, Astronomer (84).
- Aug. 29.—CARDINAL AMETTE, Archbishop of Paris (70).

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us."—Burns.



[Mucha]

Bear Hunting.

[Warsaw]

"Hold him up a little longer with your fork, Marshal! We shall soon be ready to finish off the Bolshevik bear with our axe."

*Daily Express*

[London]

Lenin: I was only joking!

*M'cha'*

[Warsaw]

Friendly Help.

The Council of Ambassadors: Keep steady, dear Poland, and go on fighting bravely. To make it easier for you we shall cut a bit off your coat as it is too long.

*Kladderadatsch*

[Berlin]

Shocking!

[Lenin curtly declined the mediation of the Entente in the negotiations with Poland for an Armistice.]

*The Star*

[London]

The Swelled Head is Soaring Again.



[Lathi]

[Vienna]

Peace between Russia and the Entente.

Because, you see, the bear needs a new skin.



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

"Peace."

"While you reflect and hesitate, it jumps out of the box!"



[De Notendruker]

The European Chess Board.

[Amsterdam]

Lloyd George: "H-m... He doesn't play badly—for a beginner."

D



Evening News

[London]

Struck a Knot!



Daily Express

[London]

Hi! What about sounding that gong?



Westminster Gazette

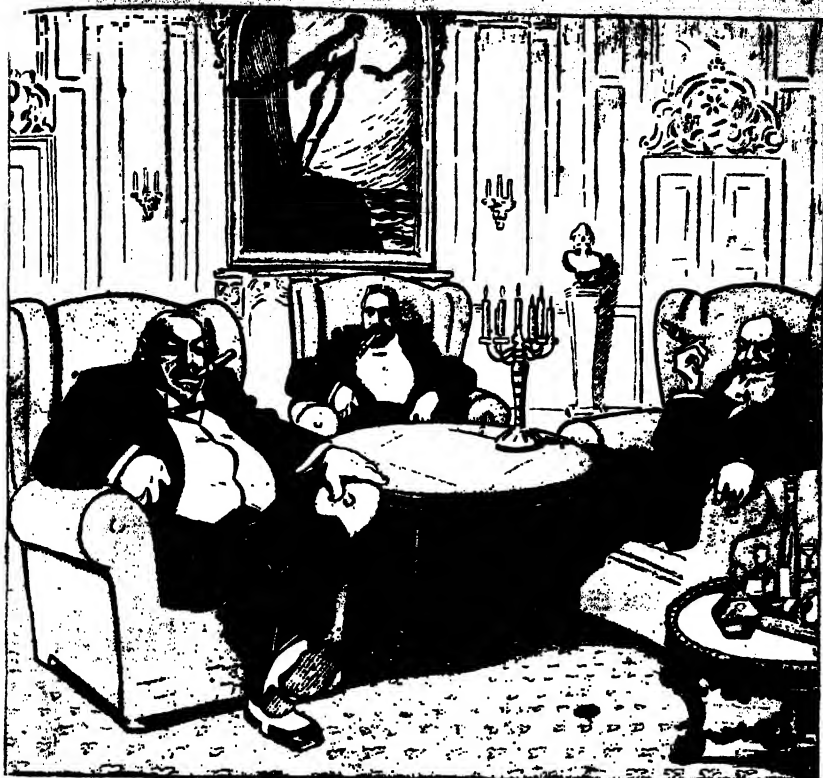
[London]

Entente?

M. Millerand: "Alors! Olright! C'est convenu—nous nous comprenons parfaitement n'est-ce-pas, mon ami?"

Mr. Lloyd George: "Wee—wee! Tray bong!"

(But it was neither "olright" nor "tray bong.")



(Wahre Jacobi)

Our Multimillionaires—Stinnes, Thyssen, Kirdolf.

[Stuttgart]

"Yes—I had the Entente grovelling but it was no use. No, the only thing left is for our poor people to save us by work and yet more work."



[The Bulletin]

"Puss! Puss!"

[Sydney]



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

The Foolish Fruit Growers.

So long as their wild pigs are allowed to burrow under the roots of the fruit tree, so long will the Entente wait in vain for the golden fruit to fall.



[Looker-on]

Camouflage?

[Calcutta]

Britannia: "You can't pass here unless your indemnity's paid."

The Germans: "But we're starving! We're penniless! We cannot afford to pay!"



[Simplisticismus]

[Munich]

The Result.

"We have cut down the tree—but next year it should bear fruit."



[Wiener Caricaturen]

A Quandary.

[Vienna]

France: "What can I do? If I destroy him, I will never pay me, and if I let him live, he will ultimately destroy me."*

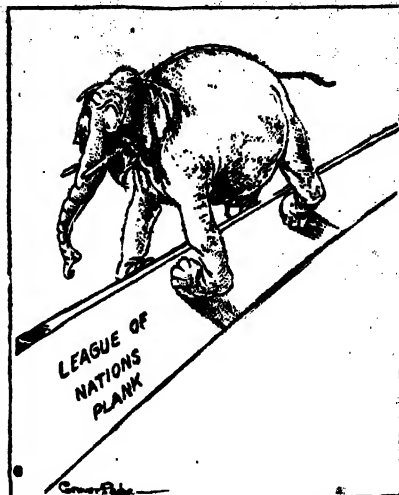


[Notenkraker]

[Amsterdam]

Just wait!

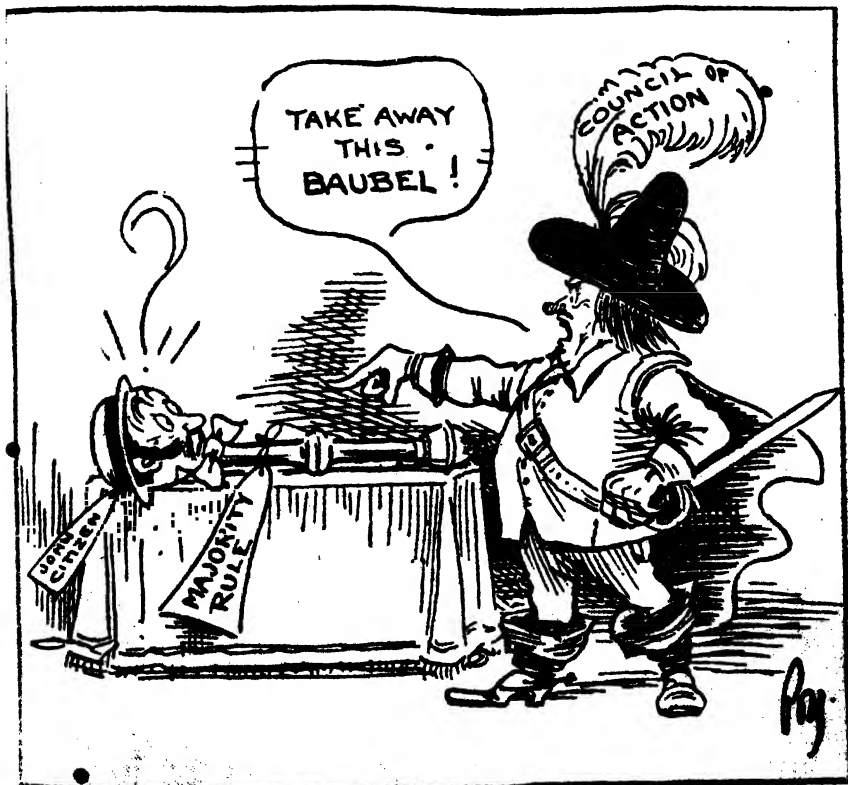
"Halt, Friend! One word with us first."



[Courier Journal]

[Louisville, U.S.A.]

On Both Sides.



[Evening News]

Some Cromwell!

[London]



Dayton Daily News

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

Between Two Fires.

The Star

[London]

The Inseparables.

Mars: Good evening, gents, an' if any of you should be looking for trouble in the future me an' me little brother will be waitin' outside.



Simplicissimus

[Munich]

"No, I am not going with him—I will stay with my own mother!"



Mucha

[Warsaw]

Loan Propaganda.

Poland: "Now you must choose, dear profiteer, which you like best. Either you give half of this sack to the defence of Poland, or your whole bag to the Bolshevik's knife."



[San Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

He couldn't lift it.



[Le Rire]

[Paris]

Prolonging Life.

- Two injections with this and three drops of that, and you will live to be 140.
- I want to live long enough to see the settlement of the Eastern question.
- Oh, you are asking too much.



[Le Rire]

The Deauville Conference.

[Paris]

Will they pay? Will they not pay? Will they? Won't they? Will they be obliged to pay?
 Will they not?
 Are you talking about the indemnity and the Boches?
 No, my dear—about our friends, the Cavés, and their hotel bill.



De Notenkraker[

[Amsterdam]

The Entente Duet.

John Bull: "Oh—h ... Much too high!"



Mucku[

[Warsaw]

The Pole: "However much the English and Russians love one another, my place is still in the trenches!"



Dayton Daily News[

[Dayton, U.S.A.]

1920 Slavery to the Slavery of Nations.

Looker-On[

[Calcutta]

Will the Amritsar Debate act as a balm?

The Council of Action?

What does it mean? and Whither is it tending?

Issues of incalculable importance are raised by the creation of the Council of Action and its activities as the newly appointed "Cabinet of Labour." How far does its existence, side by side with the Government, threaten the stability of the Constitution? Has it come to stay as a permanent part of the Constitution, to speak and act on behalf of clearly defined interests which claim a direct representation? Is it possible that such a development, initiated suddenly and without warning by forces that are not even identifiable, can be assimilated into a Constitution, which is based on the principle that all authority must ultimately be derived from the expressed consent of the whole people? Or is it inevitable that the assumption of such authority as is claimed by the Council of Action must result in a direct conflict between Parliament and the trade unions? These momentous questions are faced and frankly discussed in the following articles by leading representatives of the Labour, Liberal and Coalition parties.

A Triumph of Labour Unanimity

By COLONEL JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, D.S.O., M.P.



Colonel Josiah Wedgwood has represented Newcastle-under-Lyme in Parliament since 1906. In his own words, he is "an impenitent, independent Radical." Early in the present Parliament he transferred his allegiance from the Liberal to the Labour Party, and has been one of its most and most persistent fighters at Westminster. He is himself one of the Labour Party's four representatives on the Council of Action. One of the most picturesque and attractive figures in the present House of Commons, he has seen military service in both the South African and the European

Will the Council of Action endure; and, if so, how will it affect government? Speculation of this sort is helpful. It clears the air. The governments we understand all base themselves on force, guided by the machinery of majority. It is an accepted form of rule, though no Englishman worth his salt likes to be governed by force, or really believes that a majority have any right to coerce a minority. The Council of Action bases itself, not on force but on inaction. "Beware of the people," said Mirabeau, "the people who, to become dangerous, have only to fold their arms." But inaction is only powerful when it is general. A mere majority is of no use; you must have unanimity or almost unanimity. Hence the Council of Action must use the machinery of general consent; and general consent is only rarely available. And yet I think the Council has come to stay—to hold a watching brief. Why I think it will stay—possibly as the Labour General Staff—I will indicate later. First I want to show that it is based on general consent, and not on majority.

Nearly all the great Trades Unions are represented on the Council of Action. If only one of these Unions stood out, action would be almost impossible; and Trades Union leaders spend their time trying to avoid strikes, trying to preserve their funds and their Union. Only extraor-

dinary unanimity created the Council of Action; only extraordinary unanimity allowed the delegates to hand over their powers to such a Council. No one knows better than a man in the Labour movement how profoundly that movement is usually divided. War and the fear of war made this a special case, and brought together Messrs. Clynes and Bowerman with Robert Williams and George Lansbury, brought together the whole of the working classes—collared and collarless. They united on Foreign Affairs. Why?

It must be understood that at bottom the vast majority of British working men are still Christian Non-conformists. They have had it ground into them that war is morally wrong. It is also a truism to them that we have no right to interfere with the way in which other nations manage their own affairs.

From the *Times* to the Prime Minister everybody warned them that we were on the verge of war, and England had had enough. For two and a half years the workers have seen the propaganda lies served out to them about Russia. At first they believed them. Now they do not; the "stunts" only make them contemptuous. They are angry at having been fooled so long. Never could they have put their foot down with greater joy. Two and a half years of Mr. Winston Churchill is more than flesh and blood can stand. I do not think that even love of peace has lined them up so steadfastly as has the pleasure of knocking down the militarists who have spread their blunders so futilely about the world. Against these people whom they despise a grim strike would be almost enjoyable. If this chance slips by, they will look for another, against the same people. Union will continue—for that.

But I do not know any other question on which the union would be so complete, or complete at all. Ireland? Some time, just possibly; but no one dislikes a strike so much as the individuals on the Council, and we must be unanimous. No; outside peace and Russia I see no question at present which is likely to call for action. But I see many reasons why the Council should remain in being, and much good work for it to do.

We must remember the enormous difficulty of securing the unanimous decision of Labour; and then, the enormous power of that voice when unanimity is achieved and supported. On a Bill, certainly on the details of a Bill, it cannot probably speak. Perhaps it would be safer to say, that it might speak, but the machine would not have steam up to work. Hardly any administrative question would be large enough to stir so large a machine. Possibly it might force a Dissolution; but that would be a risky business, and there is a certain distrust and scorn of Parliament.

Where the Council of Action should really be useful is in industrial affairs. These gigantic strikes and lockouts have outgrown the single Union, or even the groups of Unions. The modern war between capital and labour now requires a Council of Action. The community require it as a moderator and adjutor; the Unions require it as a co-ordinating general staff. It is the necessary unanimity which ensures moderation; it is the unanimity which ensures unqualified power. When the Council acts it can act through many Town Councils even now, through countless local Councils of Action, as well as through Trades Unions; later on it may influence a majority in Parliament. But unanimity is not often achieved—in action. Its power will be measured by its ability to avoid action.

What has Government to say to this colossus, this almost silent colossus? The Council interferes with the absolute power of Government. The governing class will despise the Council for not daring to strike; they will fear them because the terrible thing might happen and no one knows where it would end. But if they are wise they will make the best of the Council; just as the Employers Federation had to recognise the Trades Unions. If the Government is foolish it will jib, talk about Bolshevik money, about conspiracy and revolution, turning moderates into fanatics, expelling Messrs. Adamson and Gosling in the best French manner. At present the Council of Action are "one up"; they have stopped the war; it must be tempting to Mr. Lloyd George to try to "get one back on them," just

to show that he is master in his own house. But he is a cautious man, and not quite sure that it is his own house. I think he will try to use the new machine.

Does Government represent us all? Does the Council of Action represent only Labour? Is it on these grounds that the new experiment is to be denounced? Labour, in the lump, is rather like the community. And the personnel of our

Government is somewhat arbitrary; the financial interests seem to tip the scale; the community have to suffer Mr. Churchill and Mr. Shortt and Sir Eric Geddes without much more say in the matter than they have to the presence of Mr. Smillie or Mr. Thomas at Ecclestone Square. I think there is room for both, as there may once have been for a House of Lords.

An Attempt to Impose Soviet Rule

By JOHN WALLACE, M.P.

In the interests of labour with whose main aspirations I have always been in accord, I profoundly regret the formation of the Council of Action. I regard it (1) as a discreditable, and (2) as inspired by men whom one has hitherto regarded as responsible labour leaders and (2) an attempt to substitute what is virtually Soviet rule in this country for Parliamentary Government. The issue is not war with Russia but whether Parliament elected by the free will of the people is to remain a bulwark against the tyranny of a minority.

The ostensible policy of the Council of Action is by arbitrary industrial action to prevent war between Great Britain and Russia, but the Council was formed after the Government had unequivocally given its decision not to intervene in the Russo-Polish dispute unless the Soviet Government threatened the independence of Poland and then only after Parliament had been consulted.

The labour party recognise that the independence of Poland must be one of the most important factors in the future peace of Europe, and Mr. Clynes admitted in the House of Commons that if Russia declined to recognise the independence of Poland, the labour party would have to reconsider their attitude.

On the whole question, therefore, the policy of the Government is practically identical with that of labour, but this fact did not prevent the meeting of the

new junta in the Central Hall, where in solemn conclave, they adopted the policy already enunciated by the Government, and announced it to an astonished world as their own! That no theatrical touch should be omitted from the performance, the Council of Action despatched two envoys to confer with "Comrades"



Mr. John Wallace, M.P., was returned for Dunfermline Burghs at the last general election as a Coalition Liberal, but has since left the Coalition and taken a prominent part in many recent debates in Parliament as an Independent Liberal.

in France, where the departure of the uninvited guests was unexpectedly speeded by the French Government. Long before the new Council came into being it was common knowledge that the Prime Minister was working strenuously and unceasingly for peace, that he had in the first instance advised Poland against war, and later to accept reasonable peace terms from Russia. In view of these facts, he might with every justification describe the heroics of the Council of Action as the "swinging of a sledge hammer against an open door."

In my judgment it was an unscrupulous electioneering device, and I am quite sure that at the next General Election I shall see placards bearing the legend, "Vote for the Labour Party whose Council of Action stopped war with Russia."

I claim to know something of the working classes in this country, and there is among them a greater reservoir of common sense and responsible judgment than some labour leaders imagine. By that section of the electors the Council of Action will be appraised at its proper value.

(2) It has, however, a deeper significance, and is an attempt to undermine the Constitution, to usurp the functions of Parliament and practically to impose the rule of the Soviet. At the first meeting, Mr. J. H. Thomas said :

"These resolutions do not mean a mere strike. They mean a challenge to the whole constitution of the Country."

It is well to have this issue made perfectly clear by the leader of the railwaymen.

Speaking on the same subject in a recent Parliamentary debate, Mr. Clynes, who up till now has been regarded as a democrat and Constitutionalist, urged in justification of the policy of the Council of Action that we had no written Constitution! This surely reveals on his part either a political insincerity or a mental poverty hitherto unsuspected by his fellow members in the House of Commons. Written or unwritten, our Constitution is probably the most finely balanced instrument of Government in the world. We live in the freest of all democracies, and if it be the policy of the new Council to challenge our dearly won freedom, the issue is plain, and the challenge must be

accepted. As the Prime Minister stated in the House—

"If you are out to challenge the institutions upon which the liberty of Europe and civilization depend then we shall meet in the gate."

From whom do the members of the Council of Action derive their authority to speak in the name of the workers of the country? No ballot has been taken to justify the revolutionary movement, and the Council is only elected by other trade union leaders acting on their own initiative and without consultation with the men in the various trades unions. Where is the mandate? Mr. Hodges supplies the answer in an interview published in the *Sunday Express* of 15th August. He denies any intention of attempting to impose Soviet rule but says :

"The great point at present is that the Council does not regard the Government as representative of the will of the people, and this Government will go the way of all others."
"Governments if it stands between the people and peace."

This is surely the *reductio ad absurdum*. The Government in a highly complicated international situation are pursuing a peace policy, the will of our own nation for peace, but according to Mr. Hodges the Government do not in this matter represent the will of the people. It will not do, and the plain logic of the matter is that at any time and on any question the Council of Action may in their wisdom decide that the Government do not represent the people and proceed by direct action to hold the nation to ransom.

We all know that the world is war weary and the passionate longing of us all for peace both at home and abroad.

Direct action is not new. But it is not the path of peace, and if its protagonists will read a little more history they will realise how alien it is to the political genius of this country and how fatal it may prove to their own political aspirations. Incidentally, the bona fides of labour leaders may well be doubted when in the alleged interests of European peace they adopt a policy which may easily involve our own country in all the horror of industrial revolution and civil war.

The Fourth Estate?

By CAPTAIN W. E. ELLIOT, M.P.

To the Conservative the Council of Action must inevitably present a problem as more subtle than it does to the Liberal. What is the essence of the problem? It is that a new Chamber is foreshadowed. It is new enough in all conscience—occupational not geographical, sectional with no pretence at inclusiveness. But it has the master-mark of a Parliament. It can vote Supply.

This is the essence of a Parliament. It is a body whose consent is essential to the initiation and maintenance of any national enterprise. There is a percentage of our people, a large but not a preponderating percentage, the men who make the wheels go round, the makers and users of power—the Fourth Estate, the Engineers. It is their consent which is now

essential to any enterprise, it is they who provide the backbone for the Council of Action. It is possible though not certain, that in this new body there is the collar to harness a great auxiliary to the dead-lift of reconstruction that lies before us.

At present this Council is only a phantom. It has tackled Poland—a question on which the country was solid. It will not ever hazard an opinion upon Ireland—because on that there is division. And on the other great issue—nationalisation—exactly in so far as it represents even its own supporters, it will speak with a more and yet more uncertain voice. But for power the appetite comes with feeding.

The issues are intricate and novel. For the Victorian doctrine the question seems probably perfectly straightforward. The Council is sectional, the Council is undemocratic; therefore the Council is wrong. But this is a hasty and foolish generalisation. Firstly in some aspects it corresponds with realities; secondly we have here another form for discussion, another arena for the battle of brains instead of bombs. The Third Estate which only in the last Parliament asserted itself as sole ultimate authority of the realm should not rashly despise the Fourth.

By one of the dramatic coincidences in which life is so rich, it was while Lord Robert Cecil was actually in full cry of denunciation of the new body that the slam of the Commons' great door crashed through his speech. It is with this discourteous symbolism that Black Rod, the messenger from the Upper House, is traditionally met. The door is slammed in his face; he must knock for admittance; and, thereafter in accordance with the "commands" of the other Estates of the Realm the Commons troop leisurely up to hear the ratification of their acts. It was a sudden and rude reminder of what had happened before in this country when power had ebbed imperceptibly from a *de jure* to a *de facto* holder and the readjustment had been unduly delayed.

The question cannot be measured by the simple T-square constitutional or un-constitutional democratic or undemocratic right or wrong. Undoubtedly we have here a section of the community asserting



Captain Walter Elliot, M.P., has, since his election for Lanark at the general election, rapidly established his reputation as the most brilliant of the younger Coalition Unionists. He has shown a remarkable independence of character as well as acute political gifts and powers of epigrammatic delivery that was never more rare in the House of Commons. As an officer in the Royal Army Medical Corps he had a distinguished career in France during the war, and he has given a great deal of devoted work to the Medical Committee at the War Office, of which he is secretary.

a right of veto over the actions of the majority. The majority is at present reckoned by counting heads on the principle of one man one vote. The acceptance of this equation really derives from the war when the unliking equation "one man, one gun" was so rigidly demonstrated that "one gun, one vote" was the self-evident corollary. (Woman suffrage followed from the simultaneous demonstration that save possibly for the absolute killing, adults were interchangeable as parts of the machine.) Now we are at peace; the proposition is no longer self-evident. Why is this?

I venture to suggest that it is because an alteration of values has arisen. The brute labour of our civilisation is performed not by men but by machines. Even several years ago figures showed that the horse-power of the country represented five steel slaves to every household. And the Steam Men will not obey everyone, but only those who have learnt the language and can talk their tongue. In their ranks the Trade Unionists count probably 90 per cent. of the masters of the wheels. This is what is struggling to be born all through our industrial civilisation. One section is arrogating to itself a disproportionate share of the political power of the community. But this is only the reflection of the industrial power it already possesses. Behind that section stand solidly the ordered ranks of the Steam Men, scores upon scores of millions, the engines that sustain the whole state but know only the voices of the engineers. All our modern political balances twist and dip to some unseen pull and will so twist and dip increasingly till we look this fact in the face. The engine makers and engine drivers and engine feeders have their votes as men, and parallel and independently, their votes as captains of the hosts. The man on the foot-plate as he throws steam into the cylinders of the freight express, feels some 5,000 steam men leap to do his bidding—and they will not obey everyone—and this knowledge persists with him when he reads his morning news. The ribbon-seller of Selfridge's, that counted as his mate one fighting man when they went over the top together, is on a different plane to-day. For the engines have

never known him; not will they move for his voice or his fingers.

We have then the alternatives—

(1) To admit that the representatives of the Steam Men have, by the very arithmetic of the position, a voting power as producers quite disproportionate to their power as consumers.

(2) To learn the language of the Steam Men so that in emergency we too can control them.

(3) To make our policy so simple and obvious that all men will recognise it as inevitably just and right.

The last, while ideal, seems impossible of fulfilment. We are driven back upon the first, which would amount to a recognition of the Council; or, if not, to look facts in the face and adopt the second, recognising that things are what they are and the consequences will be what they will be and that till we alter the underlying realities, the superficial appearances will in the long run correspond with them.

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our announcement on
page VIII. ?*

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make sure of reading*

MR. H. G. WELLS'S

first article on

**"THE PROBABLE
FUTURE OF MANKIND."**

The Entente is Dead: Vive the Entente!

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

When Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Giolitti launched from Lucerne a document which could be read exactly in the sense in which you wished to read it—as a declaration of war or as a declaration of peace—all France cried out that the Entente which had been broken was re-made. Unhappily the Entente is not re-made. It cannot be re-made by mere stupid fictions. The fact, that the chameleon policy of the British Premier happens to take the French colour at a particular moment does not put France and England in accord.

France and England could not well be in more complete disaccord whatever the diplomatists and the politicians may pretend. The two countries have taken different routes. They have been taking them ever since M. Millerand and M. Paléologue replaced M. Clemenceau and M. Berthelot. France has long been much more bellicose than England, which is on the whole peace-loving; but the divergence of views was concealed during the Clemenceau regime—first because the French Premier and his assistants would never have dreamt of an open quarrel with England, and second because England too was still in the first flush of victory and was demanding the Kaiser's head, and the complete destruction of Germany, and war on the Bolsheviks at any price; and rather revelled in turbulence throughout Europe and Asia. England had not begun to see the danger of prolonging the commotion and the conflict. But England now wants prosperity as a tangible proof of peace. She wants to trade with Germany which after all is a huge factory, which can supply cheaply many things that are now lacking or at an impossible price. She wants to trade with Russia and not deprive herself of Russian riches because she does not like Lenin's neckties or his morality. She wants to finish with these weekly sensations which turn the world topsy-turvy, which give us no guarantee of any kind of stability in any domain.

It seems that France wants the opposite of all this—that she has vowed

eternal enmity towards Germany and is always ready to march to Frankfurt, that she is determined to keep the war going in Russia though it means recognising the Wrangels and other Germano-Russian adventurers, that she does not mind insulting her old Allies if they do not agree with her. Conceal the truth under any sort of official statement you please, it began to dawn upon the man in the street, who knew nothing of the fierce diplomatic fights between English and French representatives in every part of the world, that the Entente was no longer a reality.

It is certainly not a reality. If the man in the street has come to see that in temperament and aims we differ diametrically, that England is partly easy-going, good-natured, wishing to give those she has beaten a helping hand, and is partly practical, thinking no longer of wasteful hostilities but of recuperating trade, while France continues to be vindictive, fearful, nervously and yet braggartly strring up every little nation, believing in military and political domination rather than in moral or commercial authority—while the man in the street rightly or wrongly figures the two countries in such opposite roles, those of us who realise what is taking place behind the scenes have still more reason to know that England and France are at grips.

They are at grips whether Mr. Lloyd George professes agreement with M. Millerand when the tide of battle turns against the Bolsheviks, or whether M. Millerand professes agreement with Mr. Lloyd George by picking out of artfully worded manifestoes those passages which are meant for him, and conveniently overlooking those passages which can, if events turn in another direction, be regarded as really indicating British policy? Have you noticed, if I may allow myself a digression which is not a digression, how cynically valueless are becoming all British official statements—how they can be twisted in any way, how they say black and white at the same time? Surely honesty would pay even in politics—

surely the reputation that Mr. Lloyd George is getting on the Continent of being a mere weathercock, not to be relied upon by friend or foe, can only in the long run work us harm. Englishmen like to believe themselves bluff and hearty and proud of keeping their word. Now our word abroad means nothing—because it has always a double meaning—and the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George changes from day to day. Our prestige is in peril. We do not stick to one line of action. Look to this, for our reputation for chicanery—though it does not correspond to British sentiments—is in large measure responsible for the dislike that is felt for us in Poland and in France.

It should not be supposed that there is only one opinion in France. France is complex and many-sided. The France we loved still exists. But it is unfortunately true that there is a reactionary France. M. Jacques Bainville, who is one of the ablest of all the writers on foreign affairs in France, wrote the other day these words which certainly deserve quotation: "Will France not dare to be that which she really is, and that which she has appeared to all the world since her rupture with Bolshevism—that is to say, the country of resistance and of counter-revolution? Why pretend, why blush? It is a fact. It is a fact so clear that the epithet reactionary is applied to us everywhere. In the present state of the world it is for us to guard that description. It brings us sympathetic agreement more and more, since there is only France which will consent to bear that name, since there is a growing need of order that only France can satisfy." One is glad to find the ideas of those from whom one can only differ expressed so plainly. After all, if one believes in reaction, in force, in the maintenance of the present order by repressive methods, it is better to say so frankly. The truth is, however, that the conservatism of France does not express British feelings. This difference is at the root of most of our quarrels.

It is hardly necessary to examine in detail the multiple causes of these unfortunate quarrels. It is sufficient to note that fundamentally there is a difference of sentiment and of outlook which was bound to finish by putting the two govern-

ments at loggerheads. I believe that Europe had never more need of the Entente between France and England than she has now, but it is sheer folly to reconstruct the Entente on the false foundations that the French Foreign Office would lay down. The real reason why plain speaking is essential is that there is too often a tendency to accept, after protest, the French viewpoint. An Entente which is an instrument of war, an Entente which would carry fire and sword into Russia, into Germany, into Asia Minor, everywhere, is not an Entente to be desired. Greatly as I believe the Entente to be needed, since the two Channel nations in accord can make of Europe what they will, can determine the destinies of mankind for generations, yet an Entente whose objects are bad is far worse than open antagonism. Better no Entente if it is to be a belligerent Entente.

II.

Lady Wortley Montagu in one of her witty letters recalls the case of a man who discovered that all his ills sprang from stone in the kidney, remarking that he was not a whit happier for the discovery. Perhaps it does not help overmuch to show the reasons why France and England in the diplomatic game have been engaged in outwitting each other. On the part of England there has been perhaps too much that is purely mercenary. Our Mesopotamian expedition, our intrigues in Syria, were dictated largely by the hope of gain—though it now appears that such hopes were foolish. Our attempt to get the upper hand in Constantinople was regarded by the French in the same light. So was our support of the little peoples on the shores of the Baltic. So were our approaches towards a conciliation with Germany. Our attempt at peace with Bolshevism was looked upon as due to our desire to profit by commercial concessions. Our policy in short is considered to be dominated by the trading spirit. This is not entirely true: it would not be unfair to substitute the term peace spirit for trading spirit. In some respects the terms are identical since you can only trade with countries with which you are at peace.

Now French politics have much more idealistic motives. We are inclined to

point scorn on the idealist when his ideals are humanitarian; but when they are reactionary we never dream of employing the word idealist in the scornful sense. The French are incorrigibly idealist. For example they believe it a virtue to keep up their hate for Germany and Russia. Practical considerations are ruled out. Sentiment guides their policy. I do not believe that France is influenced much by the hope of recovering what Russia owes her if the Bolsheviks are overthrown. That makes a convenient argument for those Frenchmen who are directly interested. But the Bolsheviks offered to recognise the debt. Wrangel recognises it. Every bankrupt or prospective heir can recognise a debt. That does not commit him to anything, nor does it profit the creditor. France knows quite well that the Bolsheviks or Wrangel in platonically recognising the Russia debt have not thereby acquitted the Russian debt. Nor are they likely to, any more than Germany who has also in the treaty recognised a terrific debt. I do not think that the reason for French implacability towards Germany lies in the demand for integral reparations. That is only a symptom. The disease itself is just hatred, converted into a national—or rather nationalist—ideal. This hatred has become almost a religion. In part perhaps it springs from fear. England neither hates nor fears any other country. That is why her policy—in spite of fluctuations—is different from that of France.

Even where France and England come into direct collision of interests France is inspired by what I have called her idealism; England is inspired by commercialism. One is a policy of reality: the other a policy of sentiment.

An excellent example is furnished by the events in Hungary. I have been surprised to see how little notice has been taken of the French and English clash in this country. It is typical of the disagreements that divide the Channel peoples. Hungary has been a battleground ever since the fall of Bela Kun. The most reactionary government of modern times was set up largely with the connivance and by the direct assistance of the Western Powers. The things that are happening in Hungary to-day are incredible. In

this twentieth century it is sought to dispossess Jews of their belongings on the simple ground that they are Jews. It is sufficient that a man be denounced as having been the most harmless kind of Socialist for him to be lost. It would be doing the Bolsheviks an injustice to describe the Hungarian administration as White Bolshevism, Bolshevism reversed, the dictatorship not of the proletariat but of the reactionaries. To my mind the biggest blot on Europe is Hungary. Yet both France and England are at work in Hungary. They are helping Hungary. They are helping Hungary just because they are fighting each other.

Why? To go into this disgusting Balkan business in detail would be a long story. It even links up with the Fiume dispute which—though the fact has not been noticed—is not a Yugo-Slav question so much as a Hungarian question. Yugo-Slavia can manage without Fiume—Hungary has need of it. So have the Great Powers who are now struggling for the control of the Danube: for while Yugo-Slavia in possession of the part would assist them, Italy by holding Fiume can make matters difficult for them.

Let me try to tell this complicated history briefly. The key to Central European politics is the Danube. Whoever controls that mighty river controls all the countries which it traverses. How can it be controlled? In the British view it can only be controlled by the aid of the trader. Before the war Germany was all-powerful. She dreamt of linking up the Danube to her own rivers by a wonderful series of navigable canals. She lost. The French are now on the Rhine. The Danube is at their door. There is no reason why they should not, by great commercial efforts, become the masters of Central Europe. But England too had this ambition before them. England considered that it was essential to plant herself firmly in Hungary. That was her Danubian headquarters.

At first she succeeded admirably. She was in virtual command. Her politics are trade-politics. But then France took a hand in the game. Her politics are politics of ideas—whether bad or good ideas need not be discussed. She has by great efforts now got on top in Hungary. The swarm

of her agents have done their work well. But they have done it at the expense of Europe as a whole. It does not trouble me that England should occupy second place in Hungary now; it were perhaps better that she occupied no place at all.

For the consequences as we shall see of the temporary success of French politics are alarming. Those who are in the secrets—not very closely guarded—of the Chancelleries know that it has become fashionable in France to strive for the triumph of Catholicism. The Vatican has come into its own. Not only is France to send an Ambassador to the Pope, but French policy in Central Europe is all driven by the idea of forming a Catholic Bloc. Hungary is not Catholic, but Hungary is a necessary part of the scheme—which must not of course be represented as official or definite, but only as a sort of vague conception, a tendency, a direction,—which exists in the minds of certain French diplomatists and soldiers. To detach the Catholic Provinces from Germany, to bring them into the French zone of influence, to spread out to Austria . . . there are even from time to time reports, promptly denied, that the old Austrian Emperor Charles will, with the consent of the French, be put on the Hungarian throne, but this, I believe is premature and the Hungarians are asked to be patient yet a little while. It must be said that the French as politicians are more ingenious than the British, but they do not always take sufficient count of the hard facts, nor of the inevitable changes which will bring their plans to disaster.

Just because there has been this struggle for supremacy in Hungary as in many other countries, the Hungarian rulers have become powerful and dangerous. They constitute the most desperate menace first by setting an example of militarism and reaction which may well be contagious, second in keeping all their neighbours on tenterhooks, distrustful, ready to fight. We know that wars begin just because neighbouring peoples prepare for war, and regard each other with suspicion. Rumania regards Hungary with suspicion; Czecho-Slovakia (Bohemia) is nervous; Yugo-Slavia (of which the old Serbian State forms the greater part) is alarmed. Hungary,

through the complacency of the Western Powers is ~~stuffed~~ to bursting point with firearms, and guns have an unhappy habit of going off by themselves. We have turned against us as well as against Hungary all the Balkan States.

Does it not demonstrate a great lack of clear thinking in statesmen that they should for all sorts of motives—England with commercial designs on the Danube, France, with anti-Bolshevik, Catholic, and other more or less doctrinaire purposes—have allowed Hungary to become a nuisance to their own Allied friends—Rumania and Serbia? We always seem to be backing wrong horses, antagonising our best helpers. If the Entente were a reality it would devote some attention to these problems which don't get into the papers, and upon which there is, therefore, no attempt to find a common policy. On Russia or Germany the Entente is obliged to pretend to act in some sort of harmony—rudely shattered now and again—but on all these still more perilous questions which receive little publicity they do not even try to come to an accord. They act in opposition. They are busy piling up barrels of gunpowder to which a match is certain to be applied one day. If the peace of the world is to be maintained, I repeat, and it cannot be repeated too often, France and England must have a real Entente. An Entente is not this or that solution of compromise on particular problems; it is a co-operation of a serious sort based on definite principles, which will not be content with merely making false accords after newspaper clamour, but will have a line of conduct which makes for universal peace. Now we are, consciously or unconsciously, and chiefly because of our division, working for war.

This hasty survey will perhaps help to make it clear that Russia and Poland and Germany are not the only countries in Europe which should be watched. Foreign politics are much more complicated than that. They positively must be understood in some measure at least by the people. Personally I attach the most vital importance to the Hungarian problem. But Europe is strewn with similar question-marks. If it were only realised how essential—in the absence of an effect

tive League of Nations—is an effective Entente!

The meaning of the treaty drawn up between the three menaced nations, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugoslavia, is that they fear this revival of Hungarian militarism. The treaty is directed against Hungary. Bulgaria, and other countries which remain outside are not really threatening, but Hungary is. I have reason to know that efforts are being made to bring Greece into the combination and Poland too. That will be, when it is completed, a formidable Slav bloc (with of course other elements but still chiefly Slav) in Central and Southern Europe. Perhaps we can content ourselves with the reflection that it will be a rampart against the Russians and against the Teutons, as well as a guard set upon the Magyars. But what is the Entente attitude towards these events which are big with fate? Has the Entente an attitude? I suspect it has not. The Entente has a very limited rôle. Its principal function is to hold so-called Peace Conferences, which arrive at decisions on a few subjects which France interprets in one way and England in another, both countries then being free to upset the plans of the other. The new Europe which has been made is as unstable as the sea. It is a huge experiment. But it is an experiment which is being badly conducted, and the crucible may burst.

III.

How little control France and England have is apparent by a casual glance at the morning newspaper. Where is there not war or the prospect of war? And this is the result of nearly two years of peace-making! Had there been any fundamental agreement it is impossible that more progress should not have been made towards tranquility.

And then think of the chances of this winter! What a terrible outlook it is! High prices, strikes, unemployment, empty grates and closed factories, fighting, insurrection, revolution, starvation, pestilence—death has still a great harvest to reap! If the Entente had played the rôle which was manifestly open to it to play, if France and Britain had not sought to beat each other but had sought the

good of humanity, what a different tale there would have been to tell. The Entente had a wonderful opportunity. It was the master of the world, on condition that it knew what it wanted and was single-eyed and single-minded. But jealousies, rivalries, suspicions, egotisms, disappointments, divided the two countries, and now it may be too late to heal the breach. The Entente is dead, but if I cry "Vive the Entente!" it is because I believe that the one hope for Europe is that even now France and England, in face of danger, economic, military, financial, will see that they must unite on a set of sound political principles and use the great powers which they may still possess to save the world from plunging further into chaos.

There is talk in the entourage of Mr. Lloyd George of withdrawing entirely from European affairs. I can quite understand the despair that dictates that desperate policy. Unhappily we cannot withdraw from Europe and escape the universal destruction. That is no remedy. We have to lend a hand. There will soon open at Brussels a great international conference to consider the whole financial situation. That is the chief preoccupation of any statesman worthy of the name. Before you can get back to the beginnings of financial sanity you have to abandon all thought of politics based on militarism and hate. Many months ago I wrote what Sir Thomas Barclay now says—that France might well become more truly friendly if her own finances were improved. She looked to Germany, she looked to England for assistance—forced or voluntary. She was disappointed. Since then there has been a general smash and a pursuance of diverse paths. One critic says that first France must be helped financially: another critic says that first France must adopt another policy. But finances react upon policy just as much as policy reacts upon finances. All eyes must now be turned on Brussels. If there the true position is realised, and sound international methods adopted, and if in addition France and England in particular can renew their old generous relations, then we shall take a tremendous stride towards the restoration of Europe. The Entente is dead: Vive the Entente!

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

HARDING AND COX.

THE FIGHT FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

In a very shrewd and interesting analysis of the American Presidential elections, the American correspondent of the *Round Table* (September) points out that in the feverish campaign which preceded the Convention at Chicago there was "neither enthusiasm nor interest" among the public for Harding or Knox or Sproul or any other supposed favourite of the Old Guard.

Yet, nine weeks before the delegates reached Chicago, Harding's campaign manager, Harry M. Daugherty, made the following fair prophecy: "At the proper time after the Republican Convention meets some fifteen men, bleary-eyed with loss of sleep, and perspiring profusely with the excessive heat, will sit down in seclusion around a big table. I will be with them and will present the name of Senator Harding to them, and before we get through they will put him over." They did. Daugherty himself was not among the nine men who met in the Blackstone Hotel on the evening of June 11th and agreed, after four hours' discussion, upon a candidate whom they could induce the Convention to accept. Daugherty was defeated as a delegate when his chief almost lost the primaries in his home State—Ohio. Nevertheless his prediction was essentially correct.

There are two possible interpretations of this Friday night conference, declares the writer. The first declares that "it was Harding who, after all lay in the logic of the situation."

Johnson never represented the opinion of the party. A man to be feared, but never a man to nominate. Too unsafe. The lavish campaign expenditures of General Wood's supporters made him an impossible candidate in the eyes of the people. Governor Lowden's personal wealth, together with the unfortunate discovery that two votes on the Convention floor had been bought for him at a price, rendered him equally ineligible. Hoover was hopeless from the outset. His inability to increase his original five votes at any stage of the balloting merely afforded conclusive proof of his suspected political weakness. So by a process of honest and studious elimination, the nine conferees approached the

name of Senator Harding. He was from Ohio, the home of every Republican President since the Civil War. He was free from the taint of money and corruption. He had a host of friends and a personal record which could not be impeached. His name was not conspicuously associated with any controversial issue. He had consideration for the business interests of the country; yet he had never antagonised Labour. He was safe and sane. He would distil harmony. These incontrovertible facts having been pointed out to the delegates on Saturday morning, they at once saw the logic of the situation.

The second interpretation is certainly more melodramatic and perhaps no nearer the truth than the first. It envisages an epic struggle between the forces of light and darkness in which Senator Lodge and his little inner group of politicians defeated the purpose and aspirations of the Republican voters. It suggests a conspiracy on the part of the Old Guard to destroy the power of the Presidency and strengthen the hands of the Senate.

As a proof of this plot it alleges that a Senatorial junta, long before Convention time, surveyed the leading candidates for the Republican nomination and found them unsuited to their purposes. They found that Johnson, Wood, and Hoover had dangerous wills of their own; that they failed to observe the appropriate courtesies of party conduct; and that the election of any one of them might spell another four years of senatorial subservency. Lowden was more to their liking; but if it were a question of staking victory upon a comparatively unknown man like Lowden, why should they not name Harding, who was an equally prominent figure, and a man whom they could completely trust?

When the Convention eventually assembled, it "resolved itself from the outset into a contest between the solid phalanx of Wood forces and the so-called Lowden supporters, many of whom were devoted followers of the Governor of Illinois, others of whom were, probably

persuaded to vote for Lowden in order to establish a deadlock."

Such a deadlock occurred on successive ballots with really surprising regularity and with such a meagre chance of breaking that the nine "conspirators" agreed that the appointed time had come to fix upon a candidate whom they could "persuade the Convention to accept." And the lot of Warren Gamaliel Harding leapt forth! It must be remembered that Harding had been the choice of the Old Guard since winter days. Whether he was nominated by diabolical intrigue or because of the "logic of the situation" is frankly impossible to say. However, it may be confidently asserted that nine men were happy to discover that the logic of the situation completely coincided with their hearts' desire and that a favourable moment had come to press Senator Harding's name upon a confused and perspiring congregation. He won with an avalanche of votes.

For the Republican Convention "the choice lay between a striking manifestation of progressiveness with certain victory on the one hand and a programme of reaction with probable victory on the other. Chicago chose the latter alternative because the prospect was more attractive to the bosses." But the Republicans had thereby left the West, the women, and other large bodies of liberal opinion completely unsatisfied. These votes, therefore, "the Democrats might have had for the asking," but the bosses who ruled San Francisco preferred almost certain defeat to the alternative of a progressive platform.

Cox, the writer declares, was no doubt the best choice the Democrats could have made from their possible candidates. But the Democratic platform was a colossal blunder. "There was every inducement for a sortie: but the old heads wagged No! and the golden opportunity was lost."

Without changing a single word the record of Governor Cox's private life might be substituted with complete accuracy for that of Senator Harding. Nor is there apparently anything in their legislative records upon which to base a preference. The name of neither candidate is associated with any legislation of national importance. But Cox's record as a Governor is really remarkable, while Harding's record as a Senator is empty.

For Governor Cox—by the establishment of a financial budget for the State of Ohio, by a re-modelling of the school system of the State, by a

thorough reform of Ohio's prisons, and by his firm but tolerant handling of strikes within his jurisdiction—has made a proud record of constructive achievement. Whereas Senator Harding has participated only in a minor capacity in the Senate Treaty debates, exhibiting always a disposition to be led by Senator Lodge rather than adopt a position of his own making. Cox's record as a Governor is striking: Harding's record as a Senator is empty.

To choose between parties which have lost their once distinguishing characteristics, between candidates whose personal lives have run along parallel lines and whose public records are similar if not equal, between platforms which are alike in their emptiness, and between two potential Vice-Presidents of exceptional merit—this is no easy problem for a conscientious voter, even in a world made safe for democracy!

But while the claims of both candidates leave so astonishingly little to choose between them, Senator Harding has already made tactical mistakes which threaten to disintegrate his own Party.

Harmony was his first law, and he has violated it in his first utterance. The Democratic party has been presented with a second great opportunity, and it lies in the power of Governor Cox to kindle the dying embers of independent Liberal enthusiasm.

There is still another source of strength which Cox has not yet called upon. He is *persona grata* with Labour, thanks to his skillfulness in dealing with Ohio strikers during the period of his administration. At a time when other Executives were ordering out the State militia, Cox adopted the policy of permitting unrest to run its course. When his fellow-Governors were suppressing mass meetings and dispersing crowds with the threat of machine-guns, the Governor of Ohio stood firm for the constitutional privileges of free speech and public assembly. Strikers living in areas close to the Pennsylvania-Ohio border made it a practice to cross the line into Cox's State, hold meetings of protest and disperse to their own homes in Pennsylvania. It has been wisely observed that Ohio troops were never called out because they were never needed. All these things Labour remembers, and will bear in mind as November draws near.

If Cox can capture the independent Liberal vote by a strong pronouncement on the League, the powerful Labour vote by the simple assurance that he will deal with Labour from the White House as he has dealt with it from the State Capitol, if he can rekindle the spark of idealism among the millions of women voters, he will take ample advantage of the fundamental weakness of the Republican party.

THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S FEDERATION.

The circle of highly educated women is ever widening, and if its members organise, their power will correspondingly increase and there is no limit to what they can do. The world of science is open to them; and also the world of politics. But can women understand foreign politics?

Miss Winifred Stephens ridicules the notion that women are "peculiarly unfitted for the comprehension of foreign affairs" in an article in *The English-woman* (September). With half Europe starving, she writes, half its governments on the verge of bankruptcy, famine and pestilence rampant, it does not look as though men have had any revelation in regard to the conduct of foreign affairs. But the causes of this belong to the past. The world is much more to-day in the hands of women. They will triumph where others have failed. The future belongs to them.

Those intellectual women who realise their responsibility for the future are seeking some international activity, and perhaps, the best expression of their desire for peace is the International Federation of University Women.

The Federation was founded in the last year of the war. Its initiators were two representative bodies of women graduates—the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae and the British Federation of University Women. . . . In 1918 an educational mission dispatched by the British Government visited the United States. Its object was to inquire into the possibility of promoting understanding between Great Britain and America by bringing together University students and professors from both sides of the Atlantic. The Mission included two women—Miss Rose Sidgwick, whose death on the eve of her return to England deprived the English-woman's University world of one of its most gifted representatives, and Miss Caroline Spurgeon, Docteur ès Lettres, Paris, Litt.D. Michigan, and Professor of English Literature, University of London. To Miss Spurgeon the idea of the Federation in its fulfilment and consummation owes more than to any one person.

Her first visit to America showed how "five minutes conversation with the vivid and real personality of an Englishwoman of the right sort," to quote an American Professor, "will do more to promote friendly feeling for England than volumes of controversial literature."

One of the main objects of the Federation is to promote an international point of view; in this country especially

to free women from so-called "British insularity." Meeting places, club-houses, and hostels in all the great cities of the world are being set up to achieve this end. The Federation also intends to provide international scholarships and travelling fellowships, co-operating with the National Bureaux of Education in the various countries. Already a great deal has been accomplished.

First, the exchange of University teachers has begun. America set the example, when in the beginning of this year the American College women invited three of our University women, Professor Spurgeon, Professor Winifred Cullis, and Dr. Snedley Maclean, to visit their Colleges. Two club-houses have been established—one is at Washington, the other at Paris, where Mrs. Whitelaw Reid has offered her beautiful house for the purpose. At Athens a site has been obtained; and in London a modest beginning has been made in the Club Room at 106, Great Russell Street.

In the matter of international scholarships, the American women have again led the way. Only a few months after Miss Sidgwick's death they founded and endowed the Rose Sidgwick Fellowship of 300*l.* to be held by an English-woman in an American University. It is hoped that in this country many will be found to follow their example and that set here by Sir Arthur Dyke Acland, who has generously endowed two scholarships of 300*l.* for this year.

Everywhere women's emancipation is proceeding apace. In France the higher education of women has extended to nearly every sphere and during the last six years the number of women students has doubled. The movement is going on, though more slowly, in Belgium, Italy, and Spain. But the most remarkable report comes from Czecho-Slovakia.

Spain, still in swaddling-clothes as far as women are concerned, has already been far outstripped by the 'baby state' (as its representative, Miss Novakova, called it) of Czecho-Slovakia. In its ancient University of Prague this new nation has set the rest of Europe an example by its immediate admission of women to the rights and privileges enjoyed by men. It makes one exception, however: religion as a science is still regarded as outside a woman's purview; theology bars its gates against her; from that faculty she is excluded. But this exclusion is not for long. Already the daughter of the President, Dr. Masaryk, has been invited to lecture on that sacrosanct subject at the faculty.

The Federation is endeavouring to unite the emancipated women of all these countries, and by strengthening their influence, to promote a better international understanding.

WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING IN IRELAND.

Lord Monteaige, one of the "Southern Unionist" Irish peers, and the author of the Bill to establish a Parliament with Dominion status in Ireland, which was recently introduced into the House of Lords, contributes an extremely important article to the *Contemporary Review* (September). While ignorance is no crime for the public outside Parliament, whatever it may be for the House of Commons, he declares, apathy is no excuse for anyone; the people should insist on being told. What are the permanent facts which stand out?

The first outstanding fact in the eye of the journalist and the man in the street is the murder of police. But terrible as this is as a by-product of militarism (and be it noted there have been no murders of police in Dublin since the Dublin Metropolitan Police were disarmed—at their own request, I believe), it is but the acutest symptom of a deep-seated disease. Far more serious in its effect on the whole social system is the impotence of the police for everyday civilian duties. The Royal Irish Constabulary are a splendid force in point of physique, discipline, and fighting qualities, but their civil efficiency has always been impaired by their semi-military system, and has been entirely destroyed by the militarist policy which has made them simply part of the army of occupation. This destruction was followed by an outbreak of burglaries, robbing of mails, and other forms of hooliganism no-wise political, and hitherto comparatively rare in Ireland, though greatly on the increase in other countries since the war. The Royal Irish Constabulary, under the new militarising policy, had enough to do to defend themselves in the few barracks in which they were now concentrated (the great majority of barracks being evacuated) and were powerless to stop this outbreak. A still more formidable trouble arose in the recrudescence of cattle-driving and ranch grabbing in congested districts with which the Royal Irish Constabulary were equally unable to cope. Both these outbreaks ran on until checked by Sinn Féin.

It may be doubted whether even the ruthless Prussianism will stop the murders of police. Probably the vicious circle of reprisals will continue to reproduce itself. What is certain is that further coercion, even though it stops far short of Prussian ruthlessness, will necessitate further militarisation of what is left of the original Royal Irish Constabulary, and their replacement by English ex-soldiers camouflaged as police. The Royal Irish Constabulary are known to be resigning in large numbers, and these ex-soldier recruits who succeed or reinforce them (in the absence of Irish recruits joining the force) are imbued with the spirit of conquest; their effect on social order and ordinary crime can only be by way of general terrorism exercised on the whole population.

It is impossible that these recruits, however good their fighting qualities, can be inspired by the Royal Irish Constabulary tradition, or governed by its discipline, which was specially designed to prepare recruits by a long course of training for their peculiar duties when scattered in small groups far from their officers.

What are the Irish police actually doing?

There is singularly little ordinary crime in this country, and with the outbreak of hooliganism the police, as pointed out above, were totally unable to cope. Accordingly their activities for many months have been directed wholly and solely to the repression of political offences, and to the vain attempt to restore the shattered authority of the British Government over their own kith and kin. And in this odious task their energies have been largely absorbed in defending themselves against the sieges of barracks, in which the traditional gallantry of the Royal Irish Constabulary has gained the admiration of their Sinn Féin opponents, who, in turn, doubtless suffered considerable casualties; and against the more insidious, not to say cowardly, ambush attacks which must surely be condemned in their hearts by most Sinn Féiners, even though not without some risk to the attackers.

But apart from such military duties, which in any other cause would win them universal sympathy as well as respect, their task has been the suppression of meetings and newspapers by hundreds; the tens of thousands of searches of houses; the innumerable searches of persons; the stoppage of fairs and markets; curfew, motor permits, and other restrictions on liberty generally proper only to a state of war; interference, mostly futile (except as measures of exasperation), with Sinn Féin collections and loan—with Sinn Féin plans and enquiries for industrial and agricultural development—with Sinn Féin courts and police.

In a word, their work has been in attempts, largely ineffectual, to counter all the activities of Sinn Féin, good or bad, constructive or destructive—work purely political in its object and too often ignoble in its methods. Could anything be more lamentable than such waste of fine material, or a more cruel antithesis of the mercy twice blessed which blesses him that gives and him that takes?

Simultaneously with the breakdown of the police there has been a total collapse of the judicial system and of the extension of the powers of the Law Courts, the extent of which is admitted even by the Government.

While the police system has been thus breaking down, and the judicial system becoming paralysed, Sinn Féin has been steadily establishing over three-quarters of Ireland first

Courts of Arbitration, but subsequently civil and criminal courts claiming authority from a government that is *de facto*, if not *de jure*—imposing punishment and exacting penalties, as well as deciding rights. Secondly, Sinn Fein set up its own police which directed its efforts in the first place to the prevention or discovery of thefts, burglaries, and suchlike hooligan crime, and afterwards to carrying out the decrees of Sinn Fein courts.

Lord Monteagle goes on to pay an ungrudging tribute to the remarkable efficiency of these Sinn Fein "courts" and "police."

Landlords, graziers, shopkeepers and farmers have freely resorted to these "courts" and acknowledged the substantial fairness of their decisions, and been thankful for the execution of their decrees by the Sinn Fein "police." Perhaps the most surprising evidence of both their powers and their justice has been in regard to the renewed trouble over the cattle ranches in congested districts. It is an open secret that the Sinn Fein leaders were themselves alarmed at this development which seriously endangered social order and had completely baffled the Government departments and the police. But so promptly, firmly, and impartially did they deal with it—insisting in many cases on sale (often partial; not total) of ranches to "congests" or landless men, but at fair prices and preferably through co-operative societies financed by a newly-formed National Land Bank, while dismissing claims altogether in not a few cases, especially those backed by cattle-driving—that any such conflagration has been averted if the combustible material has not been completely removed. If terrorist influences were at work they were severely dealt with, and cattle drivers not only had their claims dismissed, but were even made to repair fences they had damaged. Of course, these proceedings are illegal. They are even recorded sometimes in the official list of "outrages" attributed to Sinn Fein.

Matters have gone too far in Ireland for technicalities, Lord Monteagle asserts. Men prefer justice even without law to law which cannot see justice done. He records the astonishment of the Southern Unionist party, to which he himself belonged, at the discovery that Sinn Fein, although it originated in the towns, has no quarrel with them as landlords, but genuinely desires to keep them in the country; "Southern Unionists generally are coming to recognise the unexpected power and will to govern efficiently and impartially."

He notes particularly the excellent work that has been done by

(1) The Industrial Commission of Inquiry into Irish Natural Resources, of which Mr. Darrell Figgis is the secretary, and before which

experts and practical men of every party freely gave evidence.

(2) The National Land Bank, which has contributed so largely to an amicable settlement of the ranch question and holds out the best hope of solving the problem of agricultural labour in Ireland generally.

(3) The measures for regulating drink traffic and stopping illicit distilling.

Turning to the Government's proposals in its Home Rule Bill, Lord Monteagle points out that even some of the Government's apologists have defended the Bill on the ground that it would be "so hopelessly unworkable that it must lead to unification" between North-East Ulster and the rest of Ireland. He proceeds to discuss the proposals outlined in the Bill which he himself introduced in the House of Lords, on behalf of the Irish Dominion League, which has arrived at producing a stable settlement that would comply with the Government's two essential conditions:—(1) That the demand for an Irish Republic cannot be entertained; and (2) that there should be no coercion of Ulster. He quotes the following summary of the plan by Captain Harrison, who is now Secretary of the Irish Peace Conference:—

"Parliament to pass an Act declaring Ireland entitled to a Dominion status and setting up a Constituent Assembly to draft a Dominion Constitution subject to certain specified limitations as to the Crown, peace and war, treaty-making, and defence. The Constitution, when drafted, to be automatically ratified by His Majesty (unless it fail to conform to the powers and limitations created by the Statute). Discussions as to defence arrangements and finance can take place between H.M. Government and the Constituent Assembly. Acceptance or rejection of Dominion status and the terms as to defence will thus lie with specially elected representatives of the Irish people. A majority vote to decide unless the Constituent Assembly arrange its procedure otherwise."

Special treatment for Ulster is to be secured as follows:—

"When the Constitution shall have been provisionally adopted by the Constituent Assembly, the members from the six counties in separate Session can decide to secure the insertion in the Constitution of any or all amendments which they have put forward and which have been rejected by the Constituent Assembly. These amendments might effect complete exclusion and equality of status for N.E. Ulster. But they are subject to two provisos, viz.:

(a) Such amendments must affect the six counties only.

(b) After such adoption of special Ulster amendments, the Constituent Assembly to meet

again (the Ulster Members attending and speaking but not voting) and may introduce such amendments in the Constitution as affecting the twenty-six counties as may be considered proper having regard to the adoption of the special Ulster amendments."

Regarding the difficulty of "Ulster," Lord Monteaule derives new hopes from the fact that "Sinn Fein has a better grasp of realities than the old Nationalist

party had, and is prepared to make very large concessions to 'politics' for the sake of unity."

Sinn Fein will not negotiate, as we all know, with the British Government except on a republican basis; but Sinn Fein can well afford to negotiate freely with their "Ulster" fellow countrymen without giving or exacting any pledges except of good faith.



[Simplicissimus]

International Reconciliation:

[Munich]

The bridge is made. It merely remains to see who will be the first to fall off it.

WHO ARE THE AMERICANS?

In 1790, the white population of the United States was, in round numbers, 3,200,000. In 1910 it was 82,000,000, and this year, says Mr. Wm. S. Rossiter of the American Federal Census Office, writing in *The Atlantic Monthly* (August), it may be estimated at 94,000,000. As the census of 1920 is not yet available, he is obliged to base his analysis for the American population upon the figures collected ten years ago, which classified the population as follows:

WHITE.	
Natives of Native Parentage	49,500,000
Natives of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	18,900,000
Foreign Born	13,350,000
COLOURED.	
Natives	9,800,000
Foreign Born	400,000
Total	91,950,000

Many people in Europe think of the United States as being principally "a conglomeration of immigrants from all nations and their children, loosely held together by self interest." The statistics, however, show that out of a total white population of 82 millions, the foreign-born and natives of foreign and mixed parentage, together totalled only 32½ millions. To this important section of the population Great Britain, Ireland and Germany, together contributed more than half.

Those born in England, Scotland, Wales and English Canada, together with those who had one or both British or English-Canadian parents, who, between them, comprise the British element in the United States, numbered 5,100,000. Those born in Ireland or who had one or both Irish parents, amounted to 4,500,000. Those born in Germany or who had one or both German parents, numbered 8,300,000. The remaining foreign element in the United States therefore amounts only to 14½ millions. These 14½ millions are composed of 2 million Austro-Hungarians 1½ million French and Canadian-French, 2 million Italians, 2½ million Russians (principally Jews), and 2½ million Scandinavians.

Large as this aggregate is, says Mr. Rossiter, does it justify the European conception of a mongrel America? The

principal section of the American population, amounting to all but 50 million people, is native-born; and has this great majority section of the people a foreign or mongrel character?

At the First Census the white population was principally English and was practically all of British origin. A small proportion was Irish. There were Dutch in and about New York, a few Germans in various scattered communities, and still smaller and negligible numbers of natives of other countries. The immense majority of the white population was of English descent or parentage. So great, indeed, was this preponderance that to all intents and purposes the entire population was homogeneous, and Anglo-Saxon. This was the basic or original population of the nation, from which all census computations begin; and this original white stock, for the first half-century of the Republic, was exceedingly prolific. Hence, a very large part of the fifty millions of Americans classified in 1910 as "natives of native parentage" is descended from the basic British stock (or the minor but fully assimilated elements enumerated in 1790.

From 1790 to 1830 practically no immigration occurred, and such accessions as there were, amounting to less than a quarter of a million people, came chiefly from Great Britain. An exhaustive investigation by the Federal Census Office showed that in 1900 there were approximately 35,500,000 persons descended from the white population, mainly British in its origin, that was enumerated in 1800. Allowing for a normal rate of increase, this population probably amounted to about 39 millions in 1910. By a series of elaborate calculations Mr. Rossiter arrives at the conclusion that there are "nearly fifty-five million of men, women and children of British ancestry, welded into one vast and surprisingly homogeneous element."

This element is the pillar which supports the Republic. It is the element which manages and controls the United States. Even in places where it is in a minority, it generally leads. The activities of the nation, infinite in variety and extent, both intellectual and material, are principally in the hands of persons of the native and allied stock. The farmers are largely native, as are lawyers, clergymen, physicians, school-teachers, bankers, manufacturers, and managers. Yet this is no exclusive company or class, since these vocations are open to all who qualify.

Hence it comes about—no American needs to be told—that the great central, inspiring, and controlling element of American population over a

domain of three million square miles is singularly homogeneous and singularly at one in ideals. Any intelligent stranger from New England, entering the home of a well-to-do family selected at random in a far Southern state, would, upon inquiry, find similar origin,—perhaps the same English county,—and the existence of opinions, hopes, and principles varying from his own only to the extent, which might be expected as a result of totally different climate and different environment. He would find, also, exactly the same language, varied only by a slight local accent. Were he similarly to enter a farmhouse in Iowa, he would be likely to find the descendants of respected citizens of his own state, or even county, a century ago; and they probably would exhibit among their household goods some prized bits of furniture or silver that were brought over by the Pilgrims or made in Colonial days. In such households are found the old national spirit, and here, also, the traditions of the past. They are substantially the same in this basic national stock, whether its members be resident in New England, the far South, or the far West.

The American native stock, with its assimilated early additions, is the greatest Anglo-Saxon element in the world, Mr. Rossiter declares.

In numbers it is greater than the entire combined population of England, Scotland, Wales, and Canada. It possesses, except in small areas in the South, a strikingly high average of education. The real American, like his distant British forebears, is undemonstrative. He is patient under provocation, but intensely independent, and, once aroused, rather pugnacious. During the past century the native-stock element has been so strong of character that it has imparted its own ideals to many hundred thousand newcomers. It was this element that aroused itself when America entered the Great War. Large as were both population and geographic area, the nation then had no two opinions. Men and women of Maine and Oregon and Florida were doing the same things in war-preparation and doing them in the same way.

But the average native American is not specially pro-British. The ancestors of many of this element emigrated from Great Britain two or three centuries ago. Nevertheless, the American and the Briton, springing in the main from the same blood, speak the same language of ideals and purposes. They have much the same weaknesses and likewise similar elements of strength.

If, to bewildered observers, whether at home or in distant Europe, America seems inconsistent and uncertain; if there appear vagaries on the part of government or public; if echoes of the shout of agitators who claim to voice

American opinions resound through the land and across the water, remember then the unruffled fifty-five millions. Assuredly they are the placid deeps of the nation, which lie far beneath the roaring surface waves. If foreign complications were actually threatened by the latitude allowed to public expression, swift and overwhelming would be their condemnation.



Simplex asinus

[Munch]

Statistics.

To supply one good army ration it is necessary that four German children should go hungry.

AN INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

At a Conference held at Atlantic City, U.S.A., last autumn, which was attended by some 4,000 American business men, representing most of the great industrial and financial interests of that country, together with a number of representatives from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, it was decided to form an International Chamber of Commerce to act on behalf of the general trading interests of the allied countries and of such neutral countries as might be invited to join later. The inaugural meeting took place in Paris from June 23 to July 1 last. There were present about 150 delegates from the United States of America and about 50 each from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium.

The organisation, says Mr. Eric Underwood in the *Anglo French Review* (September), has been formed for the purpose of eliciting opinion from, and of acting internationally on behalf of, the commercial, financial, banking, and shipping interests of the world. It is also hoped that, through the League of Nations, with which it should be closely connected, it will carry into effect by means of representations to the various Governments the views of all those engaged in these activities.

Among other resolutions passed by the Congress were proposals :

That import and export prohibitions shall be revoked as soon as the internal conditions of each country shall allow ;

That full and reliable information being a fundamental requirement for the determination of the policy and conduct of international enterprise, a Central Bureau of International Statistics be set up ;

That (a) the utilization of hydro-electric power be hastened in the largest possible way,

(b) measures be taken to use mineral fuel in the most scientific and economic manner,

(c) the research and extraction of oil resources be fully developed ;

That a Foreign Credit Bureau for the service of exporters be set up, and that citizens of allied countries mutually extend to buyers the utmost credit facilities ;

That measures be taken to prevent double payment of income-tax ;

That steps be taken to reduce the importation of non-essentials into, and to increase the exportation of goods of all kinds from, countries with depreciated exchanges, and thereby to improve their exchange ;

To set up a permanent committee to study

what means should be taken to facilitate all operations of transport, and to make widely available to all interested information as to such facilities ;

That as the depreciation of exchange varies considerably as between different countries, a special Committee inquire into the situation on merits in each country, with a view to determine the intrinsic value of money in each country ;

That all subsidies should be done away with, with the exception of those relating to transport services of public necessity on routes which would be commercially unworkable by private enterprise.

In its constitution, the International Chamber of Commerce has formulated its objects as being

'to facilitate the commercial intercourse of nations, to secure harmony of action on all international questions affecting commerce and industry, and to promote peace, progress, and cordial relations among countries and their citizens by the co-operation of business men and their organizations devoted to the development of commerce and industry.'

The League of Nations, to which we all do at least lip service, says Mr. Underwood, will tend in practice to become a League of Governments. The International Chamber of Commerce will be nearer a League of Peoples, for it will be more in touch with the realities and needs of everyday life, just as the personnel of national chambers of commerce are less bureaucratic than civil servants.

There are even to-day indications that the main support for the League of Nations comes from one certain trend of political thought. But the International Chamber of Commerce is quite definitely non-partisan, and there is no reason why it should be otherwise ; and its conduct will be in the hands of practical men and not of politicians.

The constitution of the International Chamber makes provision for a Board of Directors consisting of two persons chosen from each country, organizations of which are eligible for, and have taken up membership in, the International Chamber ; its headquarters, provisionally at Paris, are to be ultimately at the seat of the League of Nations. Membership is open to national, local, commercial, financial, and industrial organizations which are not conducted for private or partisan purposes ; besides this, associateship of the Chamber without voting power is open to individuals, firms, and corporations engaged in business activities in countries the organizations of which are eligible for membership. In addition to the Board of Directors there is an Administrative Council with advisory powers but no vote in the management.

ARE THE BALKAN RACES QUARRELSOME?

To the mind of the ordinary person, this question would seem to have answered itself long ago—in the affirmative. The average Englishman who has followed Balkan history for the last hundred years has pretty well made up his mind that the Balkan peoples are (1) primitive and violent compared with the more effete peoples of the West; that they are (2) all cruel; and that (3) all the races hate one another. Therefore this natural quarrelsomeness would appear to be placed beyond doubt.

This belief, however, is challenged by a woman writer in the *Balkan Review* (August), who, while not denying the undeniable fact of quarrels between the Balkan peoples, gives it as her impression that, "so far from being quarrelsome and violent, most of the inhabitants of the Balkans intensely dislike fighting and physical roughness of any kind; they will stand a very great deal more ill-treatment before revolting than any Scot ever born, and they will forgive and forget injuries that no Scot would ever overlook." Amongst these people there is much unnecessary suffering caused by unimaginative callousness and ignorance, but feeling as to the cruelty of the people may be gathered when I say that I had never any hesitation in leaving my small children with Balkan nurses on the score of cruelty; what prevented my letting the children much out of my own hands was the fear of spoiling through over-indulgence."

The writer, a Scotswoman, lived in Bucharest for eleven years, mixed with all shades of Roumanian society, and travelled all over the Balkans. She contends that if the Balkan races have fought among themselves, it is because Germany stirred them up to do so for her own profit. As she knew many more Roumanians than Serbs, Bulgarians, or Albanians, her conviction that the Roumanians are inherently tolerant and peaceable "is stronger than my similar conviction in the case of Serbs, etc." But, speaking generally, she considers that even with the Serbs, "the most warlike of Balkan races," "the terms of the Austrian ultimatum of 1914 show how absolutely insulting the Germans and

Austrians thought it necessary to be in order to cause Serbia to reject the terms."

It is remarked that "boys in the Balkans have not that typically British delight in scrapping, ragging, and violent games"; and "the character of a people is shown without mask in boyhood." In Roumania, until recently, there were practically no games for boys. Yet the bulk of the Balkan races (the peasants) are extremely hardy.

The peasant, however, accustomed to an over-hard life, considers that happiness consists in the absence of exertion. Town-dwellers, descended, at most, a few generations back from peasants, have lost their hardness, and have retained their view that exertion is to be avoided where possible. This is partly a transient stage; many parvenus are already adopting a more active physical life, though one never finds anything like the same love for fresh air, cold water, and exercise in Roumania as in England.

My first reason, then, for considering that the peoples of the Balkans are not quarrelsome is that they emphatically dislike the physical trouble of quarrelling. They will even submit to considerable indignities without revolting; in fact, they can be bullied. Few masters treat their subordinates with respect, and subordinates are apt to fancy that their masters are, not in earnest in their commands if they do not enforce them with strong language. An English lady in Roumania complained to a Roumanian that her servants were inattentive and did not obey her. The Roumanian asked whether she said, "Please do this," and "Won't you do that?" "Yes," she said, "of course." "Well, I say, 'Do this, blank, blank, blank'" and you should see how they obey me."

One reason for the extent of German influence in the Balkans is that the Germans grasped the fact that bullying succeeded, and were thus able to carry their points.

A second reason for denying the quarrelsomeness of the Balkan peoples is that they are superficial in their feelings, and not capable of the strong, enduring affections or dislikes of more northern nations.

Even the feeling of nationality is, contrary to current belief, much less strong in the Balkans than in England; however, in England our national feeling is rarely outraged, and so we have few opportunities of finding out how strong it really is. In the Balkans there was irredentism to stimulate this feeling, but on the whole I had the impression that a very great deal of talk hid a not very vigorous feeling.

The Balkan peasant of one race is so far from feeling himself different from another race that he not infrequently intermarries,

hardly realising that he is doing so. "In a family which I know well, the mother was a Macedonian Roumanian, the father a Bulgarian, two sons went to America and became American citizens, one son came to Roumania and became a Roumanian official, and one daughter married a Bulgarian, though it must be added that she divorced him in 1916." But

The greatest reason for thinking that the Balkans are likely in future (with just settlements of the Adriatic and Albanian questions) to be a haven of peace rather than the storm-centre of Europe is that the Balkan character is sweet, gentle, and, above all, tolerant to an extent unknown in the West. . . . I do not think that tolerance of evil is entirely a virtue; it implies a certain weakness of will, and it leads to a low moral standard, black sheep finding that they can be black sheep with impunity. But everyone has the "defauts de ses qualites," and the Englishman who reproaches the Roumanian both with the low moral standard due to his tolerance and with quarrelsomeness,

intolerance, and cruelty, is both illogical and unjust. There is very much to shock English people in Roumania, and we are apt to judge the Roumanians severely; they resent, however, being judged by foreign standards, and are themselves shocked by English intolerance and hardness.

The Roumanian point of view, implicit but not often expressed, is that evil-doing is in the order of nature—it was fated so, and it happened—but that real badness consists in having ill-will against any human being, even against an evil-doer. Thus my cook would not admit that it mattered if she served dinner three-quarters of an hour late—"it happened"; but she considered me a woman with an evil heart if I scolded her severely and was really angry at dinner being late. . . .

Once there was a case of murder before the courts in Bucharest. The murder was committed in hot blood, and evidence sufficient to convict was in the hands of relations of the murdered man. As some time elapsed between the murder and the trial, the resentment of the relations cooled, and they refused to give evidence. They said of the murderer: "He is a man too, and he has suffered."

D.O.R.A. IN THE "LAND OF THE FREE."

There is much to be said for community, writes Mr. H. W. Nevins, describing his recent visit to America, in the *Contemporary Review* (September), and "standardisation" makes life as easy as thought is to a Catholic. One has only to do what every one else does and all is well.

But that personal liberty which is the very object of civil life, and the source of all advance in thought or action, is perpetually threatened. It is true I was in the States at a bad time. The Espionage Act, our upstart D.O.R.A.'s hideous younger sister, still flaunts in White House and Senate Halls, while the Cinderella of Freedom sits, without a champion, in the dust. American audiences still shout "My country 'tis of thee, Sweet land of Liberty." They still acclaim the star-spangled Banner that ever will wave "o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave." But liberty is an alien in the country, and the star-spangled banner waves over the prisons of the free. Economics are much studied. Next to Psycho-analysis, the relations of Capital and Labour, the various kinds of Socialism, and other abstract subjects are most talked about among the young and intellectual.

But when it comes to reality, Liberalism, Radicalism, Socialism, and Bolshevism are all jumbled up together and suppressed by the Government with an unreasoning despotism not far short of the Tsar's before the revolution. The Labour Party and even the Trade Unions are regarded with suspicion.

"I doubt," says Mr. Nevins, "if the

Labour Movement as a whole is much in advance of our Labour position in 1860."

Now and again, as on January 2nd and May 1st of this year, the Government deliberately promotes a panic. It avowedly employs provocative agents, which are here called "undercover informants" by their Government employers, and "stool-pigeons" by their intended victims. It employs these most degraded of all human beings to instigate the workers to violence, to dangerous speeches, and turbulent processions. By the employment of these loathsome reptiles our own Government has lately been teaching us what this filthiest form of tyranny implies, but in the States I am told the use is more frequent and more shameless. Nor should any nation that sings of freedom suffer such a body as the Secret Police, with their private examinations of the accused, their system of solitary confinement (*incommunicado*) before trial, and the tortures of their atrocious "Third Degree." I do not know for certain how many "politicals" are now in prison, or how many "aliens" have been shut up or banished upon police information. But I know that Eugene Debs, apparently one of the finest and most lovable of Labour leaders, is shut in one of the foulest prisons; and Mollie Steimer, a Pacifist of twenty, is imprisoned for fifteen years for distributing leaflets urging soldiers not to attack the Russian revolution two years ago. I am told that at least a thousand "politicals," including seventy conscientious objectors and a hundred and fifty-five I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World), for whom no outcasts there is no justice, are still in gaol. A few fine characters, Mr. Justice Holmes, Mr. Justice

Brandeis, of the Supreme Court, and Judge Anderson—have the courage to denounce and repudiate these abominations. But indignation moves slowly in the States. The whole nation is leisurely. The country is vast. Rage cannot concentrate. The people are "standardised." Apply for the world, I have never known a people who were not beyond comparison better than their Government, and in the States this is as true as elsewhere."

Regarding the general reports that American opinion is hostile to this country, Mr. Nevins writes:

In certain newspapers I found hostility, and

it needed no looking for. Among some political parties I found it, chiefly under the pretext that the League of Nations is a device promoted by England to preserve her Empire free of cost. Among the people I found no hostility at all, but on one single subject I did find violent reproaches and bitter disappointment. Ireland was, of course, the subject, and I had no answer, except that the English people, like all peoples, are so incomparably better than their Government that they might belong to a different country. But the shame of our Government in Ireland lies like a blight over our reputation still. It is a terrible thing to feel ashamed of the country one loves. It is like coming home and finding one's mother drunk upon the floor.

CONVERTING GUNBOATS TO MERCHANT SHIPS

We lost eight million tons of shipping during the war, and although this loss has already been more than made good, yet the call for merchant shipping, especially for the smaller ships that are suitable for the coasting trade, is still persistent. The explanation of this intense demand, writes Commander Eldred, R.N., in the *World's Work* (August), "is that our existing tonnage is not working at the capacity of pre-war times, for the reason that the human factor is refusing to produce the maximum output. The result is congested quays and warehouses, and ships lying idle in port."

The large number of merchant vessels that were withdrawn from naval service during the war has now—apart from those that were sunk—been reconditioned and returned to their owners. Is it not possible to utilise for mercantile purposes the huge number of warships of various sizes that have been discarded as obsolete?

But the ordinary fighting ship would be quite unsuitable for conversion to a merchant ship. Her armour, her innumerable small compartments, and the large space occupied by her machinery put this out of the question.

There are, however, a large number of vessels built during the war which do not possess these drawbacks.

Amongst them were the patrol gunboats called "Kil" boats, of which about 65 were built, designed mainly for the convoy of merchant ships, and armed with one 4-inch gun as a ton against U-boats. About a third of them went unarmed, and were fitted for mine-sweeping.

Half of them were completed during the latter years of the war, and the remainder was delivered after the war. They are known as the

"Kil" boats from their names—*Killarney, Kilkenny, Kilmarnock, Kildare*, and so forth. They were designed with the funnel exactly midway between bow and stern; the bow and stern outlines similar, and the profiles of the forward and after-parts of the ship precisely similar. This was camouflage, and its object was to make it difficult to distinguish bow from stern.

These ships in their structure, framing, plating, and engines were much more like cargo vessels than warships. Shipbuilders and shipowners both recognised the possibility of producing serviceable cargo-vessels from them with more or less modification.

When they were put up for sale they sold readily. A single firm bought 49 of them, another firm 10, another 5. Only one of these firms, that of John Thornycroft, proposed a plan of conversion by lengthening the vessels 43½ feet. This additional length had to be determined by a careful calculation of the strains and stresses that a long hold full of cargo would bring upon the girders, frames, beams, and plates. A further increase in hold space is obtained by taking out one of the two boilers.

This, of course, means a reduction of speed, but not to so great an extent as might be imagined. As a gunboat, the "Kil" boats could steam at about 12 knots with two boilers. It is calculated that a single boiler will assure the boat a speed of 10 knots when she is lengthened.

Now a ship pays more dearly in coal consumption for every knot in increase of speed. At 10 knot speed the cargo-boat will burn about half the amount of coal that the gunboat required to drive her at 12 knots. It is considered that this economy justifies a reducing of the bunker space to add further to the hold capacity. The gunboat stowed 300 tons of coal. The lengthened cargo vessels will stow 130 tons only. With this quantity she will be able to steam 2,800 miles. The gunboats could cover 3,500 before replenishing with coal.

As gunboats, the "Kil" boats had all their living accommodation on the lower deck, which was lighted by glass scuttles in the ship's side. As this now becomes cargo space, these scuttles have to be blocked.

Very little alteration is necessary to convert the officers' quarters into the after hold. The crew's quarters in the gunboat are thrown into the

hold space, and the cargo vessel's crew, much less numerous, will have their quarters in the usual cargo vessel's situation in the fore-cabin.

The lengthened boats will have a capacity for 950 tons of cargo. When carrying their full load of cargo, they will be able to average 10 knots, a very fair average for the ordinary cargo vessel.

SMALL NATIONS AND LITTLE NATIONS.

PROFESSOR ZIMMERN ON WELSH NATIONALISM.

Professor A. E. Zimmermann, in an address delivered at Llandrindod Wells under the auspices of the League of Nations Union which is published in *The Welsh Outlook* (September), declares that he has formed one strong impression during his residence in Wales since he accepted the Professorship of International Law.

There is a poison running through the life of Wales—the poison of a sense of inferiority, of a sense of dependence, of inner bondage or slavery, of characterlessness, of unreality, of restlessness, such as comes of great qualities unused or misused—a sense as if deep down in the life of Wales there were great powers chained up and denied an outlet, powers which, because they find no outlet upward, often achieve on lower levels a liberation that is successful in its own way, but not in the way Wales needs and demands. In a word, there can be detected in the life of Wales to-day characteristics that are the mark, not of a great free people, but of a small and subject people; not of a people that is making contribution out of its own life and genius to the life of the world, but of a little people still timidly looking round the horizon seeking what it shall imitate and whence it can derive help. Small peoples are out to get: great peoples give. Wales has given, and is giving; but she has not yet wholly unlearned the servile art of mere "getting."

Except in so far as she still regards herself in that light, declares Prof. Zimmermann, Wales is no longer a subject nation.

Wales has not gone under, as some old peoples have succumbed beneath the steam roller of the modern age; she lives; and the Welsh language lives, and will live. The question for us of this generation is no longer: "Shall Wales be free? shall there be a Welsh culture?" but, what kind of a Welsh culture shall there be; what sort of a of mankind? If traditions and habits of mind formed during the age of struggle and subjection still linger on in Wales, they have outlived their usefulness. Root them out and fling them into the furnace.

Nor is it true, he asserts, that Wales is a small nation. Nations are only as small as

they think themselves, and there is such a thing as thinking yourself into being small.

There is a smallness, or pettiness, in Welsh life that is largely due to a false view of the place in of Wales in the world. Is Wales a small nation of Wales in the world. Is Wales a small nation? Think for a moment. There are more than ten times as many Welshmen alive to-day as there were Athenians in the great age, the age that produced Socrates and built the Parthenon. There are not so very many fewer Welshmen to-day than there were Englishmen in the time of Shakespeare.

This sense of smallness is an obsession that leads to all sorts of false ideas and misleading policies.

Wales, like England and Norway, like Scotland and Serbia, has her own special gifts and affinities, her own special friends and comrades, but "smallness" has nothing to do with them. The sense of smallness is, indeed, a violating quality, it tends to make men and nations look out into the world, not for real friends, but for useful allies; it drives the soul in upon itself, causing it to smart at its own fancied inferiority, and so hindering the growth of those creative and expanding forces which are all the more darkly striving to issue forth and leave their mark upon the world. It was not this spirit in Athens which produced Pericles and Plato; nor was it this spirit which produced, in Norway, Ibsen, in Flanders, Verhaeren, and in Scotland, Burns and Carlyle.

Professor Zimmermann declares himself to be a confirmed believer in nationalism, as opposed to cosmopolitanism.

There are some who do not believe in the existence of separate nations with a life, a history, a culture, in a word, a soul of their own. Imperialists, I think, the right name for such people, though we might also call them cosmopolitans. They are people who look at upon mankind as not merely equal in the sight of God, but similar, all cut to the same pattern, or, if not already cut, needing to be so cut.

With all this school of thought—for despite its different labels it is a single school of thought—I find myself completely and increasingly out of sympathy.

THE CASE OF MR. BARKER.

Early this year a petition was addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, praying him to confer, *honoris causa*, the Lambeth degree of Doctor of Medicine upon Mr. H. A. Barker, the well known manipulative surgeon of Park Lane. The petition failed in its object, but the importance of Mr. Barker's work and the urgent necessity of compelling the medical profession to enable him to put his unique knowledge of surgery at the disposal of the medical schools, cannot be too often repeated. The case for Mr. Barker is very forcibly put by the Rev. J. L. Walton in *The English Review* (September) who points out that—

For eight-and-twenty years Mr. Barker has been quietly working in a hinterland of surgery practically untouched by the regular medical profession. He has confined his attention entirely to abnormalities of the joints. During that period many thousands of people have consulted him, and with almost mechanical regularity, he has completely cured them.

These patients have come from all walks of life: from the very poor to the highest ranks of society; they have included members of both Houses of Parliament, and their families, the Episcopal Bench, the Cabinet, the Navy, the Army, members of both Universities, prominent sportsmen, leading athletes, barristers, solicitors, and frequently registered practitioners themselves. They have come from all parts of the United Kingdom, from India, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, Canada, and the United States of America.

From time to time the newspapers have opened their columns to a correspondence which has called forth letters from all classes of people who have been patients, all couched in the same language, proclaiming the manipulative surgeon a master of his particular art. In nearly every case the same fact is stated, viz., that the writer had only resorted to Mr. Barker after months and even years of expensive and futile treatment at the hands of the regular medical practitioner. Very many even went to him after consulting one after another—the most eminent surgeons of the day.

It is no longer ever questioned that Mr. Barker is in possession of a scientific system of surgery, the methods of which are unknown to the registered practitioners.

This system of therapeutics he has offered time after time to place at the disposal of the profession. He has asked that a committee should be officially appointed to investigate his methods; he has offered to demonstrate in the medical schools of the country. But the

authorities have persistently ignored his offers.

The signatories to the petition realise that Mr. Barker cannot personally minister to more than a very small fraction of the vast multitude of sufferers who are at present regarded as incurable, but could undoubtedly be cured by his methods. Moreover, his system may even perish with him as he is not allowed to teach it to the schools. The petitioners hoped that if the Archbishop of Canterbury could be persuaded to exercise his prerogative of granting an honorary medical degree to Mr. Barker, this would give him a recognised status and would enable him to associate with other doctors.

The list of petitioners included, among hundreds of other past and present members of the House of Commons,—

The present Lord Chancellor, the ex-Home Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, 4 ex-Cabinet Ministers, 2 Lords of the Treasury, 13 Privy Councillors, 11 King's Counsel, 2 Admirals, 4 Generals, 18 Colonels, 19 Majors, 61 Barons and Knights, the most prominent members of the Labour Party, and gentlemen distinguished in every walk of life.

The wording of the petition is no less striking than the signatures. It states that:

"Mr. Barker has offered to teach his system freely in the medical schools of the country, and to place his services gratuitously and unreservedly at the disposal of the country on behalf of men of all sections of his Majesty's Forces who are suffering from those physical injuries with which he has proved himself pre-eminently qualified to deal. Both offers have been refused because he is not a qualified physician or surgeon. Since the war began, Mr. Barker has been the means of removing the disabilities of many men whose services would otherwise have been lost to the nation. Many instances could be adduced but it may suffice to point out that, in a single battalion now at the Front (the 3rd Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry), five of the officers were enabled to serve their country by Mr. Barker where orthodox medical aid had failed. Men who have been discharged from the Army as unfit for further service on account of their injuries have been sent to the fighting line entirely through his skill."

Reference is then made to articles from *Truth*, the *Medical Press*, and the *Times*, and the petition concludes as follows: "Your petitioners humbly submit that Mr. Barker's case is eminently one for your Grace's favourable consideration, in order that his assistance may be more generally available for injured sailors and

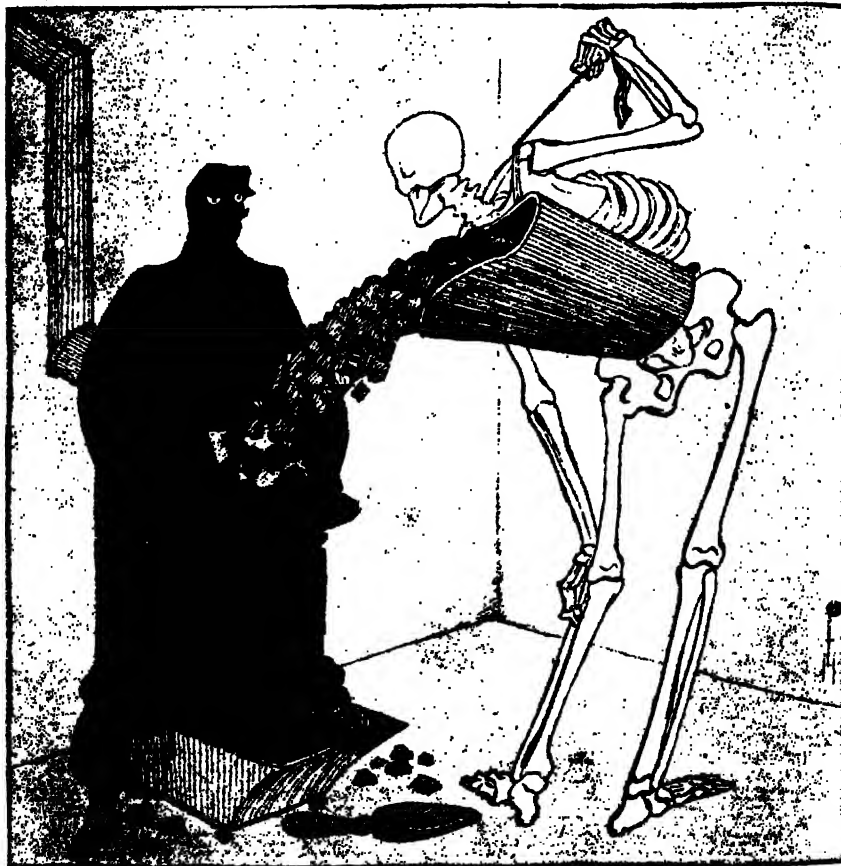
soldiers at the present time, and in view of the unique and distinguished services he has rendered to suffering humanity and the cause of science through a long period of opposition, contumely and persecution."

The public, declares Mr. Walton, are growing restive under the consciousness that the purpose of the Medical Acts passed on successive occasions by Parliament has been perverted.

The Acts were passed for the protection of the public; but are being exploited for the protection of a trades union. The absurd contention is raised that unless a man is qualified according to the present curriculum of the

medical schools, he is incapable of acquiring knowledge or contriving a remedy, or employing means that will tend to the alleviation of human suffering; that the profession is precluded from acquiring information outside the ranks of its own close corporation; that all "unregistered men are "quacks," and equally reprehensible in daring to trespass within the sacred preserve

It is obviously the duty of the medical profession to make the alleviation of human suffering their first and only consideration; and rules, regulations, and etiquette must not be allowed to stand in the way of advance.



Simplicissimus

Moloch Militarism.

[Munch]

Germany delivers her last ton of coal to France.

①

ARE THE RAILWAYS GOING BANKRUPT ?

The annual wages bill now paid by the railways, amounting to £161,000,000 a year, is already enormously in excess of the total paid in dividends, writes Mr. I. J. Jennings in the *Fortnightly Review* (September); and if the committee of control, appointed by the Ministry of Transport, is to be confirmed in its powers, we may be pretty sure that dividends will in due course vanish altogether. Of the Committee of Thirteen who now decide all questions of wages and conditions of work, only four are railway managers; and, according to Mr. Jennings, if this Committee is allowed to go on exercising its present powers, wages will rise until they reach the point when there is nothing for it but to invoke a receivership."

We have the authority of the Ministry of Transport for the calculation that the total amount of salaries and wages paid by the railways of Great Britain has risen from £49,000,000 in 1913 to £163,000,000 at the present time, and £161,000,000 of the latter figure is on account of wages. Yet not until January 15th of the present year was any attempt made by the Government to meet the growing increase in working expenses. The raising of passenger fares by 50 per cent. in 1917 was avowedly designed, not to increase revenue, but to discourage traffic and lessen the pressure on the limited train accommodation. In January last a belated addition of from 50 to 60 per cent. was made to the rates for goods traffic, and was estimated to produce £51,000,000 a year, about £10,000,000 of which appears to be included in the receipts to March 31st. Meanwhile expenditure continued to increase, and since the question of the revision of rates was referred to the Advisory Committee last October materials have risen by £12,000,000, coal by £3,500,000, and wages by £24,300,000. As the total net receipts on railway working and subsidiary undertakings for 1919-20, were only £7,161,220, and the Government guarantee amounted to £46,675,000, there was a big realised deficit. This is given in the White Paper as £41,349,530, which is rather more than appears from the figures just quoted. The estimate for a full year in conditions prior to the recent additional charges shows a loss on working of £4,500,000, and the net liability falling on the Exchequer for the railways of the United Kingdom is estimated at £54,500,000 instead of £41,349,530.

It was in order to wipe out this anticipated deficit of £54,500,000 for the year 1920-21, that the new scale of goods and passenger rates have been imposed. They are, in fact, expected to yield an additional

revenue of £72,000,000. Of this 72 millions, 55 are expected to accrue from the goods and mineral traffic and 17 from passenger fares.

But, says Mr. Jennings, there are grounds for thinking that the calculations of the Ministry of Transport and its buffer committees are too optimistic.

Motor vans and motor lorries and all kinds of road traction are coming into more general use at rates appreciably lower, ton for ton, than those of the railway companies. At a meeting of the Advisory Committee the transport manager of Lipton's produced a record which showed that between the metropolis and towns 200 miles away, transport by road was as cheap as, and mostly cheaper than, transport by rail. Between London and Bristol the rail charge per ton is 53s. and the road charge 45s.; between London and Leeds 63s. 5d. and 56s. respectively; and between London and Brighton 36s. 6d. and 32s. 6d. Add to this saving the benefits of a quicker delivery and a smaller risk of pilfering, and there is not much doubt as to which way the volume of business will ultimately go. And if it once goes from the railways it will probably go for ever. Road competition has been a thorn in their flesh for some time—it now threatens to be a dagger in their heart. Having brought them to the pass of an actual heavy loss on working, the Government now proceeds to rectify its blunder by enforcing a plan that may in its results be indistinguishable from an act of slow suicide.

Undoubtedly, the competition of motor transport threatens the railways very seriously. But the motor traffic, according to Mr. Frederick A. Talbot, who discusses the whole transport at length in *The World's Work* (August) has obtained an altogether unfair advantage by escaping its due proportion of the cost of maintaining the public roads which it is permitted to use.

This is the first year of the great development. The items of depreciation and maintenance have not yet fully asserted themselves. A rich harvest has been garnered in the summer months, during which period the public is in holiday mood. But what about the winter, when fares are few and tar between and the roads are likely to be bad?

At the moment there is a keen conflict for supremacy between the railway and the motor-lorry in the movement of freight. The latter is stated to be far cheaper, and the supporters of the motor-lorry advance figures in support of their theory. When regarded by the ton unit there does appear to be a saving of a few shillings, but reduce that to the pound or yard, by which

commodities are purchased by the public, and it will be discovered to represent only an insignificant fraction of a penny, from which the public does not receive a farthing benefit. Foodstuffs dispatched by road over long distances are not sold any cheaper than those dispatched by rail.

Motor transport is being extolled under false pretences. Charges which should be legitimately attached to the running of the vehicle are discreetly assigned to some other factor. In so far as railway and marine transportation are concerned we know exactly where we stand; all the cards are laid upon the table. But in regard to motor transportation we are still groping blindly.

Mr. Talbot regards the financial situation of the railways as very critical and fully realises that any further additions to the charges for passenger or goods traffic may easily defeat their own object by compelling the public to abandon the railways for other forms of transport. He suggests that what we need is not "a bureaucracy over which no control can be exercised," like the Ministry of Transport, but a great organising genius like the American Mr. Harriman, who made it his business to put his own house in order and effect economies in every possible direction. Mr. Talbot declares that our railways are at present ridiculously over-staffed, and estimates that the majority of men employed, owing to the unscientific organisation of the railways, perform no useful work of any kind, during between 30 and 50 per cent. of their eight-hour day.

In the United States, where the railways are confronted with a situation similar to that prevailing in these islands, the administrations are overhauling their personnel and every superfluous man is being discharged. One system, the Pennsylvania, recently paid off 12,000 men because it discovered that the work in hand could be comfortably undertaken by those retained.

Our railways might profitably follow the example. Ticket collection upon the train could dispense with the system prevailing and which can scarcely be construed into a man's job. A new type of employee should be instituted to fulfil such duties as the coupling up of trains, although this duty could be eliminated were the system of automatic coupling adopted.

It is notorious that no new development has ever been introduced by any British railway, at least during recent years, except under extreme pressure. The railways of Britain have been running nearly a century, but we have not yet adopted the automatic coupler, nor the automatic brake upon our goods vehicles. Yet both are time, labour and money savers.

Automatic signalling has established its value upon our tubes and underground railways, but has it been introduced upon our trunk roads?

We pride ourselves upon the perfection of our block system, but we pay dearly for it, for the simple reason that it is not up to date. There are hundreds of miles of track, free from cross-overs, junctions, and switches, upon which the diminutive signal box is still preserved, but which might be just as efficiently protected by an automatic signalling system, and at far less cost.

Side by side with drastic economy in the whole system—which would include the disappearance of most of the 1,350 paid directors who now administer the fifty different systems in the United Kingdom—Mr. Talbot urges the principle of "increased output," which, in the case of the railways means carrying much more traffic in proportion to the amount of rolling stock in use.

The man-in-the-street, is at heart a business man. He knows full well that certain railways derive more than 50 per cent. of their revenue from the carriage of passengers. He is likewise cognisant of the circumstance that, taking our southern railway as a case in point, of the £2,500,000 annually derived from passengers a compared with £900,000 drawn from the movement of merchandise, the greater part of the sum is made up of the money absorbed from season ticket holders and excursionists. Naturally he argues that if it paid the company in question to carry travellers a round trip of 100 miles for 2s. 6d. in 1914 why it should not be equally remunerative to provide similar facilities to-day for 5s. instead of demanding 14s. 7d.

Mr. Talbot attaches very great importance to the possibilities of developing light railways, which he declares to have performed services during the war that have convinced expert opinion in America that they are incomparably the best method of transport for linking up the best centralised areas in any country.

Experience in the Latin Americas, where such roads do run direct from the plantations, barns and granaries to the distributing centres or points of shipment by rail or water, prove that such lines can be built and maintained at less cost than a modern highway, while the all-in ton-mile charges are the lowest yet touched. It is certainly significant to remark that in such countries, while the trunk railway is still making headway, the motor-lorry is failing to secure even a foothold.

The task of the Ministry of Transport he concludes, must be the precise determination of the possibilities of each system of transportation, the field for which it is most economically adapted, and the construction of a scheme in which the various methods of movement may be co-ordinated to produce the most beneficial result.

TRAPPED INTO A LUNATIC ASYLUM.

There has been considerable discussion recently in various sections of the Press of the serious abuses that exist under the present administration of the Lunacy Act. Many instances have been produced in great detail which show that nearly all mad asylums, whether publicly or privately owned, make scarcely any attempt at curative treatment, and while being no better than an expensive and particularly degrading form of prison, do much more harm than good to the great number of nervous patients who are certified as "lunatics" and, instead of receiving a rest cure in these institutions, suffer indescribable mental tortures in the atmosphere of a madhouse, and frequently become quite insane from dread of the disgrace that will affect them if they are ever released. A series of extremely vivid and circumstantial articles has been appearing in the *English Review* (June, July, and August), written by a lady graduate of Oxford who was induced by her relations to become a "voluntary boarder" at one of the best-known asylums in England. Her story throws a lurid light on the inside of a typical large private asylum, and deserves special attention because of the clear proof which it furnishes that the safeguards required by the Lunacy Act were evaded with impunity in her case. The ease with which her certification was contrived suggests that similar abuses could occur in almost any asylum, and the recent discussions in the press show that such abuses are in fact, quite frequent.

She describes her arrival, accompanied by a relation, at "an extremely handsome building," when the doctor at once presented her with a brief document to sign.

Under that document I had the legal right to leave at twenty-four hours' notice. How could I suppose that "the authorities" would use the powers I had conferred on them, by entering their gates, to annul (or rather, just ignore) that document, and to place me in close and strict confinement, under conditions of overwhelming terror and torture, until the "symptoms" of extreme prostration was induced—my certification having been bargained for, with my "petitioner" relation before I left home! The young attendant led me into the furthest of the small cubicles. With an expressionless face she told me that my bath was being got

ready: the doctor had ordered a hot bath. I told her that it had been arranged that I was to spend the afternoon out of doors, which she said was strange, as she had heard that I was to have a bath at once, as our patients always do." No sooner was I in the bath than a wooden-faced woman with a notebook came and stood over me, the young attendant meanwhile drawing the shabby curtains that cut off the little ante-room where I had undressed. A horrible examination for bruises was the next ignominy of the "lunatic" programme, and at that, terror took definite shape. The woman commented aloud and with apparent gusto on my "bruises," and chronicled them all. A sickening, writhing sense of impotent indignation mingled with my fear as I took the towel and stepped between the curtains to dress myself again. Then all sensation was obliterated for a moment by a violent shock. My clothes were gone. The young attendant came and touched my arm and spoke to me. Her manner was kinder now—she had accomplished the cruel trickery without a "scene," and felt well satisfied. She asked which nightdress I wished to wear, of the two she had put out, and her touch was gentle as she helped me. Then she led the way up the long corridor again.

She was then put to bed in the infirmary and kept there for days, unable to sleep at nights owing to the wild maniacal cries of the mad patients in delirium, until her nerves began to suffer terribly under the strain.

The days and nights went on and on. Sometimes the obscenities grew fouler; sometimes there was a lull. Had I known of a certain evil statute, enabling Private Asylum Superintendents to employ two local agents instead of one's "Usual Medical Attendant" after seven days have elapsed in the trap prepared, I should have known the reason of this week of shattering anguish, and known that a door of escape was open to me. But so ignorant was I of all the machinery by which this unclean traffic is carried on, that I did not even know that it is through doctors, and doctors only, that this machinery can be put into operation.

The nameless horrors that filled the days and nights: the ceaseless mad piano-strumming at my head; the aching sleeplessness, unbroken even by drugs. One morning, after such a night, the ward being deserted, and I lying in a kind of peace, a man in khaki was brought to my cubicle, and Dr. Marks grinned down at me. "Now," said he, "you've asked to see someone from the outside world. I've brought you Captain W.—." Weak tears came into my eyes. This pitying kindness of a fighting man moved me profoundly. I begged him to stay and talk to me a little. After ten minutes of conversation, in which eagerness to explain my shameful situation soon overcame the sense of prostrate

weakness, Dr. Marks re-appeared, and they went away together.

Long afterwards I saw the bill for a guinea for the Certificate of Insanity the gallant captain had come to supply. He was a doctor in the R.A.M.C.

It is not surprising that the victim of such ill-treatment should become convinced that it was part of a deliberate plan, to induce in her "certifiable symptoms" which would enable the doctors to certify her as insane. After many days, when the necessary interval had elapsed within which the asylum authorities could certify themselves, she was given back her clothes and allowed to join the other patients in Ward I.

The appointments of the ward were extremely handsome and even luxurious. My little bedroom was clean and dainty, and from the sunny lawn outside came the soothing, poetic sound of a great mowing-machine drawn by a patient horse. In that first hour of exaltation I was incapable of observing the features of ugliness and pain which later impressed themselves on my senses, to the exclusion of all beauty or of peace of mind. My companions at first seemed all entirely sane, and much kindness and courtesy had been extended to me from the moment of arrival. I found afterwards that many of them exhibited trifling peculiarities, and a few of them amazing delusions and exasperating habits and manners. But there were others whose strained, unhappy faces told a story of which the full meaning was hidden from me in the first few days of stupefied relief: these were just trapped victims like myself, expiating in months or years of despair and ignominy the folly of their trust in human nature.

But her first feelings of relief soon wore off and she realised that her experiences in the Infirmary had really made her very ill, and that "nothing but many nights of sleep could restore her." Sleep, however, was impossible under the conditions in which she was placed; and this criticism is one of the most serious that could be brought against the asylums.

But when lights were turned out, and the long night stretched before me, the tense wakeful feeling took possession of me again, and my only hope of sleep lay in the drug that Dr. Marks had prescribed at my urgent request. I was still wide awake when the clock outside my room struck one, but before the quarter sounded the drug had done its work. At two I awoke to find a small lantern flashed in my face, and the night-attendant looking down at me.

That was the end of my sleep that night. Again a sense of wanton cruelty seized me, and every nerve in my body started into tingling life.

On her fifth day in the ward she received a request from the Superintendent for certain information, which she found out two years afterwards to have been asked for to enable the asylum authorities to fill up two documents that were essential to secure her certification. By law it should have been filled in personally by the petitioner, but as he was "hundred miles away, and this was the last day available for legally branding her as a lunatic," the documents were not filled in by him; and this has been admitted by the Board of Control.

One other legal safeguard still remained to her, and her experience of its practical operation suggests how ineffective it really is to protect the victim of careless or deliberately malicious certification.

That sunny afternoon a little document was handed to me, stating that I had the right to see a Magistrate if I desired. The document I had received thirteen days after my incarceration in the Infirmary gave me the right to see a magistrate, and I eagerly claimed the right. The latter demands that this paper be delivered "within 2 hours of reception." But on my protesting to the Chaplain on the infamy of having withheld this safeguard, he explained blandly, "We don't call it 'reception' till all the formalities have been completed which . . ."; then he stopped, and I finished: "Which make me legally a lunatic, and secure my fees to the 'hospital' that trapped and tortured me."

(Her relations had, according to the usual custom, paid three months' fees in advance when she went to the asylum.)

After six days of agitated waiting, I did in fact see a magistrate. He was an aged consequential person of very limited intelligence, an almost stone-deaf. He shouted at me a few words of severe reprobation of the indiscretion of which I had been guilty; then a few remarks about the unmerited comfort and luxury in which I found myself. I might have reasoned as fruitfully with an infant or with an inmate of a padded cell. The stroke of the pen with which he "confirmed" my incarceration was as perfunctory as that of his brother-magistrate who had "ordered" it. This portion of Private Asylum machinery is kept in operation without any difficulty whatever, and the delusion of the certified lunatic who demands it as a safeguard affords "much quiet amusement" to the authorities. Upon my telling Dr. Marks that I had claimed this "safeguard," he had turned to a hopelessly insane woman near me, remarking, "You'd like to see a magistrate every day Mrs. Dyer, wouldn't you?" And he added "We have plenty of people here who write to the Commissioners by every post."

Sleeplessness was beginning to make her condition really grave, and she became haunted by the idea that she would have a mental breakdown that would almost entirely prevent all chance of her ever being released.

The knowledge that every sleepless hour not only prolongs the sentence that has been passed, but brings actual insanity nearer, gives monstrous dimensions to anxiety. Sleep becomes a miracle, and miracles are rare. A clock that chimed the quarters warned me three times every night of the approach of the night attendant—at 12, 2, and 5. And I would lie trembling and quivering, my brain hammering with apprehension.

As the weeks wore on my chances of regaining my liberty receded. I was rapidly coming in sight of the "nervous breakdown," which is the inevitable result of The System upon ninety per cent. of such as myself—the "inconvenient relatives" who find their way, sane, into a so-called Mental Hospital. I was nearing the abyss. The crushing anguish of the long monotonous days, with their endless wasting anxieties, humiliations and terrors; the poignant misery of the sleepless nights, when prostration left one powerless to silence the throbbing memories of treachery, injustice and tyranny, and the writhing sense of a branded future (even if freedom were regained); these sufferings leagued together and multiplied, till their magnitude and intensity forged new and ever stronger fetters, and despair became a sadder thing than hope.

My will-power was deserting me, and a fearful, semi-physical pain would descend upon me suddenly at all hours of the day and night. I became terrified. I asked for fresh sleeping-draughts, and was allowed them. (I did not realise their deadly effect till long afterwards.) They acted at first, and I felt a little better.

The narrative shows with terrible clearness how, when once a patient has become certified—no matter by what irregular or careless means—every complaint is noted against him as a further symptom of insanity. She records a conversation that she had with one of the house doctors, who, in reply to her question as to what conceivable reasons he had for regarding her as insane, solemnly assured her that "to worry about not sleeping is a well known symptom of insanity."

Her story proves how easy it is for a sane person to be trapped into an asylum by agreeing to go there solely as a "voluntary boarder," legally free to leave at a day's notice; and this is the most insidious of all the means by which unscrupulous people can, within the letter of the law, have quite sane people sent to asylums, perhaps for life, either because they resent their behaviour or covet their money or merely wish to have them put away.

THE IDEAL POLICEWOMAN.

The policewoman is now part of our life; she is a national institution as much as a sailor, soldier, or policeman. But she is not yet a type. Perhaps she has not been caricatured enough, but the fact remains that our present notion of a policewoman is bounded by her uniform and pay. The type is in the making.

In *The Englishwoman* (September), Miss D. O. E. Peto, O.B.E. makes a thoughtful contribution on the subject.

The typical constable of to-day is a big, healthy, slow-moving fellow, good-humoured and good-looking. He is big because he must both be easily seen and seldom challenged to a display of force. He is healthy and slow-moving because much of his work consists in apparently doing nothing—and to do nothing conscientiously for hours together is a strain on all but the finest frames. He is good-humoured because he must never provoke contumely, though often called upon to endure it; and good-looking—by which I mean the possession of looks which inspire liking and trust—because such looks make for a favourable first impression, and first impressions count for a very great deal in police work.

The type of policewoman is more vague but not necessarily more ethereal. It is being created, and must grow towards certain ideals.

She has got to convey to the public, from the outset, that she is there to help—to "stand by" in the best sense of the word—not to impose upon those whose servant she elects to be a particular code of morals and manners which she herself may find congenial, but to which they, the public, have not necessarily attained.

Mentally, again, the man's virtues must be hers also. Especially must she possess the constable's fairness of judgment, and insistence on sound evidence behind every statement; yet she must not, in attaining this discard the right use of her feminine instinct and intuition. Furthermore, she will need a large share of initiative combined with a sense of discipline; and with these that indescribable something known as personality.

The sphere in which the policewoman works is sordid, but is especially suited to the sympathy and tact of a courageous woman. The balance of mind that is required, among other qualities, "can never be grafted upon either the cynic or

the sentimentalist. For lighter weapons, the policewoman can safely rely upon a sense of humour and a sense of dignity combined—but let her beware of divorcing the two."

Policewomen are now to form an integral part of the force, and to be subject to the Chief Constable. As far as discipline is concerned they are the last persons to desire sex-distinction, or "a mistaken sense of chivalry." But these are not so dangerous as "a failure to take women's work seriously." Under the new scheme women get less pay than men, but a pension after twenty years service instead of the male period of twenty-five years. The higher age for entry is responsible for this adjustment. The comparative rates of payment are:

MEN ON APPOINTMENT.	WOMEN ON APPOINTMENT.
Constables £3 10s. weekly	£3 weekly.
Sergeants £5 weekly	£4 10s. per week.
Inspectors £310 to £325 p.a.	£260 per ann.
Superintendents No fixed scale	£320 to £380 p.a.

There is a recommendation in the Government white paper on Policewomen, which, writes Miss Peto, "is the crown of all the rest."

"With a view to co-ordination, we recommend that a woman experienced in the routine of a Government Department and in the organization of disciplined bodies of women be appointed . . . as H.M. Assistant Inspector of Constabulary . . . to inspect and make recommendations with regard to the efficiency of policewomen. In addition to her other duties, the Assistant Inspector should be available to advise Chief Constables, if they so desire, in the selection of recruits or otherwise." Without this recommendation there would have been a danger of too little uniformity, too little type-making, as the outcome of this Report upon Policewomen; but given the right woman—the existence of a woman H.M. Inspector of Constabulary, definitely concerned with co-ordination of policewomen and "special attention to the discipline and morale of policewomen," is a pledge that the foundations of the new type are to be well and truly laid.

BOLSHEVIK SUBSIDIES TO REVOLUTION.

The Third International, of Moscow, declares the *Round Table* (September), has become a rallying point for all the subversive elements in every country, and gives them just the kind of stimulus that they need, for the first plank in its platform is the destruction of "Capital," and the second is the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." But its principal opportunity for causing mischief outside of Russia lies in the exportation of money to subsidise revolution.

Most of the subversive bodies in England are financially living from hand to mouth; before the international movement really set in they had to trust entirely to local subscribers for their funds, and until the Russian Commissars turned foreign revolutionary propaganda into a fine art there was no other hand to which they could look to feed them. Now hungry eyes are fixed upon Moscow. One after another all our revolution-mongers slip off, either as stowaways or labour delegates, in the hope that a smooth tongue may prevail upon Lenin's almoner; and as long as the Bolshevik oligarchy in Moscow continues to believe that it may achieve world-revolution, this movement will continue, unless Bolshevik funds begin to run dry.

There are signs, the writer declares, that the fountain of gold for propaganda, which used to spout in Russia, is running dry.

The Communists are becoming a little wiser.

The large sums they gave to the Communists in Germany resulted in breaking up such organization as there was, because some of the Comrades retired from the Party with their plunder, and others left it because they did not get what they thought was their proper share. Moreover, precious stones, of which there still seems to be a large reserve, are reported to be now unsaleable at a fair value, and gold is not very easily transported. One of the difficulties recently encountered by the Russian Trading Delegation in London was the number of Communist well-wishers who called to beg from it. There are one or two British extremists who are in Moscow now on the same errand, and, with the pressing need of paying for supplies on a vast scale, the Soviet Government intends for the future to get value for its money. It may finance one or two extreme newspapers who write in support of the Third International, but it will not furnish negligible little Communist organisations with unlimited money, though it regards benevolently the parties who are engaged in warfare against the capitalist states.

Thus Mustapha Kemal signs himself "Pan-Islamist and Communist" as if the oil and water of East and West would ever mix; thus the son of James Connolly as secret envoy for Sinn Fein is smuggled to Moscow; thus Indian and Egyptian revolutionists are busy taking lessons in propaganda from Jewish Communists; thus the Ethiopian movement in South Africa secretly draws its inspiration from the Black States in America.

A state of unrest is everyone's opportunity.

SOME HINTS FOR INVESTORS.

An "Investment Expert" contributes to the *Financial Review of Reviews* (September) some useful practical advice to those who are looking, without expert assistance, for the best means of investing their capital. He points out that the two main considerations in judging the value of an investment are (a) the degree of risk of capital loss that it involves, and (b) the yearly income to be expected from it. The market price of most investments, however, varies continually, and often overshoots the real value in any particular case, or else lags behind it. The whole science of investment consists in taking advantage of such divergences between price and value when they occur. When the "actual yield" of any security at a certain price is higher than the yield of the best security on the market (which may be taken as 5½ per cent., the yield of Exchequer Bonds), then the security is underpriced; if it is lower than this rate, the security is overpriced.

There are two courses open to the man with money at his command. He may invest his capital with a view to securing a reasonable fixed income from it. In this case, he concerns himself chiefly in ensuring that his investments, in addition to providing the income he desires, offer ample security for the capital he has invested, so that he can always recover, within a reasonable time, the full amount of his investment. This may be considered the basic idea of investment, and it is undoubtedly the safest policy to pursue.

The other alternative is to buy certain securities which will give him a reasonably high yield on his money, and which he anticipates stand a good chance of appreciating in capital value. This policy is evidently more attractive to investors. It is one which the majority of investors are gradually aiming at in the necessity in which they find themselves to increase their incomes under the pressure of rising prices. The greatest caution, however, and a considerable amount of technical knowledge are required for the successful prosecution of such a scheme, as it develops very easily into mere speculation, with all the attendant risks of loss and even disaster.

A policy of caution, if carried too far, and untempered by a certain amount of knowledge in financial matters, can be almost as disastrous as the rashest speculation.

In 1896 Consols were considered the world's premier security and stood at 113, yet in 1920 they have fallen to the neighbourhood of 50, involving the loss of 56 per cent. of the capital invested twenty-four years ago. The

reason for this fall is that the continuous rise in the rates of interest offered on other sound securities has caused them to depreciate in capital value until they showed about the same "actual yield" as the general rate for that market.

The price of safety is incessant watchfulness, informed and directed by a modicum of knowledge. There is no reason why funds should not be invested with the most ample security and yet give a yield of over 8 per cent. at the present day. But what the investor must do is to understand the general causes of price movements in the type of security in which he has placed his money, and to secure periodical and accurate information concerning his own investments. No investment is so good that you can afford to put your money into it and forget about it for even a year. Its security may be safe in the sense that the company or State that issued it is exceedingly unlikely to go bankrupt, but that is no protection against a fall in the market price, which would involve a capital loss to the security holder.

The second policy, of buying in the hope of selling afterwards at a higher price, requires infinitely more caution and foresight, greater watchfulness, and better and more accurate information. Its real danger is its tendency to merge into speculation.

Many people think that speculators make money by luck, whereas nearly all fortunes made by speculation in the money markets have been built upon the ignorance, lack of information, and credulity of rash investors.

The speculator deals in "prices"—the investor deals in "values." If the investor will gamble on price movements, he must compete with the most acute professional operators of the Stock Markets. It is by his superior knowledge and earlier and more accurate information, and by the undivided attention which he is able to devote to the business, that the professional has such an advantage over the private investor. The average investor has two main channels of information on which he depends in his financial dealings—he may perhaps have some friend who is a banker or broker, and on whom he relies for advice, or which is more often the case, he depends almost entirely on the daily papers. The professional operators get their information at the same time and from the same sources as the papers, and are able to act on this news directly. Investors, on the other hand, do not get the news until the papers have written it up, printed and published it. The consequence is that, except where markets are obviously booming on a very large scale, the mass of investors are almost always too late to profit by sudden changes, especially small quick movements of prices.

But the very factors which make for the investor's hopeless inferiority in divining price movements tend to make him a good

judge of value. He is detached from the incessant rumours and wire-pullings of the Stock Market. He is able to take a wider and more long-sighted view of the effects of politics and world-wide economic influences.

The best general indication of whether an investment is desirable or not is the "actual yield."

If the actual yield is lower than the par rate for the market, then the only justification for a purchase is the expectation of early capital appreciation. In other words, you are "buying for a rise" which is mere speculation.

As a general rule the investor, as opposed to the speculator, should avoid securities standing at a premium.

It is obvious that the security for shares standing at an inflated valuation must be less than for those at a discount. The final consideration is, however, the most forcible. To buy shares at a premium generally means to buy on a rising market when the excellence of future prospects is very liberally computed in making the current price. If the good prospects materialise the investor gets little advantage, because the improvement realised was allowed for in the price at which he bought. If, on the other hand, they do not materialise, the investor is the greater loser.



[Kladderadatsch]

The Guardians of the Holy Truth.

[Berlin]

Here we don't admit any pure truth, only polluted information.

[The hostile foreign press demands the seclusion of German news from the international press.]

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

During the month of August German opinion, like public opinion in practically every country in Europe, was first of all re-occupied with the question of the Russo-Polish war. Naturally enough, since the possible consequences for Germany, of either a Russian defeat or a Russian victory, were serious enough; the mere state of war was enough to involve the country in all kinds of difficulties, both at home and abroad. As regards the first, there was the danger that there might exist an understanding between the Russian Bolsheviks and the German Extreme Left, by which the advance of the former was to coincide with a determined effort by the latter. Such an understanding was, in fact, alleged, apparently with a certain amount of violence to back the statement up, but practically there was no result, beyond a few demonstrations of sympathy with Russia and in favour of the maintenance of German neutrality—a neutrality which the German Government was, in any case, only too anxious to assert.

In her foreign relations Germany was likely to become embarrassed by her neutrality, especially if it were to be interpreted as giving the right to refuse the transport of goods across her country to Poland. In practice this point was not to lead to any grave difficulty—in Germany proper, that is, for Dantzig must be treated separately—and the greatest misgiving arose in Germany, not over the actual question of permitting transport of material to Poland, but over the theoretical question of an understanding between Germany and the Moscow Government. It was this and the suggestion that, should the truth of the report be proved, France would move forward troops into the Ruhr, that perturbed the German Press far more than any other subject and it may well be understood how assiduously German political writers backed up their Government's official announcement that there was no such

understanding as certain papers of the Entente alleged. This was the comment of *Die Hilfe*:—

The German-Russian Treaty, which the *Times* has conjured up, is said to be as follows: "Russia will be permitted, without Germany's intervention, to possess herself of all arms, munitions, rolling-stock and food supplies belonging to Poland. After the conquest of Poland Russia will be permitted to send into Poland a certain number of Red Commissaries, to control Poland's exports. Russia will evacuate Poland entirely in Germany's favour, as a guarantee for future credits to herself, and for the exchange of German manufactured goods." The source and the aim of this absurd invention are plain, the expression so ridiculously clumsy, that it is impossible to conceive the kind of mind to which such a thing could appeal. All such imaginary stuff, however, only proves how correct is the policy of Herr Simons, who avoids everything likely to place Germany in an ambiguous light.

The soul of truth in the story of the "agreement" was, however, quite evident. Racial hatred between the Poles and the Germans is so intense that many Germans contemplated with pleasure the prospect of a complete Polish defeat; and it seems to have been established that, in extreme nationalist circles, there were actual hopes expressed that a great Russian victory would be the prelude to a German-Russian agreement, with the object of tearing up the Treaty of Versailles. Certain thinkers on the subject, also nationalist in their inclinations, appeared to lay emphasis on the dangers of such a combination, at least so long as the Bolsheviks were at the helm. They would advocate an Eastern policy based on the principle of the division of Russia into her component national parts. Chief among the advocates of this plan stands the well-known political writer and publicist, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, who had an article on the question in *Deutsche Politik* for August 13th. In this he recalled that during the war he always considered the project of a separate peace between Germany and Russia the most dangerous of illusions. He resigned his post in the

German Propaganda and Press Department because he felt unable to support the demand for Russian press-cuttings showing the longing for separate peace, and he considers that the Russian Revolution completely vindicated his reading of the situation. For positive policy he would follow Bismarck, whose aim it was to avoid war with Russia if possible, but should it come, or so much as appear on the horizon, see to it that Russian border were pushed back to the Dnieper—which, logically carried out, means the weakening of Russia by the encouragement of national self-consciousness in her Border States:—

The taking away of West Russian territory as far as the Dnieper does not mean only the restoration of Poland, but also the restoration of the Ukraine. . . . An independent Ukraine . . . is the great aim, the dissolution of Russia and the restoration of Eastern Europe. This it is that would have rescued Germany from the fatal encirclement. It is impossible to break up either England or France, because they are compact national states. But Russia could have been broken up, because it was a state composed of separate nationalities (*Nationalitätenstaat*).

This is, of course, the policy that was attempted—in spite of Rohrbach's contemptuous allusions to German politicians' opinions on the point,—by Austria before the war, and by Germany during it.

Dantzig, as has been indicated, occupied a special place in German public opinion during the month. The refusal of the German workers in that port to allow the unloading of Polish munitions, thus infringing one of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, was greeted in the German Press with a pleasure that could not be disguised. And in several quarters the hope was expressed—in guarded language or the reverse, according to the political colour of the paper—that one result of the Russian victory might be the handing back of the "corridor" to Germany. But as the Russians got into the corridor and the tide of the Red invasion came nearer, there was more misgiving and the final rebuff to German hopes was supplied first by the Polish successes and then by the peremptory way in which the Entente Powers re-asserted the rights of Poland to the use of the port of Dantzig. The extinction of German hopes from a Russian success was complete, and all the talk of

the injustice of the "corridor" arrangement and the iniquities of the Poles in East Prussia collapsed like very insubstantial propaganda.

August 11th was the first anniversary of the passage of the German Republican Constitution and the reflections of *Die Hilla* on the occasion were as follows:—

A year ago, on August 11th, the black, red and gold flag flew over the National Theatre at Weimar, against the summer evening sky. It signified the acceptance of the Constitution. The thoughts that hovered round it were not yet those of pride and confidence, but of hope and expectation. Would the Constitution be capable of supporting the life of the German nation? Would the spirit of liberty and justice, of unity and restraint, that created her, be also instilled into actual political administration. It is too early yet to speak of fulfilment. Certainly also one cannot speak of failure. All that is certain is that no other foundation was possible in the circumstances, with the power of creating that degree of unity to which we were capable of attaining. The Constitution nevertheless sets tasks before us. In the proportion as laws are to be produced from it, so must life be breathed into it. To be faithful to the Constitution means more than not breaking it; it means creating it as a vital political force, as a stable foundation for the state.

There were practically no occurrences in domestic German politics of any great moment during the month. Herr Fehrenbach's Government held its place and seemed likely to do so as long as German attention continued to be concentrated on external affairs, and as long as it showed itself likely to face those affairs in the best possible way for German prestige and German interests. The Majority Social Democrats, although *de facto* in opposition, withheld criticism and would, no doubt, have withheld it in any circumstances. For last month's review of German opinion demonstrated that, in questions of German honour and interest, only the small body of the Extreme Left, the Independents with the Communists, would openly take up a consistent line against the Government. The Majority would support the Government, even a purely "bourgeois" Government, every time. This patriotism—or, as it might justly be called, in other circumstances, this attachment to nationalism—gave a special interest to the conference of the Second Internationale which met early in the month at Geneva, and was attended by German Social

Democratic delegates, as at the similar conference in Berne of February, 1919.

Such German reviews as commented on what *Die Hilfe* characterised as the "Rump Parliament" of the *Internationale* paid little attention to the long and somewhat empty, unpractical speeches, gave little heed to the confession of Germany's guilt to which the German delegation gave utterance—leading to a reconciliation at last with the Belgians. German comment laid less stress on these incidents than on the broad general facts to which the Conference re-called popular attention. It was noted, for example, that in what is left of the *Second Internationale*, the Germans and the English are the only groups of real force and influence. That is a sharing—for it was Germany in absolute supremacy before the war. There has been a shifting of the balance of power to London, though to what degree it is too early to say. The whole international Socialist and working-class movement has been brought to a crisis in its history as a result of the Bolshevik revolution, and its lack of unity at the present moment can only be described as pitiable—at least so far as principles are concerned since, as an article by Erwin Barth in *Deutsche Politik* for August 20th observed, a considerable degree of solidarity can be achieved on a purely trade-union basis. But in point of theory—quite the reverse.

German comments on the Bolsheviks were not very frequent during the month. Such concern as Germany had with Russia was of a strictly practical nature. But attention should be called to an article in the Social Democratic *Sozialistische Rundschau* for August 16th, in which Dr. Mark Lewin described the "Economic Achievements of Russian Bolshevism." He began by quoting and attacking the words of the German Foreign Minister in the Reichstag, who said, in effect, that he believed that a great process of economic reconstruction was in progress in Russia. Dr. Lewin can only regret that Dr. von Simons had not ascertained more facts on the Russian situation in its latest aspect, and he proceeds to give a number of recent Russian press extracts, intermingled with much illuminating comment. Basing himself entirely on official Bol-

shevik documents, speeches or newspaper reports Dr. Lewin finds that throughout 1919 the industrial worker received only seven poods of bread per person (a pood—16.38 kilograms). This in a country which was one of the great grain-producing areas of the world. The state of the public services, too, may be judged from the report of the *Pravda* for March 26th of this year, . . . to which in the Petrograd area an average of 300 officials monthly are tried for extortion and robbery. The *Isvestia* for May 5th is quoted as the authority for the statement that 1,500 persons daily leave Petrograd; able-bodied women are permitted to leave, in spite of the fact that the city requires 5,000 nurses to deal with the typhus epidemic. And there are numerous well-supported statements like this, one after another—one of the most complete demonstrations of the present ruin of Russia we have seen. For the remedy, as indeed, for the blame, Dr. Lewin has few words to say. He can only predict that better conditions are likely to mean the end of all that is tyrannical in the Bolshevik regime.

Remaining political articles of interest in the German reviews for August were: "Hungary's Foreign Policy," in *Deutsche Politik* for August 20th; "The Working-Class Movement in England To-day," by Max Schippel, in the *Sozialistische Rundschau* for August 16th; "The Albanian Melée," by Hermann Wendel, in *Deutsche Politik* for August 13th; "The Roots of Bolshevism," by Bernard Duhr, in *Stimmen der Zeit*; "European Co-operation," by Erwin Steinitzer, in the *Neue Rundschau*.

Among literary reviews the *Literarische Echo* for August 1st, with an article on the "Don Juan Type" and another on "Recent German poetry"; the *Neue Rundschau* with an account of the "Dada-movement"—that mixture of satire and idiocy; and the *Neue Schaubühne* for its regular theatrical chronicle—attracted the most attention.

FRANCE.

It is becoming more and more customary in England among defenders of the League of Nations to lay the blame for

its apparent failure to materialise on France and France alone. It is of course a foolish attitude, but there can be little doubt of its widespread existence. "Vous y croyez, vous, la Société des Nations?"

—M. Clemenceau's celebrated *mot* has been quoted to death, and the average Englishman has come to believe that it represents the mind of France to-day.

In the circumstances it is interesting to read the long and by no means hopeless review of the present situation of the League in *Le Correspondant*. The scepticism with which the subject is viewed everywhere has many reasons for existence, but the anonymous writer of the article insists that the chief of these is ignorance of what the League already has accomplished, as well as of what it may hope to accomplish in the future. And he insists also that the League will succeed because it must succeed, because it is the only hope, as men will come more and more to see not only of a stable but of a tolerable Europe. It is unfortunate that the country which produced Mr. Wilson should be the country which is not ripe for this new conception of the world. But the League of Nations, if needs be, must learn to do without the United States. And we must not expect too much of it all at once.

If the League of Nations in the New Europe has got to stop war altogether one can safely say that she will fail. On the other hand one can without exaggeration or illusion put to her credit straight away four immense benefits which she has given to the world, all four of which tend towards peace without actually excluding war. The first of these benefits is to have made peace possible; the second is to ensure its lasting by giving its aid to the application of the Treaty of Versailles; the third is to provide legal and normal lines for the evolution of the Treaty and thus to allow of its being adapted to fresh circumstances; the fourth, lastly, and the most considerable is almost infinite in its consequences: it consists in organising the world for the work of peace.

L'Europe Nouvelle, August 29th, contains an article on the French Policy in Poland that deserves considerable attention at this time also. It is moderate, and for the most part what one may call "English" in its view. But the following definition of what its writer considers the French and English positions in regard to Poland's worth quoting:—

British opinion has this advantage over us, that it can place itself at the outset, and as it were naturally, at the viewpoint of the whole of Europe. Britain sees clearly that Europe is one single body, and that France, like herself, cannot regain her prosperity until the day on which Russia and Germany shall take their place in the *cuisine économique* of the civilised world. From this comes the English desire to re-establish peace promptly and at any cost.

The weak point of the English point of view, as of the American, is that she is unconsciously inspired by a sort of economic materialism. It is perfectly true that Europe is only one single body. Nevertheless, before making an attempt to feed it, it is necessary to assure ourselves that it is properly constructed and to get rid of the vices of its constitution. Before thinking of economic necessities, however pressing they may be, it is well to look after political conditions. By forgetting this too easily, the English, who in 1870 allowed Germany to make the crisis of 1914 inevitable, have lately been running the danger of allowing Poland to be overthrown. They would thus have purchased an immediate peace at the price of a certain catastrophe in forty or fifty years.

In the *Revue Des Deux Mondes* M. Raymond Poincaré continues his really brilliant efforts to prove us always in the wrong. There is no doubt about it that he has a gift of pictorial writing that is invariably interesting; nor is he over generous in giving our motives the benefit of an occasional doubt. Just as a sample it is worth while noticing how he prepares the ground for an attack:—

She (England) cannot pretend that the treaty of Versailles has been imposed on her by us. . . . The disarmament of the German Fleet, preceding that of the army, gave the British Empire complete security. The only important modification which was made to Mr. Wilson's fourteen points concerns the freedom of the seas and directly suits the traditional policy of Great Britain. In virtue of a phenomenon of gravitation which Newton would have explained, the largest German colonies have been attracted to the British Empire. . . . Without even leaving Versailles one could say that they had not done so badly. . . . On our side we do not envy them. We are on the contrary happy with their happiness, I had almost said rich with their riches. . . . But at least we have the right to point out amicably that, in a treaty where they have rightly found such abundant profit, are to be found certain clauses which affect our own interests, and that it is not admissible that a singular fatality should suddenly strike them with blindness. The British Empire is "gentleman," etc.

Is this really how our friends address us; it seems so somehow. M. Poincaré believes as strongly as another in the Anglo-French alliance, but not in a little

orbearance between friends. It is a pity, because French opinion is already distinctly more than biassed against us, and M. Poincaré who recognises a necessity putting it at its lowest level) cannot be sure that his more ignorant countrymen will do the same unless they have some reason to respect us. But M. Poincaré's command of irony is a pleasant thing. Listen to him on Mr. Lloyd George:—

But Mr. Lloyd George is an enchanter who sometimes by his seductions, at other times by threats, enveigles passers-by to follow him, and then loses them in unknown paths. Unless one resists his sorcery from the beginning one runs the risk of yielding altogether. "Come," he murmurs, "let us sit on the heath together and find the best means of executing the treaty." You follow, you sit down; he shows you the treaty; he says, "Now look: I have not touched it"; and you think you see the treaty being executed under the magician's hand. There is nothing to tell us that tomorrow, after having out Kameneff and Krassin under quarantine, we will ask France to meet them and Dr. von Simons in a conference, where an attempt will be made to settle the fortunes of Europe and Asia under the inspiration of Mr. Keynes.

The two most interesting articles in the *Revue de Paris* for an English reader are undoubtedly M. Georges Delahache's *Strasbourg* and Hercé's *En Irlande*. In the former we are given an interesting account of the arrival and subsequent occupation of the French in Strasbourg. If any proof were needed that it was not France who willed the war, one would find it in the lack of preparations that the French had made for the organisation and administration of Alsace. This article is an account of the enormous difficulties which faced the administration. There was to start with, the question of the value of German money in the newly recovered territories. Were the French to allow the mark of their fellow subjects to depreciate with the mark in Germany—in other words was the date which gave the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to be the date of the reduction of most of them to absolute poverty? What was actually done was to accept the mark at the value of 1fr. 25 until a fixed date and the loss was born quite rightly by the French exchequer. But the complications were enormous. There was the question of nationality—who was to be considered as German and who as French.

Was the patriotic Frenchman throughout the war to find himself treated no better than the most jingo Germaniser and so on, or on the other hand was a man because his name and perhaps only one of his ancestors was German to be debarred from taking his share in a situation which he had longed for and aided in every way? There were postal difficulties, and immense civil service difficulties. There was the question of language. There was the splendid University of Strasbourg. M. Delahache's account of the muddles and their approximate solution is fascinating reading.

In his account of Ireland, Hercé has trusted very considerably to the pictorial method. The article is more a series of sketches than a learned summary of political issues. Not that politics are by any means omitted—they hardly could be. But even when the question is one of politics, Hercé's methods are to put his arguments into the mouths of various characters. There are many Irish stories not the least good being the following election story from Belfast, when a canvasser went to solicit the vote of an Irish woman in favour of Mr. de Valera and against Mr. Joseph Devlin.

"Who are you going to vote for," he asked her. "Who would I vote for but 'Wee Joe.' Didn't he get my man into the army, and wasn't he killed?"

ITALY.

During the month the two centres of interest abroad for Italian opinion were the Adriatic and Lucerne. As regards the first, the beginning of the month saw a definite conclusion to the negotiations between the Italian Government and the Albanians. Baron Alliotti, the Italian plenipotentiary, was empowered to sign on behalf of Italy a treaty by which Italy gave up all claim to Valona, with the exception of the island of Saseno, lying outside the Bay, and with the reservation that in certain cases of necessity Italian ships should be permitted to use the harbour. Italian recognition of Albanian independence was also granted, with a proviso that Italy would endeavour to

persuade other Powers to follow her example. Thus ends the Italian campaign in Albania. There were, naturally enough, certain criticisms in the Nationalist Press against Signor Giolitti's "renunciatory" policy, but the great majority of Italians appeared perfectly willing to acquiesce in a decision they recognised as inevitable.

Another point on the Adriatic, Fiume, attracted attention to itself again. During the month there were numerous rumours reported in the Press that Gabriele D'Annunzio intended to proclaim the freedom and independence of the city. The prophecy was fulfilled at the end of the month, when the poet caused to be published in all the Italian newspapers the constitution of what he styled the "Italian Regency of the Quarnero." A good deal of excitement was caused by this announcement, but opinion would have been far more greatly stirred had the step not been foreshadowed so clearly during the previous weeks.

Italian comment on Lucerne was in part gratification at the emergence of their country into the prominence of separate consultation with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, in part dissatisfaction at what was regarded as the change in the Russian policy of both the British and the Italian Premiers. Italian opinion had come to regard the swift resumption of relations with Russia as inevitable, and the tone of the joint communication from Lucerne to Moscow was a disillusionment to many. Not that there is, on the part of any Italians except a small minority, any sympathy with Bolshevist theories. But the economic argument has had a great effect, that without the re-entry of Russia into the circle of food-producing areas Italy will be the first to suffer. It might be mentioned that during August there were several articles in the Italian Press from Italian Socialist representatives, recently returned from Moscow. The general impression was distinctly unfavourable to Bolshevism, on both practical and theoretical grounds.

Among articles in the Italian reviews for August attention should be called to the essay on "Hebbel and Wagner in the Evolution of German Drama in the Nineteenth Century," by Professor Gabetti in

the *Nuova Antologia* for the 16th; to a economic study, "The Price of Bread," in *La Vita Italiana* for August 15th, and to an exposition of Italian policy in Tripoli by Luigi Ferraris, in the same review. In the May number of the literary review *La Ronda*, which has just reached us—owing, no doubt, to difficulties in printing—there is a little study of English life entitled "Wapping," by the well-known contemporary writer, Carlo Linati.



Hinde & Punch

Slippery?

[Bombay

John Bull—Ha! It is just its slipperiness that makes it worth having.

[The feeling against the mandate for Mesopotamia is growing stronger in England.]

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE ENGLISH LAND WORKER.

By G. G. DESMOND.

**A History of the English Agricultural Labourer—
1870-1920** By F. E. Green (P. S. King.
16s. net).

We had already a "History of the English Agricultural Labourer," written by a German. The present book is described as a continuation of Hasbach, which it brings up to date. A good deal has happened since 1894, and besides, Dr. Hasbach allowed himself some omissions, notably the lock-out of 1874, in which the farmers attacked the young unions and undid a good deal of Arch's work. That very story as told by Mr. Green is one of the best idylls that Trade Unionism has furnished.

Arch laid down some excellent precepts for trade unionists in his constitutions. It is a pity that their tone should not have been caught up by both sides in all industrial adjustments.

Act courtesy, fairness and firmness characterise all your demands. Act cautiously and advisedly, that no act may have to be repented or repudiated. Do not strike unless all other means fail you. Try all other means; try them with firmness and patience. Try them in the enforcement of only just claims, and if they all fail, then strike.

Wheat was at 57s. a quarter when this recommendation went out with the rules of the Union in 1872, and the wage asked for was 16s. a week. We agree with Mr. Green in thinking that the farmers could easily have given so small a wage. It is a pity, however, that he could not have included in his investigations the rents that farmers have paid during the period covered by the book. We know how difficult it would be, but a third table to run parallel with the price of wheat and wages would perhaps have partly exonerated the farmers, and in any case would have made the presentment complete.

One thing is plain, that 12s. 6d. a week was far too little for a labourer's family to live on. The Kent and Sussex Agricultural and General Labourers' Union made their claim, not for 16s. but for 14s. They sent their letter in on the 20th September, 1872, "hoping you will give this your consideration and meet our moderate requirements amicably." No reply came, and in March the following was sent, a perfect model of the art of polite letter-writing:—

SIR,

The agricultural labourers of this branch of the National Agricultural Union in your employ beg respectfully to inform you that on and after March 7 they will require a rise in their wages of 3s. a week—a week's work to consist of fifty-four hours. Being desirous of retaining good relations between employers and employed, and to assure you that no unbecoming feelings prompt us to such a course, we invite you (if our terms are not in accordance with your views) to appoint an early time to meet us, so that we may fairly consider the matter and arrange our affair amicably.

Your obedient servants,

The Committee,
Exning Branch.

The farmers ignored this letter as they had done previous ones, but they agreed in the Newmarket Agricultural Association to raise wages to 13s. a week. At the same time, however, the Essex and Suffolk Association dismissed their union men and declared a lock-out that threw a thousand men out of employment. The unions, almost without funds, were quickly beaten, but on return to work the men of Exning still asked for another shilling a week. Then came the great lock-out of 1874, which the farmers spread with all their power, till it stretched from Essex to Gloucester and involved ten thousand labourers.

"By this lock-out," says Mr. Green, "the farmers delivered a blow against

English agriculture from which it has really never recovered." The unions were compelled by the slenderness of their resources, as well as by the economic rural law that throws a man out of his house on a notice to quit work, to emigrate their victimised members, and thousands of our best workers went to Canada.

Migration, a shorter remedy than emigration, was made possible by the variation in wages in different parts of England. One of Mr. Green's witnesses, Mr. Pink, of Boro Green, Kent, tells this incident of the same great lock-out:—

I told the farmers at a meeting we had with them that if they did not pay the 15s. I was instructed to take away one hundred of their best men on Monday morning. The farmers shouted "Rot" and "Go to hell with your humbug." . . . On Monday morning I took tickets for 105 for the places where the men were wanted, and their furniture soon followed, and many a family have often thanked me for the move I gave them.

Incidents like this seem to prove that these early and purely rural unions were wonderfully well organised. A union that included in its activities the provision of a labour bureau ranks as up-to-date even to-day. Mr. Green is surprised that within so few years of the Education Act capable branch secretaries were easy to find, whereas even to-day it is hard to get good men for those posts. Yet he says that new force came into the rural movement when, after the great Dock Strike, townsmen took it up as a necessary corollary to their own problems. At the same time the red and yellow vans of the land nationalisation societies began to tour the countryside with a more far-reaching or more remote panacea for the rural sickness. It is a clear lesson of this book that the more "foreign" became the organisation and the propaganda, the more timid became the countryman of shewing his hand in support. The lecturers of the Land Nationalisation Society found the landsman so reluctant to put up his hand in favour of their resolutions that they had to reverse the process by asking him to put up his hand if he disapproved.

It is not a better wage alone that the country labourer needs, for there are two or three conditions precedent to his better payment—tenement, small holdings and

a house not tied to the farm. That these are necessary to rural peace is well recognised by Irish farmers, and in Ireland one or all of them are often provided at less than an economic rent. The English farmer is too often dead-set against them at any price, as though he preferred keeping the labourer in the hollow of his hand rather than ensuring a supply of independent labour in the villages. The state of a cottager without a pig or adequate garden is many times depicted. In debt to the village shop, with scarcely a meal in the house, he is utterly at a loss in resisting illegal fines or deductions from his meagre wage, and dare have no opinion at variance with his master. So it was from Arch that Mr. Jesse Collings borrowed the cry of "Three acres and a cow," the hope of the rural electorate having always been for a bit of land as a plank under foot in the struggle for life. It is told here how Canon Tuckwell, defying the Bishop's inhibition, cut up his glebe of 200 acres for allotments. "Already throughout the village," he wrote shortly after, "I found corn bags ranged along the walls, potatoes under the beds, hams hanging from the ceilings wrapped in old Reynolds' Weekly newspapers; the housewives for the first time in their lives facing winter unemployed without alarm."

The telling of this story of the English land worker could not have fallen into better hands. Mr. Green is a conscientious enquirer into dry records, and perceives the dramatic value of his facts. He is enthusiastic for economic and social justice and also a farmer, knowing the farmers' case and able to show farmers the other side of the shield without giving offence. His correspondents have been numerous and varied, and their information has put pleasant flesh on the bones of his enquiry. "One day, let us hope," he says, "some Englishman who has endured with fortitude the life on the land, with all its pain and pleasure, will tell the story as it should be told, in words of imperishable beauty." We feel inclined to say "Thou art the man." Keenly appreciative of the agricultural worker's worth are the words in the introduction that deal with the various crafts or even arts of his calling. The cry of the poet, "Ill fares the land," is made articulate

by actual pictures of what England could lose by the destruction of her "bold peasantry." It is a short sermon on the text given in a House of Commons debate "that it is more difficult to replace a skilled carter than a Cabinet Minister." We have in this book that rather rare combination, an entertaining book of reference.

A Short History of Morals. By the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson (Watts, 18s. net).

Mr. J. M. Robertson essays a philosophic work from a distinctly utilitarian and anti-Christian standpoint. The volume contains much that is generally interesting, especially its account of the English and Scottish philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries. It has also some shrewd criticisms on the Hegelian philosophy. Hegel affirmed that the State is "the realized ethical idea." Mr. Robertson properly replies that the State is no such thing. "Its external ethic is not universal but particularist, being but a rule in the interests of its members as against other groups, and is in practice much further from the ideal of 'universal spirit' than that of its members individually." Mr. Robertson is a utilitarian of a kind, and he has a great belief in Eugenics. "Criminal lunatics," he writes, "idiots at a subter-human stage, quasi-human organisms devoid of self-consciousness, are anxiously and expensively preserved through fear of opening the way to disregard of life, at a cost which might provide many opportunities of better life to organisms well worth them." Eugenics are to succeed, therefore, where Christianity and idealism have failed. We question if the public will care to exchange Christianity for such a hard scientific regime as the author seems to suggest, and it may be doubted if the reduction of ethics to the morals of the stult farm would improve morality. Mr. Robertson is or seems hostile to Christian ethics, yet he admires the good sense of the earlier Thomas Aquinas. Surely, on his own principles the Church which has adopted Aquinas as its chief philosopher may claim to have rendered real service to ethical progress, the very fact which he denies.

THE WILSON TOUGH.

A Frenchman's Interpretation of President Wilson. By Daniel Halévy. Translated from the French by Hugh Stokes (John Lane, 7s. 6d. net).

On the eve of America's entry into the war, an excellent study by Mr. Wilson Harris of "President Wilson, His Problems and His Policy," was published in this country. M. Halévy's study is on very much the same lines, and is similarly limited in regard to the period covered—that is, it surveys the President's career only as far as the summit of his power and influence. We still await the historian who will set forth the period of decline and reconcile it with the earlier progress of this remarkable personality. At the moment it would appear doubtful whether such a biography, at once sympathetic and judicial, can be expected from a Frenchman even of M. Halévy's temper; Mr. Wilson's later exploits have cut too deeply across the French national sense. But this essay, so far as it goes, is unexceptional in the justness of its enthusiasm and the generosity of its criticisms.

President Wilson's "neutral" policy and utterances disappointed, even disgusted, most practical Frenchmen. His final decision to intervene created a reaction. More than that, to the clear-witted it unfolded an explanation of much that had appeared weak and dilatory in his former attitude. One may imagine that it was about this time of revelation that M. Halévy was inspired to write his book, which is not only a penetrating study of the President's career and shows a vast intimacy with the problems of American politics, but is also a remarkable expression of French Liberal thought. Not that he regards Mr. Wilson as a Liberal. The point that is stressed above others is that his very idealism, demanding as it did a strong central executive for its realisation, was a departure from the orthodox Liberal creed of individual liberty. He even insists on how tradition—English tradition, that is to say—helped to mould his political views and to shape his aims in dealing with the German problem in America, the Irish-American difficulty, and the traditional American isolation.

Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

Sport and Travel.

The Outdoor Botanist. By A. R. Horwood, F.L.S. (Fisher Unwin, 18/- net).

The importance to the botanical student of watching plants grow is the keynote to this book. At the same time it does not neglect to give him very full information on how to collect and preserve specimens on a scientific plan, and it ranges over a wide area of botanical science: the habitats of plants and their relationship to the scenery and seasons. The book is fully and beautifully illustrated with half-tone blocks, chosen to depict the beauties of Nature rather than the individual character of different plants, and, as far as possible, is written in simple non-technical language. Mr. Horwood is a real authority on his subject, and his manual should prove invaluable to teachers.

The Trout are Rising. By B. Bennion. With an Introduction by Hugh Sheringham (John Lane, 10/6 net).

"B. B." of the *Field* gives us here a most entertaining record of fishing experiences in England and South Africa. He accords no preference to one country over the other, but enthusiastic trout fishers will naturally turn to the South African chapters as those dealing with the less known, and so more exciting, field of operations; and if they seek information in regard to the facilities for fishing in these far-off waters, they will not look in vain. Mr. Bennion wants to encourage anglers to go to South Africa, and at the same time to be loyal to the streams of the motherland; so he does his best for both. Apart from its genuine utility as a guide, the book abounds in entertaining fishing yarns of a not too fishy type.

Nature Study.

The Nature Study of Plants. By T. A. Dymes (S.P.C.K., 6/- net).

Nature students have increased and are increasing, and the demand for books of this description grows difficult to supply. Hence we may extend a hearty welcome to a work so interesting and authoritative as Mr. Dymes's. He is an ideal teacher in that he insists that no book ever written can teach the nature student what he ought to know; that knowledge can only be gained by first-hand experimentation. But this book does service in showing how infinitely attractive this experimentation can be when carried out in the right spirit and on the right lines. Mr. Dymes visualises plant life in terms of human life, and, working out the

analogy in masterly fashion, proves the wonders of what had seemed the commonplace, and suggests the wholesome delights of exploring them scientifically. The illustrations alone would be worth the price of the volume to the serious investigator.

Fiction.

McGlusky the Gold Seeker. By A. G. Hales (Hodder and Stoughton, 7/6 net).

McGlusky is already famous. His bull neck fiercely projecting chin and threatening hair are a familiar pictorial adornment of our railway bookstalls. And we are inclined to think that to some extent he deserves his fame. In this, his latest work, he "makes good" as the leader of a band of gold prospectors in Australia. There are some glorious fights with the forces of Nature and with bad men. There is a girl prospector protected from insult by the faithful band. There is horse-racing of a thrilling and highly successful kind. There is gold, and murder, love and gambling. In fact, there is everything necessary to the properly equipped shocker. And McGlusky is a great fellow, and his band of soldier heroes both chivalrous and brave. Mr. Hales is a good craftsman; he makes his story go with a "zip," and there is precious little nonsense (except of the popular kind) about him at all.

Verona in the Midst. By E. V. Lucas (Methuen, 8/6 net).

Mr. Lucas is an expert in everyday correspondence. Of course, the correspondence is not really everyday. It is more exactly the sort of correspondence that pleasantly educated people would like to imagine they were capable of producing. And that is a different thing, though near enough to produce a comforting illusion of moving among friends, which after all is what Mr. Lucas aims at. There is a story, too—just enough story to link the letters together without straining one's eagerness to know it more fully than the mere crossing of casual letters would be likely to give one. And then there are the quotations. That, of course, is Mr. Lucas's real business—the rest is merely setting for them. This time we are given, in addition to many short poems (some of which, at any rate, may be new to likely readers) some fascinating methods of leaving our superfluous wealth (supposing that we are ever possessed of any). Apparently a book was published in 1829 with the rather dry title of "The Endowed Charities of the City of London," and this is full of in-

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genious schemes. Mr. Lucas, then, has written his book in his accustomed manner; it is charming if one likes this sort of thing well done; and even though one tires of it with the years, one would feel a curmudgeon at spoiling another's possible enjoyment.

the Valse, Lame Duck Valse, One Step, I Trot, and Lancers—that it is absolutely necessary to learn, and the mysteries of it are duly explained by text and diagram. There is also some timely admonition of general principles.

Miscellaneous.

The Inner Meaning of the Four Gospels. By Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A., LL.B. (Daniel, 3/6 net).

Dr. Sadler, in the first of four volumes dealing with "The World Religion," re-interprets the Gospels "in the light of modern research, and in relation to modern spiritual and social needs." It may shock a good many Christians to be told, as this book plainly tells them, that there was no Man Christ; but that the Gnostics of the first century added the term and the figure to their idea of the Logos or Primal Man, who had descended to earth, being "crucified" in so doing, and had risen to lift men to eternal life. The early Churches, not being able to grasp this Gnostic philosophy, taught the mystic story as if it was a historical incarnation. In supporting this theory, Dr. Sadler takes the Gospels one by one, quotes passages to prove that the Jesus stories were largely compiled from a Messianic list of books and His Sayings from Gnostic symbolism.

Records of Missionary Societies. An account of the Celebration of the Centenary of the London Secretaries' Association (United Council for Missionary Education, 1/6 net).

Last autumn the London Secretaries' Association of United Missions celebrated the centenary of their foundation in 1819. There were then four missionary societies represented; their name now is Legion. To this modest account of the celebration Dr. Eugene Stock has contributed a chapter on "The Men of the Past," the Rev. Dr. J. H. Ritsdon, one on "The things they talked about," and Mr. J. H. Oldham on "The Outlook in Co-operation"; and in these the past, present and probable future of united missionary enterprise are interestingly summed up. The movement towards a union of the Christian churches will undoubtedly stimulate a much wider interest in the educative side of missionary work than has hitherto prevailed. This book is a useful reminder of what has already been accomplished.

Handbook of Ball-Room Dancing. By Paymaster-Commander A. M. Cree, R.N. With an Introduction by George Grossmith (Lane, 2/6 net).

There is undoubtedly a revival in ball-room dancing, and this brightly written little book is intended to help those who want to renew their dancing days but, in view of the multiplicity of new dances and the difficulty of getting the necessary instruction in them, are diffident about doing so. Here it is explained that there are only five dances—

The Overton Illusion: Its amazing effect on Wages, Prices, and Output. By R. O. MacLaurin (Bell, 3/6 net).

When did prices begin to outstrip wages, why? Mr. MacLaurin answers that the process began after 1900, and that it was concurrent with an era of rapid expansion of our over-trade. There had been expansion in this direction during the previous quarter-century, capital had again been invested in home industries, with a resulting demand for labour, accompanied by higher wages and lower prices. A 1900 capital followed trade abroad, which led to a slowing down in the upward trend of wages while prices continued to mount. Mr. MacLaurin propounds a simple remedy for these conditions. Capital must be deterred from leaving the country by means of an export tax. Free trade protection, and a huge export trade are denounced by him as economic heresies to be scrapped. The book is full of contentious material but is well written and vigorously argued.

One Hundred Poy Cartoons. From the *Evening News* and *Daily Mail* (Hutchinson, 1/6).

By the courtesy of the *Evening News* we have been able to reproduce from time to time some of the famous "Poy" cartoons appearing in that journal. Gathered together in this inexpensive volume before us are a hundred of the most recent and best. Poy has a very original line of humour, and a real flair for "creation that stick." It would be hard, if not impossible, to beat his Dilly and Dally, his Dux and Dred or his plain John Citizen—the last always most laughably insignificant and helpless among the political monsters he has made helps to support. And no one is more successful with the "tandem" team of the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law, which is always a "tandem and never a" sociable." Poy's witty philosophy helps us to rise above the vexations of our

Who was Who, 1887-1916 (Black, 21/- net).

A useful companion volume to "Who's Who." The plan is identical with that of the annual publication, but the date of death is appended to each of the biographies. Such a volume has an obvious usefulness. People of whom we have died within the past twenty years can be looked up for the essential facts of their lives with an ease that is astonishing compared with the labour of examining back volumes of "Who's Who" or turning over old newspaper files; and if we want more information than is contained in these "lives," the death date gives us the road towards acquiring it. Congratulations to the publishers on their hard thought.

The Churchman

A Monthly Magazine and Review.

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By the Rev. Canon S. A. Johnston.

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No. 370. Vol. LXII.]

Founder: W. T. STAD.

[OCTOBER, 1920.]

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, *October 8th, 1920.*

The Coal Dispute.

After prolonged negotiations between the miners, coalowners, and the Government, it seems fairly certain that a solution of the coal dispute has at last been reached. So long as the miners persisted in their claim to dictate to the Government how it was to dispose of the excess profits of the coal industry which it had earmarked for redemption of the floating debt, the Government rightly refused to offer any compromise on the price of domestic coal to the consumer. The disposal of the surplus profits of the coal industry is naturally part of the financial programme which the Government has to formulate in its annual Budget, and the House of Commons alone has any right to decide how a substantial part of the revenue is to be spent. As the date fixed for the expiry of the miners' strike notices approached, the miners executive gradually withdrew from their uncompromising demand to dictate the price of domestic coal. At the last moment, they abandoned it altogether, but insisted that their demand for an immediate increase of two shillings a day in wages should be granted forthwith. Again the Government refused to submit to dictation, and the miners agreed to suspend the strike notices for one week to allow of further negotiation. Ultimately a basis of agreement with the coalowners was reached, and the miners agreed to have a second ballot to decide whether the strike would take place or the coalowners' new proposals should be accepted. They

provide for an increase in wages on a sliding scale which will give an immediate advance of a shilling a day if the output of coal is maintained at the rate of 240 million tons a year, with an extra 1s. 6d. for an output of 244 million tons, and an increase of 2s. for an output of 248 million tons, which was the actual output in the first quarter of this year. The miners' leaders refused to take the responsibility of definitely accepting these terms, but agreed to submit them to a ballot. It is impossible as yet to predict the result of the ballot, and there is already bitter opposition in some of the principal coal fields to accepting the principle of a sliding scale which would base the level of wages upon the output.

Wages and Output.

However, the miners have to reckon with the reluctance of the Triple Alliance to support them in a strike on which public opinion has already made up its mind. The railwaymen in particular have been striving hard for peace, and some of the most important trade unions outside the Triple Alliance are strongly opposed to a strike. It is generally felt that the terms which have now been offered by the coalowners concede all that can be fairly claimed, for the miners have a guaranteed minimum wage which compares very favourably with that of any other industry, and the new proposals would enable them to increase their earnings substantially if they will increase the output of coal. The coal output has been dwindling steadily since the beginning of the year, and it is impossible to resist the con-

clusion that the miners, like any other body of men in similar circumstances, are working less actively now that they are paid larger wages for doing less work. The diminution in the output of coal is so serious in its effects both upon the price of coal and upon the profits which might otherwise accrue to the Treasury, that the public are naturally inclined to support the coalowners' proposals which afford a guarantee that output will not decline still further, while they offer a real inducement to increase output up to the level which was maintained a year ago. If the coal strike can be averted, there is reason to hope that the present trade depression, which is largely due to the uncertainty caused by industrial unrest and by under production on the part of labour as well as capital, may be counteracted. If the strike should take place, it could only produce an immediate further rise in the cost of living, and add greatly to the unemployment which is already extending at an alarming rate.

Are Prices Going to Fall? The cost of living is still rising, although the downward movement in wholesale prices continues without interruption. The index figures prepared by the Times Trade Supplement show a steady decline in the total of prices for food and raw materials since April, when the index figure stood at 329.2. The present index number for food and raw materials combined stands at 297.5 per cent. above the pre-war level. There has, however, been an increase in the index number for food prices as compared with last month owing to the increase in the controlled price of flour and of imported butter. But the wholesale prices of raw materials have fallen steadily from 356 in February to 285 in September, and there is every indication that these prices will continue to fall still further. Although this downward movement of wholesale prices has continued for nearly six months, it is only now being reflected in the retail prices of commodities. There is a marked decrease in the price of clothing and of boots and shoes particularly, and this result is plainly due to the refusal of the public to buy at the enormously enhanced prices which have

been charged for many necessities of life. In America, the break in prices is beginning to be felt more swiftly. The Ford Motor Works decided during the month to bring down all their prices to the pre-war level, and their example has been followed in the case of cotton goods by the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, of Manchester, New Hampshire, and the two largest mail order houses in America, the Sears Roebuck and the Montgomery Ward Companies in Chicago. There is every indication that what is happening in America will also happen here before long. But the long-expected break in prices is unfortunately not altogether a healthy sign at the present time. Prices had been forced up so high that several of the principal industries began to find that they could not dispose of what they were producing, and as the effective demand on the part of the public dwindled to nearly vanishing point, they were obliged to work short time, and in some cases to cease production altogether. The markets have become glutted with goods which cannot be sold at the prices which were paid for them earlier in the year, and the distributing houses, after holding on as long as they could in the hope that the public would begin to buy again, are now finding themselves obliged to reduce prices drastically, and realise whatever they can on their past purchases.

An Artificial Slump.

In the boot trade and in the textile trade especially, there is already a very serious slump. In the Oldham district alone 160 spinning mills have stopped work altogether, and in every trade the fear of widespread unemployment during the coming winter is being acutely felt. In many cases, as in the printing trade prices have risen to such an extent that there is serious danger that there may not be enough work to go round, and the question of reducing the cost of production cannot be settled without revising the existing rates of wages. In London there has already been a special meeting of the Mayors to try and organise relief measures for the thousands of workers who are unemployed. A very difficult winter is anticipated on all sides, and

retail prices continue to rise, in addition to the recent increases in the cost of travelling and other services, the Government's scheme of unemployment insurance, which becomes operative in November, will prove inadequate. The most disquieting feature of the present slump in trade is the fact that it should never have arisen, for the world's markets are still hopelessly under supplied. Over production which is the usual cause of such periods of depression as we are now experiencing, is a very different problem from the present condition. Industries have found it impossible to sell all that they produce, not because they have produced more than the public requires, but because wages and profits have both combined to force prices to such a height that necessities of life have been converted into luxuries which scarcely anyone can afford. If prices can be brought down, there will be no fear of over production for several years to come.

The Autumn Session.

Parliament will have reassembled before this issue of the Review is published, and the indications are that the Government will have a comparatively easy session. Its main business will be the further progress of the Government of Ireland Bill, which the Government fully intends to put into operation although no one in Ireland wishes it to become operative. Sir Edward Carson's followers, however, have agreed to support it, as it gives them complete local self-government over the four counties of East Ulster in which they have a majority and also the two counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh in which there is a Catholic and Nationalist majority. It is generally believed in Ireland that the recent campaign of violence against the Nationalists in Lisburn and Belfast and elsewhere was part of a deliberate plan to drive the whole Nationalist minority out of East Ulster. The reign of terror that has now existed in Belfast and its neighbourhood for several months is undoubtedly producing that effect, but one of the results of the large emigration from Belfast and the counties of Down and Antrim, has been to increase considerably the Nationalist majority in the bordering counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh. If

the Government's Bill is put into operation it is extremely probable that it will meet with a determined resistance in these two counties. Outside of the artificial province which the Government will have thus created in East Ulster, the remainder of Ireland refuses to consider the Bill on the ground that it is only a mockery of self-government, while it creates a permanent division between East Ulster and the rest of Ireland, and it is unlikely that any real attempt will be made to put it in operation outside of East Ulster. The Government is now faced with a growing volume of criticism from the Conservative as well as the Liberal benches; and it will have to weather through stormy debates on its Irish policy. Apart from Ireland, however, it is not likely to encounter any very serious opposition during the session. But grave troubles are ahead of it when the present wave of unemployment has gathered momentum during the winter, and if the miners' strike has this time been postponed, there is reason to believe that a general mobilisation of the forces of labour against the present Government will be more feasible, and also more formidable after Christmas.

"Reprisals" in Ireland.

Events in Ireland have been happening with appalling rapidity during the month, and a reign of terror has been created in almost every county by the indiscriminate raiding and destruction carried out by the armed forces of the Government, which have been pursuing a policy of reprisals wherever a soldier or policeman has been murdered. The sack of Balbriggan was the first and most alarming incident in a campaign of reprisals which has been carried out so deliberately that it is impossible to doubt that General Macready at least connives at it if he does not actually give it his approval. His extraordinarily indiscreet interview with a correspondent of the Press Association of America, the text of which was actually submitted to him and approved by him before it was published, fully confirms the view that is held by those who are in touch with Dublin Castle, that he has been urging the Government to adopt a deliberate policy of reprisals whenever a

soldier or policeman is murdered, and that since the Government refuses to act upon his recommendations, he is giving at least his tacit approval to the reprisals which have been carried out locally by military and "Black and Tan" camps under his command. Sir Hamar Greenwood has publicly denied that the Government in any way condones such reprisals, but the fact that at Balbriggan, at Mallow, at Tubbercurry, and other places, the reprisals have been carried out by soldiers or Black and Tans who have arrived in motor lorries, amply supplied with ammunition and petrol, shows conclusively that senior officers must have authorised such atrocities. In each of these cases the town which was destroyed had no responsibility for the murder that was committed there, but the Government's armed forces deliberately set fire to the towns, regardless of whether the sufferers were innocent or guilty. The responsibility for these reprisals rests clearly upon the officers who allowed the motor lorries to leave camp if they did not actually take part in the destruction of the towns themselves, that a public inquiry ought to be held once when Parliament has reassembled, to investigate the nature of the reprisals and the conduct of those who permitted them.

The Need for an Inquiry.

Such a public inquiry should also make a searching investigation into the causes of the murders which were committed. No official explanation of any kind has been put forward in regard to Balbriggan, and it is urgent if the character of the Irish administration is to be cleared, that a definite contradiction of the Irish version of the incident should be established. That version declares that Inspector Burke and the Black and Tan party who were with him when he was shot had entered a public-house at Balbriggan under the influence of drink, and commandeered all the drink they wanted in the public-house. The owner is then said to have sent for police assistance to the local R.I.C., who arrived, and on discovering that they were being asked to evict disorderly members of the Constabulary, refused to take action, and withdrew. The Irish Volunteer Police

were then summoned, and attempted to eject the party of Black and Tans, and in the struggle which ensued, shots were fired on both sides, and Inspector Burke was killed. We record this version of a story which the Government has refused to explain without committing ourselves to accepting its accuracy. What is really important is that similar circumstantial stories are given by the Irish newspapers in almost every instance where the Black and Tan police have been attacked. We are fully convinced that their conduct throughout the country has been extremely provocative even in the most peaceful districts, whereas no definite duties whatever seem to have been assigned to them. Over 8,000 of them, apart from the special auxiliary forces which consist entirely of ex-officers, have been enlisted, and they now considerably outnumber the old highly disciplined force of the R.I.C. The special Auxiliary Division of ex-officers who rank as constables but serve as ordinary constables, are paid £1 a day, and recruiting for this force is still in progress.

Withdraw the Black and Tans

We cannot but agree with the strong demand by Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice that both forces of Black and Tans should be immediately withdrawn from Ireland and disbanded. Their influence has already embittered and demoralised the old R.I.C., who are now reported from all parts of the country to be responsible for acts of provocation which inflame and intensify unrest where it has hitherto been harmless. But the most serious aspect of this whole business of provocation and reprisals by the armed forces in Ireland is the utter demoralisation of the army of occupation. It is an amazing state of affairs when discipline is so hopelessly relaxed that lorries full of troops go out night after night to loot and burn down peaceful villages, while detachments of soldiers and constabulary are sent round from house to house breaking in floors and windows, and shooting civilians in their beds if they are suspected of sympathy with Sinn Féin. Lists of reputed Sinn Féiners have actually been drawn up, and are to our certain

knowledge in the possession of officers in every district who may at any time be ordered to secure their arrest or assassination if arrest is difficult. We have no hesitation in saying that the present military administration of Ireland is simply debauching the army of occupation. It is becoming more and more accustomed to the ruthless taking of civilian life and the destruction of private property. Sooner or later, it is fully possible that the Government may need to employ it to assist the civilian police in this country in the event of a general strike, and the callousness that this army of boys has learned in Ireland would inevitably provoke indescribably passionate resentment on the part of Labour if it were employed, either for strike-breaking or to prevent public demonstrations.

The Dublin Peace Conference.

The worst aspect of the anarchy which is rapidly increasing throughout Ireland is the utter confusion of authority at Dublin Castle. Responsibility is evaded in every crisis by transferring the blame from one department to another, while any attempt to remedy the existing conditions is paralysed by the lack of authority to act. This chaos completely defeated the efforts of the Dublin Peace Conference, which was held nearly six weeks ago. The Conference was organised by Captain Henry Harrison, who is a former Member of Parliament, and an officer who served with exceptional distinction in France during the war. As Secretary of the Irish Dominion League, he had been invited to attend the deputation of business men from Cork City who waited upon the Prime Minister towards the end of August. Mr. Lloyd George, in thanking the deputation for their suggestions, declared that they were the first sign of hope from Ireland, and appealed strongly to the leaders of moderate opinion in Ireland to come together and propose a solution that the Government could consider. On returning to Ireland, Captain Harrison and other members of the deputation immediately organised a conference to be held in the Dublin Mansion House, to which leading professional and business men, landlords, members of the peerage, and everyone of

any important standing in the country were invited. Nearly a thousand prominent Irishmen attended the Conference, which was the most representative gathering of its kind that has ever been held in Dublin. It was in many respects a more influential and representative body than the Irish Convention which the Prime Minister appointed during the war. After a free and extremely interesting discussion, the Conference unanimously passed two resolutions, and appointed a standing committee to conduct negotiations with the Government. The first resolution, declaring that the death of the Lord Mayor of Cork in prison would embitter and make far more difficult the existing situation, urged his immediate release as a sign of the Government's desire to conciliate Irish opinion. The second resolution urged the immediate introduction of a new Bill which would provide for complete control over Irish affairs, with full powers over all taxation

Chaos at Dublin Castle.

Having secured agreement on these two resolutions, the authorities of the Conference then set to work to lay the wishes of the delegates before the Government in Ireland. Lord French, however, was away or leave from Ireland. Sir Hamar Greenwood, the Chief Secretary, had gone to join the Prime Minister at Lucerne. Mr. James MacMahon, a Senior Under-Secretary, was the next person in authority who could be approached, but he also was away from Ireland. Sir John Anderson, the Assistant Under-Secretary and representative of the Treasury, was also inaccessible. In despair, the Peace Conference executive sought out General Macready, but his functions are apparently confined to the military command. As a last hope, they laid their proposals before the Lord Justices, only to be told that they had no political jurisdiction whatever. The sole means of communication with the Government, therefore, was to telegraph to Downing Street. No acknowledgment of the Conference's resolution was received, and several subsequent telegrams were dispatched. For nearly six weeks no answer was given by the Government. Yet Mr. Lloyd George

still issues appeals at frequent intervals, requesting the moderate men in Ireland to let him know their views. The insult with which the Peace Conference has been treated has finally discouraged any attempt to discuss matters with Downing Street. Meanwhile, the reprisals continue, and one town after another is wrecked and ruined while the Government, which has simply ignored the Peace proposals of the most representative gathering of "moderate" Irishmen that was ever held, persists in declaring that it can find no one in Ireland who is prepared to discuss terms with it.

Who is Really Responsible?

Never before has the administration of the Irish Government fallen into such hopeless disrepute. No one in Ireland believes the accuracy of any official statement emanating from Dublin Castle. The statements of its various departments are as often as not openly contradictory. Thus, General Tudor declares that no reprisals whatever have been carried out by the Black and Tans, while General Macready blandly explains to an American interviewer that the sack of Balbriggan by the Black and Tans was only human nature seeking revenge for the death of a popular Black and Tan instructor. Even General Macready himself appears to have been deprived of half the authority which was entrusted to him when he went to Ireland, for the control of the police is now admittedly out of his hands. It is quite certain that if the present state of anarchy is allowed to continue and grow worse from day to day there will scarcely be a town or village in Ireland that will escape destruction by the armed forces of the Government. Politically, public opinion in the country is becoming more and more united. It is now impossible to find any advocates of Unionism outside of East Ulster, and the national demand for self-government is more unanimous than ever. By a genuine offer of self-government within the Empire, coupled with the withdrawal of the armed forces which are the only present cause of unrest, and which are day by day reducing the country to ruin and despair, the Government could even yet secure an immediate settlement.

The status of East Ulster is simply a question of bargaining.

Brussels Financial Conference.

Sensational results were not to be expected from the financial Conference of all the European countries which is now meeting in Brussels. The Conference has no definite powers, and can only make recommendations with a view to obtaining concerted action among the great powers to remedy the existing chaos of international trade. There has been a decided reluctance on the part of practically all the delegates to discuss the real financial position of their countries, either for fear that they may be asked, if they have survived the war victoriously, to assist the countries which are on the verge of bankruptcy, or, in the case of the impoverished countries, for fear that if they reveal the real state of their national finances, they may either be told that they are too poor to be worth assisting or still too rich to require assistance. Nevertheless, the meeting of leading financial representatives from all the European countries for a full discussion of the difficulties that have overwhelmed Europe since the war, cannot fail to produce some measure of financial co-operation which will help to reconstruct the trade and the public finance of Central and Eastern Europe. On the main causes of the present breakdown of credit, there is no difference of opinion. In every country, credit has been inflated by extravagant public borrowing, and paper money has been put into circulation far in excess of its just proportion to the amount of goods which are being produced. Under-production has continued since the end of the war, when there was a desperate for increased production and steady work. The essential problem all over Europe is to revive industry and trade between countries, and to overcome the demoralisation of labour in every country which manifests itself in continual attempts to secure increased wages while decreasing output. The most remarkable feature of the speeches at the Brussels Conference is the insistence of the great majority of delegates upon the urgent need for Universal Free Trade, and this agitation has found expression also in the congress of the

International Free Trade Union which was held in the first week of this month at the Caxton Hall.

Bolshevism nearing a Collapse.

Since the rout of the Bolshevik army on the Polish front, a steady interruption of the Red Armies appears to have set in. The Poles, while consolidating the organisation of their army, have confined their victory within reasonable limits, and have refrained from embarking upon any impracticable or unjustifiable invasion of Russia. The menace of a wholesale epidemic of typhus is now the most serious danger that confronts them. In Russia, however, a violent reaction against the war policy of Lenin and Trotsky is undoubtedly in progress, and the next few months seem likely to decide whether the Moscow Soviet has lost its complete control over the enormous military machine which it has built up and directed during the past three years. The Soviet has so often survived a crisis in which all seemed to be lost, that it may survive this internal crisis also, and regain its grip upon the remnants of the Red Army along its Western and Southern fronts. But now that there is no longer any menace of invasion by armies subsidised from abroad, it can no longer count upon the infallible appeal to national sentiment throughout Russia, and the evidence which is accumulating from many sources suggests that the Bolshevik system has suffered a shattering blow through the defeat inflicted by the Poles. In the meantime, the negotiations for a resumption of trade between Russia and the United Kingdom have progressed steadily since the departure of Kameneff from London. M. Krassin, who while Kameneff was here, played only a secondary part, has now been entrusted with full political and commercial powers on behalf of the Soviet, and the draft of the commercial treaty which has already been published, suggests that a final arrangement may soon be accomplished.

The Draft Commercial Treaty.

Several vital points, however, still await the settlement which seems to be virtually attainable so long as the present rulers

of Moscow remain in power. One of these is the repayment of Russia's debts to the United Kingdom, and the restoration of capital which was invested by British traders with Russia before the war. In the present bankrupt condition of Russia, any total repayment of the war debts or even of private capital cannot be expected. The draft agreement, however, provides that "the Soviet Government shall recognise its liability to pay compensation to British subjects in respect of goods supplied or services rendered to it, or to the former Government of Russia, or to Russian citizens, for which payment has not been paid owing to the Russian Revolution." The wording of this clause is open to various interpretations, and cannot be said to guarantee more than a vague liability which is most unlikely to be paid off in full. But it is impossible to expect repayment in full. A much more serious obstacle to any final treaty with Russia is the necessity to obtain guarantees that the Bolsheviks, whose whole policy is based upon the idea of world revolution, will desist from revolutionary propaganda in other countries. Without such guarantees, peace with Soviet Russia simply cannot be arrived at. Even a formal peace treaty would be peace only in name. And the revelations which prove that the Bolsheviks had used M. Kameneff's mission to finance the *Daily Herald* and other forms of revolutionary propaganda, have already led to the rupture of negotiations with M. Kameneff and dispose of all hope that the present Government of Moscow, unless it is overthrown by internal revolution, will conduct peace negotiations in good faith.

There have been further developments of a rather sensational kind in the matter of the *Daily Herald*, the organ of the extreme Left in the Labour world. When the Government some time ago published messages which had been tapped, showing an attempt by the Bolsheviks to subsidise this journal, the revelations were received by the *Herald* with a mixture of indignation and ridicule. The talk of Chinese bonds was dismissed as a mare's nest, and it was implied, if not actually

stated, that it was an unpardonable insult to suggest that the paper would dream of accepting money from a foreign Government. This attitude was certainly in accord with the general sentiment of the country, and the general line taken by friends of the paper was an acceptance of its disavowal. About a month ago, however, the *Daily Herald* announced that Mr. Francis Meynell on its behalf had been offered £75,000 from Russian sources. A plebiscite of readers was to be taken to decide whether the money should be accepted. It appeared to the public strange that the *Herald* should have been kept in ignorance so long by Mr. Meynell, and on the face of it, the journal was now prepared to consider quite seriously a proposition which a little while before it had dismissed with great indignation. Mr. Thomas, the railway-men's leader, was among those who realised that a serious error of tactics, to say the least of it, had been committed, and he wrote strongly urging that the money should not be accepted. The affair wore an uglier aspect when it was announced from official sources that the *Daily Herald's* appeal to its readers had appeared on the day after police representatives had called on Mr. Lansbury's son in reference to a deal in stolen Russian jewels. The directors of the *Daily Herald* wisely decided to reject the money and Mr. Meynell resigned from the Board. It was announced that Mr. George Lansbury and his fellow directors were in ignorance of the whole affair until the last minute. This was widely regarded as an almost incredible statement, and it was clear that the paper had suffered a very severe blow to its credit and prestige. Journals like *The Nation*, *The Manchester Guardian*, and *The Daily News*, which had previously defended *The Herald* were forced to admit that it had not come at all creditably out of the incident, and everybody recognised that it was dishonouring to journalism generally that a paper should have been found ready to accept a subsidy from a foreign and not very friendly Government. Several points have not yet been cleared up. Before M. Kameneff left the country he had a rather stormy interview with the Prime Minister who charged him with having been implicated in this propaganda

effort, contrary to his pledge. The refusal of Mr. Meynell to make any statement of what has happened to the £75,000 which according to the statement of the *Daily Herald* directors, has been declined, has naturally given rise to a crop of rumour and suspicions. Meanwhile, the *Herald* struggling with financial difficulties, has been compelled to make an urgent appeal for funds and to double its price.

U.S. Presidential Elections.

With only a month remaining before the actual election of a new President, the United States is passing through a period of intense political campaigning. Governor Cox, the Democratic candidate, has made considerable headway since he was chosen by the Convention at San Francisco, when his chances of success seemed very remote. But now that the final campaign is in full swing, the Republican candidate, with an enormously superior political machine behind him, appears to be gaining ground more rapidly. The enfranchisement of the women voters has introduced an altogether uncertain factor into the election, and it is hoped by the Democrats that Governor Cox, as a representative of Liberal idealism, in contrast with the stern conservatism of Senator Harding, may gain more support among the women electors. But the advantage of the Republican organisation, with its immense resources in funds and in newspaper support, are telling heavily against Governor Cox in his championship of what has seemed from the beginning to be little better than a forlorn hope. To what extent a sense of disappointment is responsible for the increasing definiteness of Governor Cox's bid for Irish support in America, it is not easy to calculate. It is clear, at an rate, that his managers are relying more and more upon the Irish and German American votes, and upon the opposition to Prohibition, as the contest progresses, while President Wilson is issuing pronouncements from his retirement in the White House designed to commit the Democratic candidate more completely than he has yet committed himself, to an unqualified support of the League of Nations. Governor Cox's own speeches have gradually taken the shape of a definite bid for the Irish

vote, and he has openly declared that he wishes Ireland might to complete national independence. It is quite possible that an open advocacy of Irish Republicanism might gain him almost the entire Irish American vote, but that vote in itself is insufficient to decide the election, and the eventual result will depend upon the attitude of the bulk of American voters who seem more likely to support the reaction towards normal pre-war conditions which Senator Harding is now leading. With the Republican machine at his back, and with the support of Big Business almost solidly throughout the United States, Senator Harding has adopted a defensive policy in his election campaign, and, whereas Governor Cox has been lavish to the point of recklessness in his promises to various parties, Senator Harding has made a virtue of refusing promises in advance, in the belief that such an attitude would add to the conviction that he is above all a safe candidate for the Presidency.

The New French President.

In French politics the most important event of the month has been the election of M. Millerand to the Presidency, M. Leygues succeeding him as Prime Minister. There had for some time been rumours that the illness of M. Deschanel was more serious than was at first feared, and a sudden change for the worse in his condition made his retirement from the Presidency necessary. M. Millerand's reluctance to be nominated as his successor gave way before the strong and widespread desire that he should be President of the Republic. His election is important because he has been associated with strong views on the function of the President in the French constitution. There are Presidents and Presidents, and the holder of that title in France has been a much less powerful person than the President of the United States. The reforms contemplated by M. Millerand come a long way short of the powers vested in the American President, but they represent a move in that direction, and that is the principal political bearing of the appointment. That there is no reason of any sort, under the new President, Anglo-French relations should not

be cordial, is clear from the manifesto issued by President Millerand on the morning of his appointment. It placed the fulfilment of the treaty of Versailles in the forefront of French policy but was couched in terms which should make it easy for the Allies to arrive at a common understanding on the complicated questions that confront them. The new President, like so many now prominent in French politics, began his career as a Socialist and has been modifying his opinions ever since. As Prime Minister he stood strongly for the full rights of France under the Peace Treaty, with no doubt an occasional feeling that those rights were not as fully appreciated in this country as they ought to be. His attitude towards Poland and towards the little entente has been among those elements in French politics which we in this country temperamentally find it least easy to understand. That he did not see eye to eye with Mr. Lloyd George at the various Conferences is common knowledge, but there is no question that in all the matters concerned he was the authentic spokesman of French National opinion, and his choice as President is therefore an entirely natural one. His good will is an asset of incalculable value.

General Smuts' Manifesto.

An important step has been taken in the development of South Africa with the publication of a manifesto by General Smuts heralding a new political party formed from Dutch and English speaking South Africans. The situation in the South African Parliament was a rather complicated one, and there were elements in it which gave rise to considerable anxiety. None of the four parties in the chamber was in a position to carry on Government by its own unaided efforts and the question was what sort of coalition would be formed. Labour was practically out of the reckoning, and the question was whether General Smuts would look to the Unionist Party under Sir Thomas Smartt or to Mr. Hertzog and the Nationalists for his allies. It was naturally to these latter that he looked first. His own party, the South African Party, consists of Dutch speaking members, and he thought it was possible to have a united

Dutch Party. What many people suspected, however, proved to be the case. To Hertzog and his party separation was a *sine qua non*. General Smuts could have been the leader of a powerful Dutch Party, but it would have been a party pledged to courses incompatible with the maintenance of the British connection. The dangers implicit in this situation are obvious enough, but General Smuts did not waver for an instant, and when he found what was the position of affairs he came out boldly and called for a new party. The probable result of all this will be an alliance between the South African Party and the Unionists. The appeal is made "to all right-minded South Africans, irrespective of party or race, to join the new party which will be strong enough to safeguard the permanent interests of the Union against the disruptive and destructive policy of the Nationalists." An interesting reference in the appeal is that to the danger of "public lawlessness and indiscipline which are threatening the old world." While it is improbable that the danger of Bolshevism is so great in the Colonies, it exists, and it is no small matter that a statesman of General Smuts's ability and Liberal traditions should have placed himself at the head of what can hardly fail to be a stabilising influence in British South Africa. General Smuts declares that this new party of the centre "will not only continue our great work of the past, but is destined to pay a weighty role in the future peaceable development of South Africa." The constitution granted to the two republics with which we had been so recently engaged in bitter warfare is one of the most conspicuous examples in our history of that magnanimity in politics, which Burke declared to be not seldom the truest wisdom. It would be idle, however, to deny that the working out of this great experiment has had many moments of anxiety and the new turn in South African politics is distinctly reassuring to friends of liberty and orderly development in all parts of the British Empire.

In the religious world, the appeal of the Lambeth Conference for a re-union of Christian bodies is still producing reverberations,

and in the opinion of many clear-sighted observers, the situation is more hopeful than it has ever been before. If the response from the Free Churches has been marked by a lively sense of difficulties still to be overcome, there is no doubt about the completeness with which the spirit of the Anglican Bishops is reciprocated. That it should have been possible for a document on this subject to find assent among all but three of a gathering of 250 Bishops was the initial marvel. At the Congregational Union meetings this month, there was evident a very widespread desire that the ground gained by friends of unity should not be thrown away. The stumbling block remains what it has always been, the question of re-ordination, and it may be an insuperable one, though there was never more desire to get over it. The problem of a closer relationship between the Church of England and the various bodies of Protestant Nonconformists has naturally attracted most attention as appearing to most people the most immediately practicable part of the programme. The resolutions at Lambeth, however, contemplated Christian re-union in a wide sense, and one or two significant things have happened bearing on this. The idea of handing over Church of England buildings in the City of London for worship according to the rites of the Eastern churches, marks another step in a growing friendliness. More striking, because more unexpected, is an article by Father Vincent MacNabb, one of the leading English Dominican fathers in *Blackfriars*, in which he speaks in terms of the greatest friendliness of the Lambeth pronouncement, observes that when two parties to a quarrel cannot outdo each other in accepting the blame for it, the quarrel is nearing its end, and concludes his article with a bold suggestion that the recent rapprochement between the Cur of St. James's, and the Court of St. Peter's may be a significant and effective symbol of the kiss of peace between Rome and Canterbury. Though this may be an individual expression of opinion, its source and the fact that it is given a leading place in the monthly organ of the Dominican Fathers make it a sufficiently interesting phenomenon.

Diary of Current Events

FOR SEPTEMBER.

Sept. 1.—Prince Sapieha has again invited M. Tchitcherine to transfer peace negotiations from Minsk to Riga.

In the North the Poles and Lithuanians have come into conflict.

A Swiss tramway employee who sent a threatening telegram to Mr. Lloyd George has been arrested.

The Indian Government has put the Seditious Meetings Act into force in the Hazara district of the North-West frontier Province, owing to intrigues and agitation.

Sept. 2.—A delegate conference of the miners received the result of the strike ballot and decided to tender notices in every district to terminate not later than Sept. 25.

Mrs. Arthur Hamilton gave up her attempt to swim the Channel when nine miles from the French coast.

The first performance of the Mayflower Pageant was successfully carried out at Plymouth.

The Franco-Belgian military agreement has been signed by Marshal Foch and Gen. Bunt on behalf of France and Gen. Maglinse on behalf of Belgium.

M. Tchitcherine has agreed to the Polish proposal to transfer peace negotiations from Minsk to Riga.

A Jihad has been preached in Mesopotamia against British troops.

Sept. 3.—The miners and Sir Robert Horne issued statements on the coal crisis. The former justified the wage claim by the rise in the cost of living, and dwelt on their attempt to reduce prices. Sir Robert Horne condemned the theory that because a strike was threatened it was necessary to make concessions.

The list of Receiving Orders under the Bankruptcy Act set out in the London Gazette included one against Sir Thomas Beccan.

The German coal deliveries to France during August have surpassed the total stipulated by the Spa Conference.

The Sinn Féin strike of dockers in New York has broken out again.

Sept. 4.—The Mayflower celebrations at Plymouth were opened with a conference and a united religious celebration.

The Council of Action decided to send Messrs. Adamson and Purcell to Riga, bringing the Conference between the Bolsheviks and the Poles.

The Ministry of Labour decided to appoint a Court of Inquiry into the electricians' dispute.

A serious situation arose owing to an attack upon the Poles in the region of Suwalki by Lithuanians.

The French and Belgian Prime Ministers met in Paris and reached complete agreement on all questions of current policy.

The funeral of Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, took place at the Notre Dame amid impressive scenes.

Sept. 5.—Canon Barnes reiterated his theory that the verdict of science was against the doctrine of special creation.

Mr. Lloyd George left Lucerne for Zermatt. The sixth anniversary of the Battle of the Marne was celebrated in France by a ceremony at Meaux, at which M. Millerand presided.

Sept. 6.—The King sent a message to those celebrating the Mayflower Tercentenary at Plymouth.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, in his presidential address at the opening of the Trades' Union Congress at Portsmouth, defended the Council of Action.

Gen. Obregon is reported to have been elected President of Mexico.

Sept. 7.—The Prime Minister returned to London from Switzerland. Instructions have been issued by the Army Council which will regularise the status of Colonels, enabling them to take a more active part in the affairs of their regiments.

The Polish Government has appealed to the League of Nations, asking for its mediation in the dispute with Lithuania.

Severe earthquake shocks were felt in Italy. Much damage to life and property was caused in Tuscany.

Sept. 8.—Lord Hardinge succeeded Lord Derby as British Ambassador in Paris.

The miners agreed to meet Sir Robert Horne to discuss the position created by their demands and the Trades' Union Congress gave the miners its support.

Russian Soviet delegation in London issued the text of M. Tchitcherine's reply to Mr. Balfour. It contained a eulogy of Soviet institutions, and a gibe at Mr. Balfour's "misinformation" concerning Russia's intentions towards Poland.

It is estimated that 300 people lost their lives in the Italian earthquakes.

French coal output during August reached 4,360,000 tons, exceeding the figure for last January by more than a million tons.

Sept. 9.—A conference between Sir Robert Horne and the miners' executive failed to produce an agreement, the miners adhering to their dual demand.

The Trades Union Congress at Portsmouth decided on the formation of a Labour General Council in place of the present Parliamentary Committees.

Fighting continues in the Southern portion of the Russo-Polish war zone. The Poles have crossed the Bug and have taken Jablonowka.

Sept. 10.—The Sopwith Aviation and Engineering Company, Limited, decided to close their works and go into voluntary liquidation.

The French Government intimated to the British Ambassador at Paris that France approved M. Delacroix's proposal to leave the discussion of reparations to the Reparation Committee instead of holding the Conference at Geneva on the 24th.

Sept. 11.—The publication by the *Daily Herald* of the offer of £75,000 from Russia has caused a suspension of the negotiations which were being carried on by the Soviet Commission in London. The Commission denied knowledge of the transaction.

British forces have entered Shahroddan, north-east of Bagdad, and released Mrs. Buchanan, who was imprisoned by the Arabs.

Two British destroyers have been placed at the disposal of the Polish Peace delegate to Riga.

The Indian National Congress voted Mr. Gandhi's resolution in favour of non-co-operation with the Government.

Motor cycling at Brooklands, V. E. Horsman covered over 71 miles in an hour, beating the world's record.

Sept. 12.—M. Millerand and Signor Giolitti held their first meeting at Aix-les-Bains.

Sept. 13.—The Cabinet decided to appoint an additional assistant under-secretary for Ireland, who will deal with all problems in the six counties area of Ulster.

The Labour Party has rejected the application for affiliation by the newly formed Communist Party.

At statistical summary of the profits of the coal mining industry for the quarter ended June 30th, issued by the Board of Trade, shows that the figures presented by the miners in support of their demands are erroneous.

The meeting of the French and Italian Premiers at Aix-les-Bains concluded, and a statement was issued announcing their agreement on many questions but not on relations with Russia.

Sept. 14.—Mr. Lloyd George in a letter to a correspondent defined the policy of the Government in relation to the decontrol of mines and the Trade Unions.

The Directors of the *Daily Herald* decided not to accept the £75,000 offered to them from the Third International. They also accepted the resignation of Mr. Francis Meynell.

A final appeal was made to the Prime Minister by the Irish Peace Conference to release the Lord Mayor of Cork.

Maine has elected a Republican Governor by an overwhelming majority of 80,000 votes.

The Polish delegates left for Riga via Dantz and Libau.

Mr. Hughes, in moving the second reading of the Bill establishing civil government in Australia's mandated Pacific territories, enlarged on the natural resources of the Islands.

Sept. 15.—The National Joint Industrial Council recommended the suspension of strike notices by the Electrical Trades Union, and the withdrawal of lock-out notices by the Engineering Employers' Federation.

A statement with regard to the offer of Bolshevik money to the *Daily Herald*, in which M. Kamenoff is accused of violating the pledge to abstain from propaganda in this country, was issued from 10, Downing-street.

Sir Ernest Clark, C.B.E., a deputy commissioner of income tax, has been appointed Assistant Under-Secretary for Ireland.

At the first meeting of creditors of Sir Thomas Beecham, his legal representative stated that all debts would be paid in full.

M. Paul Deschanel, the French President who is still unable to conduct affairs owing to ill-health, has decided to resign. The Government has presented the light cruiser *Aurora* to the Royal Canadian Navy.

Sept. 16.—The miners placed before Sir Robert Horne their revised demands, and the Conference was adjourned.

The Electrical Engineering Dispute was settled.

Mayflower celebrations opened in London. Mr. Lloyd George sent a letter to the evening meeting at the Albert Hall.

A contract for cloth with M. Kramin has been signed by Yorkshire firms, and the sum involved in the transaction is £2,000,000.

As a result of Signor Giolitti's mediation in the Italian Metallurgical trade a commission composed of owners and workmen has been formed to draft a bill dealing with the control of factories.

A big explosion occurred near the Moggan building in New York in which thirty people were killed and two hundred injured.

Sept. 17.—Sir Robert Horne and the miner held another Conference, but failed to reach agreement.

A Conference of London Mayors was held at the Ministry of Labour to consider the question of finding work for unemployed ex-soldiers.

The Polish Peace delegation has arrived at Riga. Latvian mediation has been accepted by both parties in the Polish Lithuanian dispute, and negotiations in regard to this matter will be carried on at Riga.

- A new ministry under the leadership of M. Cerny has been formed in Czechoslovakia.
- Sept. 18.—Replying to Mr. Bevin, Mr. Lloyd George recapitulated the facts with regard to the *Daily Herald* and Russian money, and criticised the business control of the Trade Union representatives on the newspaper.
- The Food Controller estimated that the average working-class family's weekly budget this Christmas will be 9/6 more than it was last year.
- The opening of a new era of transport service to the Continent is announced.
- Agreement has been reached at a Conference of owners and workers in Rome summoned by Signor Giolitti on the question of control; manufacturers submitting to the Government's decision in favour of the men.
- At the Empire Congress of Chambers of Commerce, an appeal was made to resuscitate that imperial spirit which prevailed during the war to meet the demands of peace.
- Sir William Meyer has been appointed High Commissioner of India in London.
- Sept. 19.—A message to the Irish people was issued in the name of the Lord Mayor of Cork.
- Sept. 20.—A further Conference between Sir Robert Horne and the miners' representatives failed to produce an agreement.
- The trial of Mrs. Bamberger on charges of perjury was opened at the Central Criminal Court.
- M. Millerand has decided to stand for election as President of the French Republic.
- The Council of the League of Nations at its final sitting discussed the Lithuanian-Polish dispute.
- The ex-Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide who abdicated from the throne of Luxembourg last year has taken the veil in the Carmelite Convent of St. Teresa at Modena.
- An Advisory Council of ten has been constituted for Palestine. Three of the members are Jews, and the rest Moslems and Christians.
- Sept. 21.—It is reported that after the murder of a police inspector at Ballybrigan, a number of armed men in uniform raided the town, and two civilians were killed.
- Sept. 22.—The Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities began its Oxford session. Mr. Asquith presided.
- The Conference at Kalvaria between the Poles and Lithuanians has broken up.
- M. Deschanel's letter of resignation of the presidency of the French Republic was read in the Senate of the Chamber of Deputies.
- An agreement has been arranged between the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, the Canadian National Railways, and the British India Steam Navigation Company for joint service between Eastern Canadian ports and India, the Straits Settlements, and Java.
- Sept. 22.—The threat of a coal strike had the effect of increasing shipping freights.
- Soldiers raided a Dublin Hotel to arrest John Lynch, a Limerick County Councillor. An official account says that he fired at them with a revolver, and they returned fire, killing him.
- Lord Leverhulme has bought De Kayser's Hotel on the Thames Embankment.
- At a meeting of the caucus, in regard to the Presidential election, M. Millerand secured 528 votes out of a possible 812. The Radical bloc cast 270 votes against M. Millerand.
- Lord Lytton has been appointed to succeed Lord Sinha as Under-Secretary of State for India.
- Sept. 23.—At a meeting of Newcastle citizens it was agreed to adopt Arras.
- M. Millerand was elected President of the French Republic on succession to M. Deschanel. There were 892 votes recorded at the National Assembly at Versailles, and of these 695 were given for M. Millerand, and 69 for M. Delory, the socialist candidate.
- M. Deschanel is seriously ill and has been taken to an institution near Paris for a rest.
- At a German Cabinet meeting Dr. Wieth, the Finance Minister, announced that Germany's national debt amounted to 285 milliards of marks (approximately £1,300,000,000).
- The Polish Government sent a note to the League of Nations in which it declared that the Lithuanians had allowed their neutrality to be violated by the Bolsheviks, and that in the circumstances it reserved its right to take whatever measures might be necessary.
- Sept. 24.—Following a further conference with the Prime Minister, the Miners' Executive agreed to suspend strike notices for a week.
- Dublin Castle prohibited the holding of a Coroner's inquest on the body of John Lynch, who was shot at the Royal Exchange Hotel, Dublin. A military inquiry was held in private.
- An attempt was made to assassinate General Sir E. F. Strickland, commanding the troops at Cork.
- The Minister of Labour opened his campaign on behalf of ex-service men with addresses to the Civic Committees of Newcastle and Middlesbrough.
- Summer time is to be extended to October 25, in view of a possible coal strike.
- The International Congress of Philosophy was opened at Cambridge. M. Henri Bergson gave an address.
- M. Georges Leygues has, at the request of the President of the French Republic, accepted the position of Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. All Ministers who were in the Millerand Cabinet retain their portfolios.

- The International Financial Conference opened at Brussels.
- Mr. Cox, the Republican candidate for the United States Presidency, has issued a statement on the Irish question.
- M. Ryazanoff, a "moderate" social revolutionary, has been appointed by Lenin to succeed M. Kameneff.
- Sept. 25.—Doctors in Nottingham and Derbyshire who work for colliery clubs have struck for higher pay.
- Five persons were killed in an aeroplane smash near Hayes, Middlesex.
- Lord Cavan has been appointed to Aldershot command, Sir Chas. Harrington to the command of the Army of the Black Sea, and Sir Philip Chetwode, Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff.
- The Poles launched a new offensive against the Bolsheviks in the direction of Grodno and Lida.
- The Porte has requested Allied financial assistance to enable it to undertake the pacification of Anatolia.
- Sept. 26.—Disturbances occurred in Belfast and a constable and three civilians were killed.
- Sept. 27.—The town of Trim, near Dublin, was partially wrecked and burned by armed robbers, alleged to be police auxiliaries.
- Countess Markievic, the Sinn Fein M.P., was arrested near Dublin.
- The Underground, Omnibus and Tram Companies in London increased the fares.
- The Conference of owners and miners discussed questions relevant to output and wages.
- Lithuania has appealed to the League of Nations against the action of Poland, denying certain statements of the Poles.
- M. Leon Bourgeois, President of the Council of the League, has dispatched message to the Polish Government expressing surprise at the action of Poland and asking that time should be given to Lithuania to fulfil the conditions proposed by the League.
- The Conference of the French General Confederation of Labour opened at Orleans.
- The Gordon Bennett air race was won by Sadi-Lacointe, a French airman. As France has won the race twice before the cup passes permanently into her possession.
- Sept. 28.—The Conference between the coal-owners and miners broke down by disagreement on the question of the datum line.
- In reprisal for the shooting of a sergeant during the raid on the 17th Lancers' Barracks at Mallow, near Cork, a part of the town was burnt down.
- Further rioting occurred in Belfast and the troops fired on the crowd, killing two men and wounding several more.
- Viscount Grey, of Fallodon, in a manifesto, denounced an announcement that the end of two years' Ireland will be held responsible for its own self-government, except as regards foreign policy, and the army and navy.
- Sept. 29.—War-time legislation on control of wages is dropped and industries are free to adjust their own differences.
- The Electrification of Railways Advisory Committee has made an interim report to the Ministry of Transport in favour of standardization both of methods and appliances.
- Mr. Alderman James Roll was elected Lord Mayor of London for the ensuing year.
- Sir Hamar Greenwood, in an address to members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, expressed the view that reprisals would ruin the discipline of the force and could not be countenanced.
- The Poles and Lithuanians have agreed to a Conference at Suwalki.
- Sept. 30.—The out-of-work donation to ex-service men is extended for another six weeks.
- The rates in practically all the London Boroughs show serious increases, and there is the prospect of still higher rates next year.
- Sir Eyre Crowe has been appointed Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in succession to Lord Hardinge.
- Sir Wm. Meyer entered upon his duties as High Commissioner for India.
- The Conservative Union Assembly at Southport discussed the Lambeth appeal for church reunion, and some of the proposals were strongly criticised.

OBITUARY.

- Sept. 1.—PROF. WILHELM WIMDT, German philosopher and psychologist, aged 50 years.
- Sept. 2.—DR. RUTHERFORD HARRIS, the friend and associate of Cecil Rhodes.
- SIR CHAS. LYALL, the well-known Orientalist.
- Sept. 5.—MRS. MUNRO, wife of Secretary for Scotland.
- LADY MACDONALD, of Earncliffe, widow of Sir John Macdonald, the great Prime Minister of Canada.
- Sept. 11.—JEAN GUTHRY, son of M. Lucien Guitry, the French actor.
- Sept. 13.—LORD MURRAY OF ELBANK, aged 50.
- Sept. 14.—MR. GEORGE KESSELER, well known in America and France, as controlling several champagne firms.
- Sept. 16.—DR. WILLIAM SANDAY, late Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford.
- Sept. 17.—MR. EBERSON CARRIS, novelist and sword-dancer.
- Sept. 18.—SIR WILLIAM MAXWELL, aged 83.
- Sept. 25.—MR. JACOB SCHIFF, American banker, financier, and philanthropist.

The Probable Future of Mankind

By H. G. WELLS.

I.

The New Impossibility of War.

The present outlook of human affairs is one that admits of broad generalizations and that seems to require broad generalizations. We are in one of those phases of experience which become cardinal in history. A series of immense and tragic events have shattered the self-complacency and challenged the will and intelligence of mankind. That easy general forward movement of human affairs which for several generations had seemed to justify the persuasion of a necessary and invincible progress, progress towards greater powers, greater happiness, and a continual enlargement of life, has been checked violently and perhaps arrested altogether. The spectacular catastrophe of the great war has revealed an accumulation of destructive forces in our outwardly prosperous society, of which few of us had dreamt; and it has also revealed a profound incapacity to deal with and restrain these forces. The two years of want, confusion, and indecision that have followed the great war in Europe and Asia, and the uncertainties that have disturbed life even in the comparatively untouched American world, seem to many watchful minds even more ominous to our social order than the war itself. What is happening to our race, they ask? Did the prosperities and confident hopes with which the twentieth century opened, mark nothing more than a culmination of fortuitous good luck? Has the cycle of prosperity and progress closed? To what will this staggering and blundering, the hatreds and mischievous adventures

of the present time, bring us? Is the world in the opening of long centuries of confusion and disaster such as ended the Western Roman Empire in Europe or the Han prosperity in China? And if so, will the débâcle extend to America? Or is the American (and Pacific?) system still sufficiently removed and still sufficiently autonomous to maintain a progressive movement of its own if the Old World collapse?

Some sort of answer to these questions, vast and vague though they are, we must each one of us have before we can take an intelligent interest or cast an effective vote in foreign affairs. Even though a man formulate no definite answer, he must still have an implicit persuasion before he can act in these matters. If he have no clear conclusions openly arrived at, then he must act upon subconscious conclusions instinctively arrived at. Far better is it that he should bring them into the open light of thought.

The suppression of war is generally regarded as central to the complex of contemporary problems. But war is not a new thing in human experience, and for scores of centuries mankind has managed to get along in spite of its frequent recurrence. Most states and empires have been intermittently at war throughout their periods of stability and prosperity. But their warfare was not the warfare of the present time. The thing that has brought the rush of progressive develop-



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

The "Tower" of Danzig has been so constructed that there is no more difficulty about a thoroughfare for Polish munition ships.



[Simplicissimus]

[Munich]

The Mad Woman.

"You'd better jump off alone, Madame!
My love doesn't stretch to this!"



[Le Rire]

The Call.

[Paris]

"You are wasting your time; there is nobody there!"



[Kladderadatsch]

Now, Now!

[Berlin]

Lloyd George to Millerand: "You shouldn't put that statue of Wrangel on top of our beautiful house of cards until the cards have been stuck together!"



[Karikaturen]

[Christiania]

The Proletarian "Worker."

[The Russian Bolshevik emissary Litvinoff came to Christiania and stayed at the Grand Hotel.]



[Detroit News]

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

Europe: "Come on in; the water's fine!"



[Nobelkaller]

[Zürich]

French Policy.

France saws and saws and saws!



Numero]

[Turin

Danse Bolshevik.

[Vahre Jacob]

[Stuttgart

The Insatiabiles.

Napoleon—Millerand: "Because I have not recovered the milliards sunk in the Russian Bearskin, the French Capitalists are throwing stones at me."

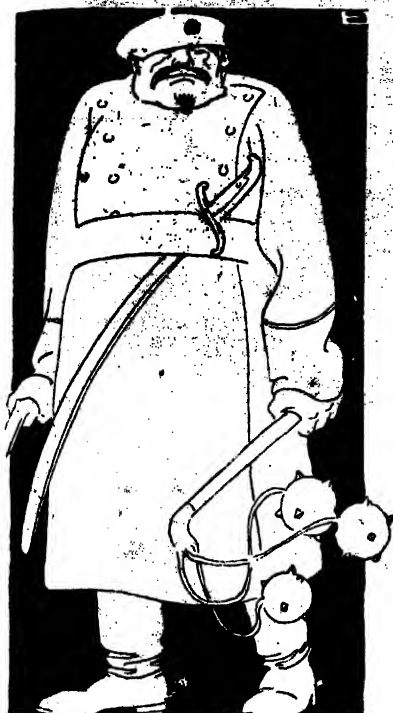


Le Rire]

[Paris

The Soviet Gospel.

We make no war of conquest, we make wars of "propaganda."



[Netherlands]

[Amsterdam]

Soviet Liberty.

Proletarians of other "lands! Come and put yourselves under the *knout* of freedom!"



[Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford]

A Modern Statue.

Public: "It would be a fine piece of work if only the head didn't spoil it."



[L'Avenir]

[Rome]

At School.

"Tell me, what is war?
War is—is—is—Peace."



[Detroit News]

[Detroit U.S.A.]

Dinner is Ready.



Looker-on] **The Dyer Fund.** [Calcutta

Dyer: "Ah! Everybody's loved by someone!"

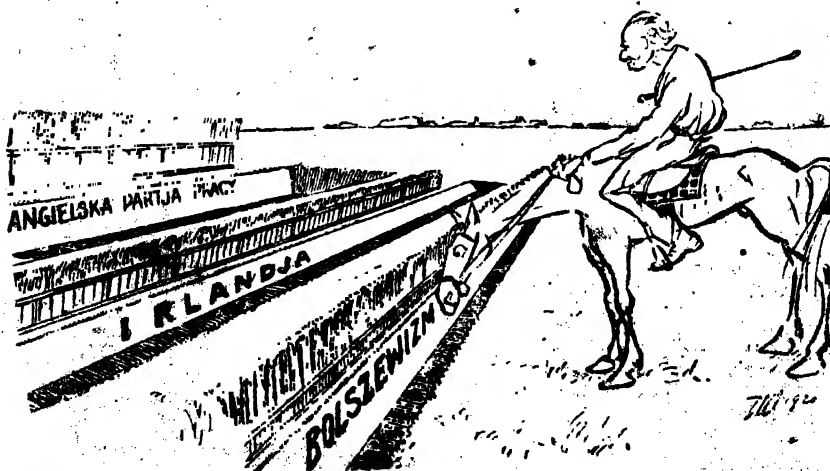


Kladderadatsch]

[Be

The French Wren.

The American Eagle: "The fellow is cocky as if he had got to this height his own efforts!"



Mucha]

[Wal

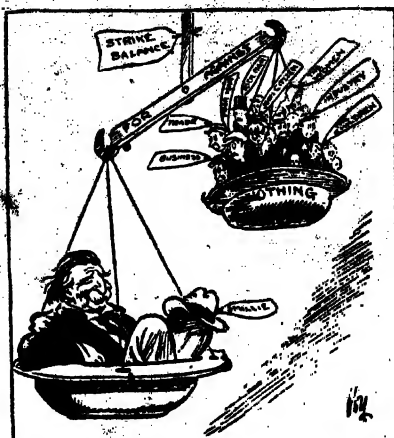
Lloyd George (in front of the obstacles):—"Perhaps I can get over the first and the second but I shall assuredly come a cropper at the third (English Labour Party)."



Daily Express]

[London

Whispered Counsel.



Evening News]

[London

Weighs as nothing in the scales.

"There is NOTHING which would justify the prevention of a strike."—Mr. SMILLIE.



Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford

A Cal de Sac.



Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.S.A.

—And we say Slavery has been abolished.



[Detroit News]

[Detroit, U.S.A.]

The Wedding Present.

[Dayton Daily News]

[Dayton, U.]

Harding: "Fear not, Uncle Trusty, I will take you!"



[Hindi Punch]

[Bombay]

**On Giddy Heights
Or, Peace in a Perilous Position.**

[While England has tried its best to be away from the war with Soviet Russia on the question of Poland, France has decided on war with the Bolsheviks alone].



[Bradford Daily Telegraph]

[Bradford]

In the Searchlight of Publicity.

A study in values.

THE MILITARY TERROR IN IRELAND.

By Our Special Correspondent.

The following article has been written for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS after a personal investigation by an ex-Officer in an Irish regiment who has first-hand knowledge of the various political movements in modern Irish history.)

Before starting on a tour of investigation in the South of Ireland, I had an interview with General Macready at his military quarters in Dublin. More than anyone else, General Macready is personally responsible for the present government of Ireland, if only because he alone is almost constantly in residence in Dublin. But that is not to say that General Macready is at a free hand in Ireland.

His principal grievance is not new in the history of Dublin Castle. He complains that the Government will not make up its mind. "Let us know whether we are to have peace or war," he is said to one interviewer after another, let the Government either withdraw the troops altogether from the country or give us sufficient power to put a stop to the continual murders of soldiers and police." If the Government would make up its mind, General Macready believes that he could "have the country quiet" within a fortnight or at most three weeks.

I have not met an Irishman anywhere who agrees with General Macready's opinion on that point. I have not met anyone who even believes that General Macready is still in a position to enforce even the most elementary discipline upon the armed forces that are nominally under his control. One of the most disquieting mysteries of the present Irish administration is the fact that although General Macready was appointed with a great flourish of trumpets, to assume the combined control of both military and police, in which his experience at Scotland Yard after he ceased to be Adjutant General at the War Office seemed to fit him particularly, yet he has now, by his own admission, no control whatever over the Irish Police. No one in Ireland can say the word will or will not be obeyed by the Royal Irish Constabulary. As for the "Black and Tans" who are the new reinforcements of the Irish Police, they regard themselves a law unto themselves. They are composed of two classes. There

is the Special Auxiliary Division of the R.I.C., who have been enlisted at a day exclusively from ex-officers in the Army to assist the police in the defence of the comparatively few police barracks in which they are now concentrated. There are also the ordinary "Black and Tan" recruits of whom 8,000 enlisted during the past month alone, and who have earned a reputation for sheer hoodliganism wherever they have been sent in Ireland. Rightly or wrongly, it is believed by all classes of people in Ireland that the lowest elements of the unemployables in England have been freely recruited for the "Black and Tans," and the experience of practically every county would seem to show that many of them are undoubtedly using their position as undisciplined police to loot property on a large scale under the pretext of raiding houses which are suspected of containing arms and ammunition.

In Waterford City, for instance, which is the only Southern Irish constituency where a constitutional Nationalist was returned at the last General Election, the "Black and Tans" had made their appearance just before I visited it. No outrage against the police at any time has been committed in that district. The population pursues its normal business undisturbed by political troubles of any kind. Only the arrival of the "Black and Tans" has thrown it into a state of fear. One of its leading citizens told me that he had already received letters threatening him with death if any attacks upon the police were made in Waterford, and on the night before I saw him, his daughter had been returning with two other girls from a dance, when they were suddenly held up in the darkness by six policemen who thrust revolvers into their faces and used insulting and filthy language and forced them to hold up their hands. They were not even searched, but after having been terrified by threats and insults were allowed to go on their way. In the same peaceful city I called upon the Lord Mayor,

a doctor with a professional practice which keeps him busy often for nearly twenty-four hours in the day. I found his windows had been smashed in, and I was not surprised that he told me he had no intention of replacing them in spite of the great discomfort in which he had to live, since he knew that they would be immediately broken again. Not only do the police fail to protect property, but they actually destroy it themselves or allow it to be destroyed by hoodlums under their own eyes. They have long ceased to perform any civil function whatever. They have nothing at all to do, yet while I was in Waterford a hundred more "Black and Tans" were drafted into the town. The townspeople have every reason to feel that their importation is sure to lead to trouble before long, and they fear already that any day some pretext may be found for the "Black and Tans" to break loose, to loot the shops and the public houses, and then, maddened with drink, set fire to the town.

Were it not for the "Black and Tans" and the pernicious influence that they have brought with them into the whole police force in Ireland, Waterford and scores of other towns in the same position would be as peaceful and as prosperous as any town in England. It was impossible to avoid a similar inference also in Cork. On the day before I arrived there, the "Black and Tans" had exploded a bomb outside the window of one of the largest drapery shops in the city. The whole shop front had been blown in, and right down Patrick Street on both sides of the street and on either side of the shop, practically every window had been blown right in. Window-breaking, after the curfew hour, when any civilian who ventures into the streets is liable to be shot at sight, had become so prevalent that almost every shop front in Patrick Street is boarded up after the shops close. But the bomb outside Cash's drapery house had smashed the windows all along the street right up to the top storeys. So long as the "Black and Tans" remain in the town, no insurance company will consider any application for insurance, and the windows will consequently gape open through the rest of the winter. Even the wooden hoardings are beginning to be

replaced by zinc or corrugated iron. The "Black and Tans" have threat to drench the wooden shutters with pitch and so set fire to the shops.

Broken windows are, in fact, the symptom of the present Government in Ireland was four years since I had done my military training with Irish troops at Fermoy and to return to it in its present condition is a revelation that turns every member of the war for an Irish soldier to indescribable bitterness. Twice Fermoy has been wrecked and looted by English troops. I walked round the town with a business man who had all his life been so unpromising a Unionist that he would not discuss politics with any Nationalist. Several generations past Fermoy has been one of the principal training centres for troops stationed in Ireland, and early in the war it was the headquarters of the Sixteenth Irish Division which John Redmond and his colleagues raised within a very few months. For the people who live in the neighbourhood, it is no less intimately connected with the traditions of the British Army than is Aldershot. Yet a Protestant Unionist who took me round its ruined streets said to me quite frankly and with a tragic bitterness of disillusion that he longed for the day when the British soldier would have left the county. He told me how, when the soldiers deliberately sacked the town a year ago, all the lights in every house were extinguished in the hope that they would pass by unharmed, and how, while he and his wife placed a mattress against the nursery windows, stones had been hurled at them through the window. There had been present in the second looting of the town after General Lucas was kidnapped by the Sinn Féiners, and had seen its beginnings when a detachment of the Flying Corps had gone round breaking windows early in the evening, only to withdraw and return at midnight with the Buffs in full force. "What discipline can they have," he said, "when they are able to climb out of camp with ladders and spend half the night wrecking and burning the town?"

I remembered his question a few days later when it became known that troops from Fermoy had motored to Malin, twenty miles away, to set fire to the town.

ere. In Fermoy they had tried to burn
uses, but without success, for the motor
belonging to a good Unionist—
rich they stormed to get supplies of
trol, had fortunately only a few tins on
premises. But I have never seen outside
devastated villages of the war zone in
ance such amazing wreckage as is pre-
ented by what I remember a few years
as a prosperous and friendly Irish
an. Practically every shop window has
en smashed to pieces, and the owners
re not replace the windows for fear of
ving them broken again. Large win-
ws displaying boots or clothing are
ected from the street by rabbit wire
by boards that either block up the
dow altogether or allow glimpses of
at is displayed behind them. The
ops are still there, where once they were
heart and soul of the town. Now they
r through it with their motor lorries,
ing their loaded rifles for fun at the
ple in the streets and exulting in their
ver of intimidation when they all but
mple the civilians down. I was
elling from Cork to Dublin on the
that the Lancers' barracks were raided
Mallow. The story of that episode and
sequel is a terrible illustration of the
sent situation in Ireland. There had
n no trouble of any kind in Mallow,
the town led its happy and un-
nning life as it has done for years past.
ten o'clock in the morning, three motor
s, containing unknown men, and arriv-
from an unknown direction, drove
o the town, and stopped somewhere
side the barracks occupied by a com-
atively small detachment of the 17th
icers. All but three of them appar-
ly were out of the barracks, and the
bers rushed the sentries and over-
vered them. In the struggle a sergeant
shot dead by the only bullet that was
d. The raiders loaded up their three
or cars with rifles and ammunition
horse equipment and departed as
tily as they had arrived. To this day
identity has not been discovered,
is it likely to be known. No one in
low apparently knew anything of the
ntion to raid the barracks. The story
ad round the town at once, and the
of reprisals instantly dominated the
an. Within four hours of its occur-

rence, half the civilian population had
fled into the country, and the mail train
to Dublin, in which I was travelling,
carried away many refugees. That night
it is said that not one quarter of the usual
inhabitants slept in the town. Yet there
was no outbreak among the local troops
or police. The appalling reprisals that
did take place were the work of troops
who arrived from Fermoy in motor lorries
which could not possibly have been com-
mandeered by them without the approval
or at least the connivance of senior officers
in Fermoy.

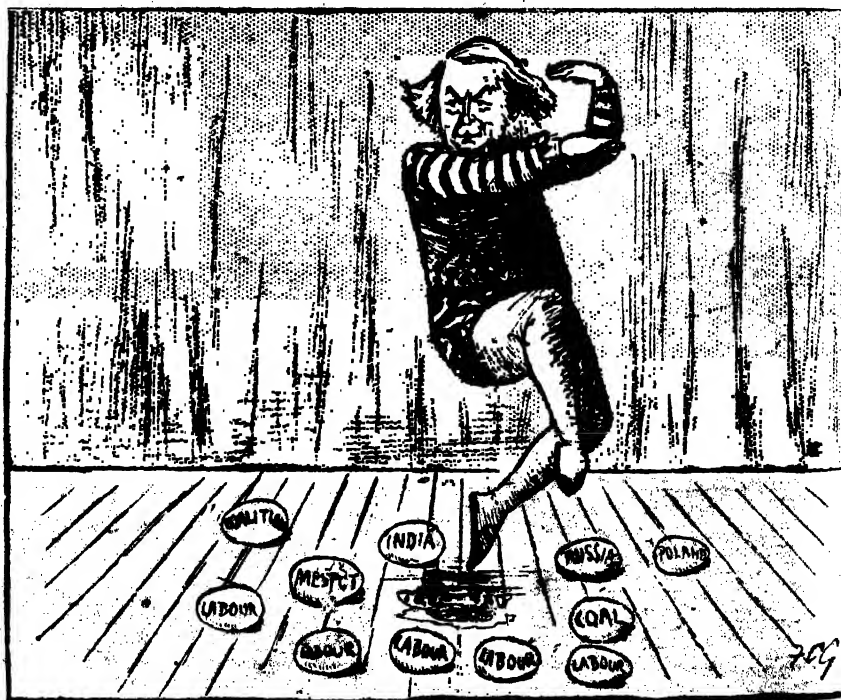
The story of Mallow only confirms the
shameful story of Balbriggan. Mallow
was sacked by troops, Balbriggan was
sacked by "Black and Tans." Sir Hamar
Greenwood has announced that the Gov-
ernment will not condone reprisals of this
kind; but every attempt has been made to
represent them as the spontaneous out-
break of troops who have witnessed
murder under their own eyes. Only
General Macready has been indiscreet
enough to say publicly that he does not
disapprove. Without the active co-opera-
tion of senior officers, neither Balbriggan
nor Mallow could have been burned
down, for in each case the reprisals were
carried out by armed men abundantly
supplied with ammunition and with petrol,
who arrived from a long distance in motor
lorries, which they could never have
obtained without permits. And in each
case the townspeople upon whom reprisals
that are every bit as severe and as delib-
erate as the destruction of Dinant or
Termonde by the Gerinans, were inflicted,
were in no way responsible for the deaths
which occurred in their towns.

General Macready has declared publicly
that he could get the country quiet within
three weeks at most. Are these the
methods that he intends to put into opera-
tion? Is every town in Ireland in turn
to suffer the fate of Balbriggan, Mallow,
Queenstown, Lismore, Galway, Tuam,
Athlone, and the ever lengthening list of
towns and villages which have been
wrecked and burned? What is the object
of this deliberate and savage destruction?
The unknown raiders who visited Mallow
the other day may visit any other town
in turn. They do not suffer, for they have
escaped long before the reprisals can com-

mence. No one that I met in Ireland had the smallest idea as to whether these raiding parties were subject to any control by Sinn Fein or by anyone else. I met no one who was likely to have the smallest weight in the direction of Sinn Fein policy who believed that such raids could conceivably be worth while. I met many people who were beginning to believe that in some cases at least the wilder men in the "Black and Tans" were carrying out the raids themselves in order to obtain a pretext for reprisals. Men of sound judgment who would be the last to believe in extravagant stories, are genuinely convinced that the irresponsible characters in the "Black and Tans" have already been murdering police officers who were trying to enforce discipline, or stood in the way of reprisals.

One's first natural impression is to say that the existing conditions simply cannot continue. But they have already con-

tinued for so long in Ireland that Irish men are losing hope that they will cease in any near future. One extremely intelligent observer put a point to me which is worth recording. "The Government will not withdraw the army," he said, "because it must keep it somewhere, and it may be needed any day for use in Labour troubles in England." It is cheaper to keep it in Ireland, where it can be kept in practice without being continually brought under the notice of the Trade Unionists. Is it altogether impossible that some such idea does lurk in the background of the Government's Irish policy? If it does it is well that the fact should be known. For if it is important in the national interest that a large and highly disciplined arm should be kept in being, is that purpose likely to be fulfilled by the present system of degradation and brutality that is sapping the morale of the Irish army in occupation?



Westminster Gazette

Egg-Dancing.

London

The Premier Danseur: "I think I heard a crack!"



[Los Angeles Times]

[Los Angeles, U.S.A.]

Physical Geography.



[The Bulletin]

[Sydney]

After Fresh Pastures.

John Bull: "H'm, the more bricks I throw, the harder he goes at it!"



[The Star]

[London]

Dublin Castle Official: "It can't deceive us. It's a mouse and we are going to swat it."

"A very small band of terrorists is imposing its policy on Ireland. We know their names."—General Kennedy.

Revolution or Reaction?

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

It is as yet too early to say which idea will prevail, but it is certain that the world can never again be exactly what it was before the war. A typical Englishman, with a somewhat simple view of the mondial situation, said to me the other day, dolefully shaking his head: "It will be some time before Europe settles down." He supposes that things just right themselves, that Europe will, provided you leave it alone, "settle down." This process is independent of human effort and human will: it is merely a matter of time; and the only regret is that that time is likely to be longer than was at first thought possible. In the end, our incorrigible optimist believes, we shall settle comfortably down.

Unfortunately this is not true. The war smashed all the ancient framework of society. The war destroyed morality, just as it produced an impossible economic situation. It gave us a new spirit. No longer are the workers content to go on as before: they are in revolt everywhere; and at a moment when production was needed as it was never needed in other days, non-production, strikes, shorter hours of labour, listlessness, lack of discipline, make the collapse of industrial civilisation almost inevitable. A bird's-eye view of the world to-day is not reassuring.

But if you ask me which will win, Reaction or Revolution?—I cannot tell you. There are signs that the tendency towards Revolution which manifested itself in every country is being beaten down; and that the opposing tendency towards Reaction is triumphing. Nevertheless there are many signs to the contrary, and a final judgment is impossible.

There has lately been published in France a book by Dr. Gustave Le Bon, the famous student of the psychology of peoples, in which he poses precisely this question, though he employs other terms. There are, for him, two conflicting forces—Imperialism and Internationalism. You can employ a number of expressions which

mean more or less the same thing: you can say that every country is now engaged in the struggle for hegemony; that the militarist elements in each country were never so strong; that nationalism, which unfortunately does not mean the desire to remain within one's own borders but a belief in the national mission which makes for domination, expansion, whether territorial or spiritual, is bloated; that in the sphere of foreign politics we are all pitted against each other in a desperate and deadly conflict, when mutual help is a condition of life. And there is much which would confirm the truth of such an assertion. France, as I showed last month, is striving for the mastery of Middle Europe. France is carrying her civilisation into Asia Minor. France is not ashamed to make use of Hungary in the pursuance of her political designs, and actually receives Hungarian missions to advise them about the re-fashioning of the Hungarian army. England, equipped with ships, has managed to secure commercial supremacy and is trying to hold down France, by denying her coal or making her pay dearly for it. England is putting her weight in the German scale in the interest of a Balance of Powers which she shall control. England is trying to direct the small Baltic nations. England is playing a hand in the Near East. Russia too is endeavouring to secure the predominant place in Europe and Asia, and from Moscow political ambition dictates a propaganda which will make of some central organisation directed by Lenin the arbiter of the universe. Germany has still dreams of a day when Germanism will make a better or worse world than now exists. Even Italy, though she is more limited in her range, seeks to bestride the Adriatic. Poland imagines herself to be the ruler of the Ukraine, and is also turning to Hungary for the formation of an alliance which would enable her to boss Czecho-Slovakia. Big and little, the nations are all bitten by this bug of Imperialism. From America stepping over the Atlantic and

reparing to buy up Europe, to the Free State of Fiume, issuing its proclamations, the astonished stars, the lust for hegemony is in our blood.

And yet there is side by side with the growth of militarism and the mystic belief in a national mission, an amazing growth of Internationalism, which is really mystic as it is taught by its principal exponents and accepted by the mass of its devotees. In every Imperialistic country, Internationalism flourishes as the new religion. Unfortunately Internationalism is a sort of fanaticism: the new religion is propagated by sword and spear. In Moscow, which is the chief centre of the faith, it is confused with Imperialism. Indeed, one may inquire whether the roots of Imperialism and Internationalism are not the same—the desire to impose a civilisation, a culture, a religion, on all the world. They are, however, bitter antagonists in practice; and every nation without exception, but especially every victorious nation, is torn between the madness of extending its empire and the madness of letting the moral empire of Moscow be extended upon it.

As I look around, I think I see that on the whole it is pure militarism which is triumphing. In England the Ministers are more prudent, and are afraid of the range doctrines which, on the breaking of the old beliefs, have seized the masses; and in Italy too there is fear. But for the most part Imperialism is now naked and unashamed.

The outlook for the winter is frankly black. In England we are menaced with an acute phase of the fight between Government and Workers. That fight is being pursued bitterly and unceasingly. It is a fight that must eventually result either in the triumph of Labour or in the final triumph of Authority. It cannot be stopped; the battle cannot be evaded or broken off for ever. Sooner or later the decisive stand must be made.

In Italy there has apparently been a relaxation; but I am assured by those who have studied the attempts of the workers to acquire possession of the factories that, although the Government is potent, so are the workers. There is for the moment such a state of exhaustion that neither side can carry out its programme.

Two invalids—Revolution and Authority—confront each other. If Revolution had a passing success it was because there is no health in Italy—one of the countries which has most suffered. But in nearly all Balkan countries and certainly in Hungary, we find repression at its worst. The rulers do not stick at anything. They have enough energy to crush the movements which are manifesting themselves, and freedom is an empty name. Poland is notoriously reactionary. Marshal Pilsudski, who was once a Socialist, now vies with the worst representatives of feudalism. Large tracts of Europe are going back to the days when the masses of mankind were at the mercy of proprietorial barons; and other parts of Europe have only changed the landowner for the coldblooded industrialist in power. Yet other parts, Russia for example, are the victims of a new kind of subjugation. Revolution has converted itself into a ferocious Reaction; and it would indeed be difficult to distinguish between the Absolutism of Lenin and the Absolutism of Admiral Horthy. The worker if he escapes Charybdis runs into Scylla; and which is the worse lot would be hard to decide.

What of Germany? Prophecy would be foolish, for anything might happen. The present Government has not been less dictatorial than that of Noske—that is to say, than the Kaiser Government. There is nothing to prevent the election of a Prince as President in a little while, but a Prince or a Pauper will probably mean an equal grinding of the people. Liberty is trampled underfoot as in the worst hours of history; and the great ideas that are sweeping the world only seem to fling the peoples into the arms of fresh tyrannies.

In France we have had the election of M. Millerand to the Presidency of the Republic. I have often met M. Millerand, and I believe him to be a generous-hearted man. He began his career as a Socialist, and he now denies every principle for which he once stood. I congratulate him on the choice of Parliament, but with all friendliness towards France and towards her President it is necessary to recognise that he owes his position to the Reaction. His policy has been counter-revolutionary; and counter-revolutionary, by a

comprehensible fatality, always means in practice reactionary.

It is worth while, in this general survey of the world, to consider rather particularly the election of M. Millerand, for it is an example of how, in the turbulence of times, men are being pushed against their will into extreme positions. M. Millerand would be perfectly reasonable in his policy if he were left alone, but the forces of the period are too much for him, and he has made the standard-bearer of those with whom he must largely disagree. For example, in his attitude towards Germany, he was disposed to accept the obvious contention that there could be no economic settlement of Europe until Germany's debt was defined. The maximum of indemnities must be fixed if we are to know how we stand, and if we are to "mobilise" our credits, and give each other a chance of recovering from the wounds of war.

That Germany cannot work with any heart if her liabilities are vague, immense, as admitted by all the experts. In his report to the Brussels International Conference even the French expert, M. Gide, abandoned the policy of financial hatred, the policy of economic reprisals, which would cripple Germany without benefitting France. If anything was clear, it was clear that, before a practical scheme of reconstruction could be arrived at, it was necessary that all the nations should first examine their resources, and then agree to help each other and thus help themselves.

The world has suffered shipwreck, and whatever were our quarrels we now have need of each other's assistance to repair the damage. There cannot be too many hands put to the pump. If Germany can make things for us, we would be stupid to refuse to provide her with raw materials and to accept her manufactured articles. The high cost of living, which is partly responsible for the fatal struggle between Revolution and Reaction, can only be reduced by co-operation. But although M. Millerand realised the need—especially at San Remo—of an all-round reconciliation of interests, all sorts of obstacles have been put in the way of this search for a common plan of action.

When the Congress of Economists at Amsterdam recommended the Brussels meeting last January—remember these dates: it was nine months before such a urgent gathering could be convened—they distinctly declared that only international solidarity, only united efforts could save us from the perilous conditions which provoke the present conflict of Authority and Anarchy. It was co-operation or chaos. But they did not leave out Germany. You cannot leave out Germany. Germany exists. Sixty or seventy million people have to be fed and you can either allow them to work to feed themselves and to add to the world's stores, or decline them credits, menace them, make impossible demands which in reality cut them out of the world's working community and make them an economic burden as is Austria. Now it was necessary that Brussels should have been preceded by an understanding between the Allies and Germany. There can be no real arrangement until Germany and the Allies have come to terms. M. Millerand, to his credit, agreed to meet the Germans—at Spa. He agreed at Boulogne to the amount to be claimed by way of reparations. But there was much delay. Unhappily the Bloc National in France is wedded to the idea of international reparations—that is to say that if she cannot get everything, France prefers to get nothing. They made M. Millerand's position extremely difficult. It seemed time after time, at the conferences which attended, that the French Premier had consented to a sensible course, but immediately Parliament clamoured for the fulfilment of the treaty.

Little was done at Spa, but what was done was condemned. Pushed to the point of fatality, France made Spa the pretext for the abandonment of Geneva which was to have followed at once—that is to say at the end of July—and which was to have seen the dawn of some kind of financial sanity at last. M. Millerand probably did his best, but the pressure was too great: he gave up Geneva, allowed Brussels to take place first, and to become mere discussion in the air, since the foundations of an accord had not been laid. He was rewarded by the confidence of the Bloc National.

That, I think, and I believe it to be only honest to say so, is pure folly, and it is a pity that the election of M. Millerand should mean that we are to continue to be foolish and to cherish our reactionary idea of national hatreds.

But there is a second significance in the choice of M. Millerand. Whatever he may think about Brussels and Geneva, he is certainly counter-revolutionary in the sense of actively opposing Bolshevism. My own view is that the best opposition to Bolshevism would be the restoration of tolerable conditions. The new French President believes otherwise. Like M. Clemenceau, he wants France to lead the world in the war against Russia. So steadfastly does he hold to the opinion that the best way of bringing peace is to encourage war, the best way of checking social disorders is to react against them, that he did not hesitate to risk everything. He might have lost all—but he happened to win. Let it not be forgotten, however, that his Polish policy was dangerous. If it came off, it is nevertheless true that it was foolhardy. Warsaw was on the point of falling; England advised peace; when M. Millerand sent General Weygand and recognised General Wrangel. By a miracle Poland was not annihilated; Warsaw stood; and Wrangel still survives. It was the Bolsheviks who committed the unpardonable fault of being beaten when peace was at last in sight.

I neither praise nor blame: I will leave time, which is the best judge in these matters, to appreciate the action of M. Millerand. What I do is to note them, and to point out that Revolution must necessarily produce Counter-Revolution; and it was as the champion of Counter-Revolution in Europe that M. Millerand became President of the Republic.

Indeed I know no nation in Europe which is so solid as France. While she has restless neighbours—England on one side, Italy on the other—she is firm. Vigorous steps were taken against the great strikes of May last. These steps again were regarded as dangerous and provocative: but again, they were justified by their success. Instead of the attempted repression making the incipient flames of Revolution mount higher, the strikes were utterly extinguished.

The problem of whether the soft or the hard method should be employed is one which the statesmen must resolve for themselves. The consequences of a mistake may be frightful. But it may be taken as a general truth that the choice is between Revolution and Reaction. There are so many factors making for Revolution: and Revolution itself makes for Reaction. There is only one possible way of escape from one or the other of these alternatives. It is the speedy return to normal material conditions.

If our rulers were wise they would dread Reaction as much as they dread Revolution, and they would devote all their energies to bring about the effective utilisation of world resources, whether Russian, German, French, English, American or Neutral. It is still generally believed that the neutral nations escaped the consequences of the war: but their complaints at Brussels were bitter. We are all in danger. European civilisation—and with it American wealth and civilisation—are in peril of disappearing.

The figures which were given at Brussels do not indicate much chance of an early solution of our difficulties. The key-problem is the financial problem. While we are all in debt, while paper money circulates in such profusion, while production does not respond to needs, there will be fluctuations of opinion, social clashes and commotions, fatal bouleversements. Bankruptcy is not a mere book operation in the national accounts: it is a calamity which will destroy the very fabric of society. If there is one lesson which emerges from all these reports and discourses of Brussels—academic as the Conference may have been—it is that we cannot afford to play any longer with the peril.

Our statesmen have not considered the problems in a practical way. They have pursued a sentimental policy. They have fiddled while the world burnt. Brussels at least has opened the eyes of many people to realities. Brussels proves that not by perpetuating war can we avoid Revolution and the inevitable Reaction, but only by steadily working and by pooling the resources of the entire globe. Enough of fooling! True peace becomes now an imperative necessity.

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

SHOULD WE SCRAP THE LEAGUE?

"Why is it that the Supreme Council continues to function while the League of Nations appears to languish? Why is it that the body which handled the affairs of the world at Spa was not the League of Nations but the old Supreme Council?" An outspoken article in the September number of the *Round Table* answers these questions by pointing to what its writer maintains are defects inherent in the Covenant of the League. The Covenant, he argues, was drawn up apart from the men who had the experience gained on the Supreme Council, and before instead of after the treaties were made. Its forms were dominated by conceptions natural to the Head of a Republic with a written constitution. It fails to make a sufficient distinction between occasions of conflict and causes of war. Its framers never definitely emerged from the confusion between a world state and a conference of governments. And the machinery which it constructed is hampered by Article 5 of the Covenant, which enacts that "decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting."

Yielding to the influences under which they worked, its authors proceeded to disguise the machinery in the trappings of a government of mankind. The large conference is called an Assembly, a word long appropriated to legislative bodies. It is thus presented as a legislature, when it is in fact nothing of the kind. In like manner the smaller body is called a Council, and the whole instrument is framed to make it appear as if it were an executive responsible to the Assembly. In effect it is nothing of the kind, for the Assembly can neither remove it nor yet overrule it. In pursuance of the same idea the members of each body are said to have "votes" when in fact they can only decide questions of policy by agreement. . . . To be frank, the power given to each member is not that of a vote, but that of a veto. . . . A conference as such can do nothing; whatever is done has to be done by the separate governments which compose it, and their reason for meeting is so far as possible to harmonize and co-ordinate

the action of each before it is taken. So long as there are separate governments in the world, the best we can do is to make agreement as ready and easy as possible before action has to be taken. But to say that no action shall be taken on matters discussed at the conference unless or until agreement is recorded by every party is a certain road to disaster.

The elastic constitution of the Supreme Council gives it an advantage over the rigid machinery of the League, and advocates of the latter body are therefore faced with the question—What is the next thing to be done?

The worst possible course is to leave the League crowned with flowers of rhetoric and masquerading as a government of mankind, while the real business is done in some different and separate body. This is the situation to-day; and to acquiesce in it is to do nothing. No speech of a first-rank statesman is complete without a peroration in praise of the League. The Supreme Council, which does the work, is never the theme of perorations. While this continues the whole atmosphere is poisoned by insincerity.

The League and not the Supreme Council is the recognised organ of international control, and the first step in merging the Supreme Council in the Council of the League is to insist that the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, and Italy (and, when the Far East is in question, the Foreign Minister of Japan) must sit on that body. And each Foreign Minister must be the *alter ego* of his chief. For the conference of Prime Ministers cannot work in normal conditions. The mere question of the time which one Prime Minister has at his disposal is prohibitive. He must either neglect foreign affairs or else domestic affairs; and the neglect of either will react on the other.

Let the Foreign Ministers, then, see whether they can really do their proper work through the Council of the League as at present constituted. Let them face the question whether Article 5 binds them to inaction in matters upon which unanimous agreement cannot be obtained. The answer to that question is of al

ness the most imperative. If they find that Article 5 does impose an inaction which is in practice disastrous, then let them say so in Parliament, and obtain its support in demanding an amendment in terms of Article 28. The same course should be followed in respect of the four minor states included in the Council. In experience it should prove that the presence of these members defeats the requirements of secrecy, delays action to a dangerous degree, and so renders the Council abortive, let them boldly seek the necessary amendment. . . . The supreme function of the Council is to constitute a place where the leading statesmen of the world can discover their minds to each other. If the presence of ministers from Brazil, Belgium, Greece and Spain is in practice fatal to frank discovery, let the Council be limited to the great powers.

Drastic as these proposals are, the *Round Table* goes farther still. Should the League, with its revised constitution, not work within a reasonable time, a still more far-reaching amendment is proposed.

If, however, the machinery will not work in time, an effective alternative is opened by the third paragraph of Article 1. By this provision England can give two years' notice of intention to withdraw from the League. But that notice should under no circumstances be given unless at the same time an invitation is issued to other

powers to a conference to be held forthwith to consider a new arrangement in the light of the experience gained. Such a conference can then do what might have been done by the Conference of Paris, if the creation of the League had been left to its close. It will then have at its disposal the experience not only of Paris, but that gained through several years of an attempt to work the League as defined by the Covenant. It can frame a simple agreement, providing for conference, but leaving the nations to develop in practice such as no one could mistake for a *Round Table*. From such a conference it would be difficult for America to hold herself aloof. The mere question of convenience would draw her to its table. It is worth reflecting that the Dominions would never have been brought to the Imperial Conference, subject to a covenant involving such commitments as that of the League.

The principle of transacting world affairs in conference instead of by underground wires, concludes the *Round Table*, has come to stay. A conference there will be, whether the forms are recognised or not, and conferences of statesmen must be secret. "What matters is our knowing when and how they confer, and amongst whom such conference lies. Secret machinery is a subtler danger than secret treaties."



THE LITTLE ENTENTE.

A NEW MOVE FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL EUROPE?

In *The New Europe* for September 9th appeared the translation of a speech made on the first of the month by Dr. Benes, Czecho-Slovakian minister of foreign affairs, before the permanent Parliamentary Committee, in which he explained the foreign policy of Czecho-Slovakia and outlined the objects of what is known as "the Little Entente" between Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Roumania. Beginning with the truism that in Central Europe, as elsewhere, "moral decay, economic misery and social anarchy can only be abolished by restoring economic relations," Dr. Benes stated that a primary aim of the new agreement (the Peace of Trianon) was peace with Hungary. But the Magyars are still in the saddle in that country, and peace can only be secured if they are willing to renounce their "oriental and romantic" principles of imperialism, including the restoration of the Habsburgs, and "change all (her) traditional ideas, (her) social structure and (her) political methods." Secondly, as regards Russia, the Little Entente has decided to preserve an attitude of neutrality in the Russo-Polish conflict. Friendly relations are to be sought with Austria; "we are willing to facilitate her existence on terms which are not prejudicial to our interests." Finally,

It has always been in the interests of the Entente for Central Europe to be consolidated, and all the negotiations which have taken place at Belgrade and Bucharest are entirely consistent with this policy. It is satisfactory to Italy because the common object of this action is to render impossible any restoration of Austria-Hungary. An important factor in this alliance from the point of view of the Entente is the circumstance that the discussions in connection with it do not infringe the scope of the Peace Treaties. We may therefore emphasise the unity of the Czecho-Slovak, Yugoslav, and Roumanian Entente with the Allies.

Pending the publication of the full terms of the agreement and the elucidation of certain important points in Dr. Benes's speech, a torrent of comment, criticism and forecast has been let loose in the continental press. Germany especially is watching developments with the keenest interest, and sections of her press are trying to make it appear that the Little Entente

is really a blow at the Great Entente. The subject, however, has received but scant attention in the British papers, in spite of the general interest felt in the unhappy state of Central Europe and of the many related problems of international statesmanship that it involves.

One welcomes, therefore, an article on "The Small Entente" by Mr. Maxwell H. H. Macartney in the *Fortnightly Review* (October) which surveys judiciously the formation of this new political and economic system. "The Coming Together," says the writer, "of three such countries as Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Roumania constitutes a Power which is not only strong numerically, but strong also in bayonets, and if, as would seem to be on the cards, Austria and Greece may also be drawn to some extent into the circle, then the possibilities of this combination are even more imposing." The writer inclines to the view that the aims of the Little Entente are political and military rather than economic.

Concerning the economic aims of the "Small Entente," there is, for the moment, but little to say. This may be "above all," as has been claimed, a positive agreement to facilitate a return to normal economic conditions, to regularise the exchanges between these countries, and generally to promote the restoration of trade, commerce and industry throughout the States of Central and South-Eastern Europe. Any fair and comprehensive scheme which shall do away with the present conditions, based as they are upon prejudice and upon all the exploded fallacies of mediæval political economy, is certainly so much to the good. On paper, indeed, a start is already being made in this direction. Under a recently-signed convention, for example, Roumania has agreed to export petrol, grain and raw materials to Austria in exchange for machinery, manufactured articles and goods of all kinds, and the "Small Entente" generally has concluded a series of economic arrangements which are destined to enable Austria to extricate herself from her lamentable situation. Whether anything will result from these benevolent intentions is another matter. The unfortunate experiences of Austria during the last eighteen months suggest rather that she will be unwise to expect too much. Every agreement hitherto made by her has in its performance lagged far behind its promise.

But a scheme for the salvation of Austria is already being worked out by

the Vienna section of the Reparation Commission, under Sir William Goode, and Mr. Macartney rather suggests that this "aim" of the Little Entente is mainly for the sake of appearances. A more definite aim is "the curbing of Hungary." Hungary is undoubtedly anxious to recover the Magyar territory she has been compelled to cede to her three neighbours; and she has pronounced herself in favour of a restoration of the monarchy. Moreover, "her naturally pugnacious people seem to take an insane delight in creating minor incidents between their country and her neighbours, or in pursuing a course of Jew-baiting" . . . which . . . "has justified doubts as to the strength or sincerity of the Horthy regime." A combination strong enough to threaten Hungary in no equivocal terms would therefore seem to be a desideratum to her exasperated and alarmed neighbours. Hungary's inclination towards a Habsburg restoration is not so plainly established. Yet there is enough evidence to make it a useful rallying ground for members of the new Entente.

But the important question is whether these grievances and the determination to remove them do not bring the Little Entente into collision with French, and therefore with Allied, policy. France favoured a Danube Confederation, in order to weaken Germany by splitting up the German bloc into a number of smaller entities; just as she opposed the Austrian movement in favour of union with Germany. On the other hand,

Dr. Benes was from the outset very strongly opposed to the idea of a Danube Confederation, which, in his eyes, was bound sooner or later to lead to the reconstitution of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy in some form or other, and he has recently declared explicitly that one of the objects of the "Small Entente" is to disprove the truth of the old saying that if Austria-Hungary did not exist it would be necessary to create her. In this view Dr. Benes has not stood alone. It is common knowledge that Italy was strenuously opposed to French policy on the same ground. But M. Allizé and Pontalis have found in Vienna firm opponents in Prince Borghese and the Marchese della Torretta. Belgrade in this matter sided for once with Rome, and articles appeared in some Serbian newspapers advocating the Austrian union with Germany, because thereby Yugo-Slavia would acquire a common frontier with that land with

which an advantageous trade for the future is expected.

It is doubtful whether the danger of an Austro-Hungarian revival was as great as Dr. Benes appeared to believe. At any rate, now that the Danube Confederation policy has broken down, he has shown himself anxious to put the most generous interpretation on France's diplomatic moves in Hungary. At the same time,

It is undeniable that the relations between Paris and Prague have for some time past lost much of their previous cordiality. Two years or so ago Czecho-Slovakia flung herself completely into the arms of the Entente, and, especially after the lamentable *débacle* against the Hungarian Bolsheviks, the fault for which was laid exclusively at the door of Italy, more particularly into the arms of France. This, of course, suited exactly the French book, and General Pellé, ably backed up by an efficient staff, looked forward to creating in Czecho-Slovakia a powerful advance-post of France against Germany. But much water has flowed under the bridge since then. The decision in the Teschen dispute has taken from Czecho-Slovakia much land and even more confidence in the Entente. Prague to-day affects to believe that Poland, not Czecho-Slovakia, was always the pampered darling of Paris, and has been at no pains to disguise her indignation. In her disillusion and anger she turned to Yugo-Slavia and thus created that alliance which a Laibach newspaper recently described as having been established "by the emancipated States on their own initiative, without protection, and perhaps even against the will of the Entente."

Mr. Macartney's conclusion is that the Little Entente in its conception is animated by no very friendly feelings towards its big prototype. But this does not mean that it is pro-German. The truth appears to be that it was created to fill the void caused in Central Europe by the failure of the allied policy to get things done, that its uttered sentiments in regard to the Allies are irreproachably correct, and that, given tactful handling, its future may safely be left to itself. The doings of French high finance in regard to Hungarian affairs have given rise to many sensational reports and rumours calculated to produce the impression that she was working against Czech interests. It is at least of good augury that Dr. Benes and his friends, in their official utterances on the Little Entente, have given no credence to such statements; and that moderate opinion in France refuses to regard the differences between that country and the Czechs in regard to Hungary and Russia as cause for offence.

RIDDLES OF THE EAST.

THE ARAB CAUSE AND BOLSHEVISM IN CENTRAL ASIA.

Everybody knows of the recent trouble with the Arabs in Syria and Mesopotamia, but very few have any clear idea of the causes that have provoked it. It is realised that the Arabs are discontented, but that they have any substantial reason for being so is by no means established in the ordinary British mind. An article on "The Arab Cause" contributed by Mr. W. Urinowski to the *Balkan Review* (September) sheds a good deal of light upon this subject.

Briefly, the Arab grievance is that the Allied promises have not been kept. The first of these promises is registered in a series of letters which passed between Sherief Hussein of Mecca and Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, 1914-1916. In July, 1915, the Sherief wrote concerning the independence of the Arabs within certain specified frontiers. Sir Henry's reply was to the effect that discussion of future frontiers was premature; but, on the Sherief's insistence, he addressed, on October 24th, 1915, a letter to the Sherief containing the following note:—

"The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and those parts of Syria situated to the west (seawards) of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo cannot be considered as purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limit of the frontiers under review. With the above modification, and without prejudice to our actual treaties with Arab chiefs (meaning the Emir of Nejd), we accept these limits and frontiers; and in that which is concerned within these limits, the districts wherein Great Britain is free to act without harm to the interests of her ally France, I am authorised by the British Government to give you the following assurances in reply to your last letter:

"Under reserve of the above modifications, Great Britain is disposed to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories comprised in the limits and frontiers proposed by the Sherief of Mecca."

The Sherief consented to postpone to the end of the war the outstanding question of the coast towns of Syria and the Lebanon.

The impression that Great Britain intended to reward Arab services in the war by the grant of full independence was

fostered by a flamboyant proclamation issued by the late Sir Stanley Maude "to the inhabitants of the Vilayet of Baghdad" on March 19th, 1917, inviting the Arab people to co-operate in the task of government, and throwing in the usual trimmings about coming, not as conquerors and enemies, but as liberators. Unfortunately, no date was given for beginning the co-operation. Nor was any mention made of the secret Sykes-Picot agreement, ratified by M. Cambon and Sir Edward Grey in May, 1916, which parcelled the Middle East out into French, British and International zones in the most business-like way, and though according Allied recognition and protection to "an independent Arab State or Confederation of Arab States in the zones A (France) and B (Britain)," paid much more attention to the rights of the "protecting" countries than to those of the Arabs. In this agreement Mr. Urinowski finds the chief source of the present trouble. Nobody appears to have known of it except the negotiating statesmen, and Lord Allenby's proclamation at his entrance to Jerusalem (December, 1917) stating quite plainly that France and Great Britain agreed to encourage and assist the establishment of indigenous governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, did nothing to deceive the Arabs as to what they might expect.

Here, too, is a significant incident:

I still remember when I was in Damascus being told by a brother officer of how Colonel Minetz-Hargy, the C.P.O., was sent by the General Staff to Emir Feisal to communicate (in the presence of Monsieur Lafourcad, the Diplomatic Agent of the French Government) on behalf of the British Government the following two points, among others:—

1. The British Government will not accept any mandate for Syria.

2. The British Government will not agree to impose any mandate upon Syria against the wishes of the people.

It is certainly difficult to square this with our acquiescence in the French Mandate for Syria.

After the Armistice, the liberated portions of Palestine and Syria were put

under the supreme command of Lord Allenby, who was held by the whole people "in the highest respect and affection." His personal prestige was such that the Arabs under Feisal, who had occupied and expected to remain in the coast sector, were persuaded to withdraw peacefully when that sector (as arranged in the Sykes-Picot agreement) was handed over to French administration. But when, at the end of 1919, the British troops were withdrawn from Syria into Palestine, while the French troops in Syria were powerfully reinforced, it lained upon the Syrian peoples that the Allies did not mean to abide by their promise. They could not see why, as all the troops were under the supreme command of Lord Allenby, the French should not be withdrawn as soon as the British.

As we know, the French interpretation—a perfectly logical one—of the Sykes-Picot agreement quickly led to trouble in Syria, and that trouble has now spread to Mesopotamia and even Palestine. What is the solution?

The dangers of the present situation call for plain speaking. We are all agreed that a perfect and harmonious understanding with France is necessary if the peace of the world is to be assured; but we desire an entente between the two peoples, an entente of hearts and souls, and not one to which we render mere lip service. If Syria stands in the way of such an understanding, we must not remove Syria, or subject it, but rather settle the problem in the interests of the people of Syria alone. The Sykes-Picot agreement has already been broken in part, for Palestine has not been internationalised, nor has Mosul become a sphere of French influence. It remains to jettison the rest of it, not in the interests of Great Britain or of France, but out of consideration for the Arabs, whose interests we have so often and so pitifully considered our especial charge.

Closely connected with the Arab question is the Bolshevik penetration of Persia and Central Asia. Mr. Ukbal Ali Shah, writing on "The Central Asian Tangle" in the *Asiatic Review* (October), expresses the view that Bolshevik policy in regard to Turkestan and India differs in no material respect from that of Czarist Russia.

History bears witness that in all the overtures undertaken by Russia in Central Asia the acquisition of India was always in view. The annexation of the Uzbek States were always

the means to that end. That may have been during Czarist times—with which we associate an Imperialist tendency—but in Bolshevik times do we see any change in that essential aim? The temperament and the desires of a people do not alter with a change in the form of their Government. If there is anything in common between the Czarist and the Bolshevik programmes, it is decidedly in the Indian question. From Kaufmann and Skobeloff to M. Krassin we find the same chord vibrating.

Soviet diplomacy in this region, however, is being conducted with characteristic slipperiness.

As a result, there is a smouldering discontent among the peoples who have come within Lenin's orbit. But this writer charges Great Britain with having done nothing to take advantage of the fact that the inhabitants of the Middle East have all along looked to this country to recognise their legitimate aspirations. "It was hoped in the East, before the British people recognised the Soviets, that they would make sure that their friends in Central Asia would at least retain their independence."

The article is a strong plea for a greater interest in Central Asian politics.



[Kaddarvatsch]

[Bella]

Lloyd George: "It is high time the part of the rope between the reckless Millerand and myself was cut through!"

NATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRY.

WOULD IT MEAN GREATER PRODUCTION?

In the *Contemporary Review* (October) Sir Leo Chiozza Money renews his campaign for "The National Direction of Industry." Once more he points to the admittedly great results achieved during the war when the Government took industry, in charge and, in spite of the drainage of man power into the Army, succeeded in raising considerably the level of productivity. He does not refer to the widespread waste that accompanied the process—a waste that the nation has bitter reason to recall just now—but that is another story. Leaving it out of account and ignoring the possibility that what could be done in war-time might be impossible to achieve under peace conditions, his facts and figures are calculated to "shake the faith of the most hardened anti-nationaliser."

How did we get on before the War?
In the Census of Production of 1907,

It was shown (it should be remembered that pre-war values are spoken of) that, apart from the value of imported materials, all our factories, workshops, mines, and quarries had an output worth no more than £762,000,000, as valued at points of production. To this figure agriculture and fisheries added £222,000,000.

If we consider manufacturing alone, the output was £642,000,000, or less than £15 per head of our 1907 population. This despite all the gifts which modern science, added to the lore of all the centuries, had offered our manufacturers.

It is only necessary to observe this figure to realise that our normal peace output of material wealth (to say nothing of post-war conditions) was quite inadequate for even modest needs. It would have been inadequate if entirely consisting of goods for the ultimate consumer, i.e., personal goods such as houses, clothes, furniture, books, materials of sport or culture. But, of course, it did not so consist. It had in large part to be exported to buy food and raw materials. It had to furnish capital to establish new industries or extend old ones. It had to cover ships for the Royal Navy and gear for the Army. It had to maintain the needs of the Imperial and local governments. It had to supply the materials of exchange and competition, from account books to posters and newspaper advertisements. The quantity of goods left as available for personal use and enjoyment was curiously small.

The meagre record of material output becomes intelligible when we consider the small number of persons engaged in it. According to the same Census, there

were in the producing trades (exclusive of Agriculture) 7,500,000 industrial wage-earners, offered by some 500,000 salaried persons. Of these wage-earners, 4,250,000 were males aged 18 and upwards. But in 1907 the population included 13,000,000 males aged 18 and upwards. Moreover, out of the 4,250,000 about 1,000,000 were miners or quarrymen, leaving only 3,250,000 male producers of all other material commodities. "There is thus no need to wonder that our industrial output in 1907 was so small."

And with such facts before us we can understand what happened in the war. The general truth about production in 1915-1918 may be thus stated:—

So small was the number of men engaged in essential trades when the war broke out, that the formation of a great army left our power of production largely unimpaired. National direction of industry did more with depleted man power than unorganised industry did with all the forces available in peace. . . . In 1917 and 1918 we had on the strength nearly 4,000,000 picked young men. In 1914, on the outbreak of war, we had less than 4,000,000 men of all ages engaged in manufacturing in the United Kingdom. And the 4,000,000 in the Army in 1917-1918 were picked physical units, whereas the 4,000,000 manufacturing workmen of 1914 included many ageing and aged men, and many physically deteriorated.

By the Armistice, 437,000 men had been discharged unfit. The Navy also accounted for 400,000. When one adds to these figures 533,263 men killed, the total of 4,000,000 is increased by another million, making about 5,000,000 men lost to labour. In spite of this loss, "we made more manufactured articles than ever before. . . . The production of iron and steel and other metallurgical industries, of engineering, of ship-building, of chemicals, of leather, of cloth, of clothing, etc., surpassed all former records."

It is not difficult to understand this if the evidence given is examined. In peace, the haphazard unorganised work of Britain yielded a poor result and wasted the labour of millions. The work of so many men was thrown away in non-productive, useless or wasteful employments that when they were drafted into the Army national production did not suffer. As to the men not taken into the Army or Navy, their work was used to greater purpose from a

quantitative point of view, than ever before. They were better organised; they were furnished with superior tools of industry; their scientific equipment was improved.

The Ministry of Munitions did much more than order goods. It organised manufacturers to produce, and it produced for itself. The nation's machinery was overhauled and redistributed. It was found to be lamentably inadequate to produce the mountains of munitions we needed. It was therefore increased. Great quantities of machinery were imported from America. In our own country the machine tool works were extended to their utmost capacity. Before we could make shells we had to make the means to produce them. Great national factories were constructed, splendidly equipped, and brought into action even while the Army was draining men out of work.

As with the metal trades so with chemicals, in which our backwardness made national work even more difficult and necessary.

Sir Leo concludes with a reference to a speech made by Sir Eric Geddes in November, 1919, in which it was suggested, with reference to the shortage and high price of railway wagons, that the State might set up wagon-building establishments—"probably the best thing to do." This, says Sir Leo, goes to the root of the matter. It is no use raising the parrot cry of "more production" while we tolerate conditions in which a fruitful output is difficult or impossible.

THE AMERICAN COAL MENACE.

The trouble in the British Coal Industry renders specially opportune an article on "British Coal and American Competition" contributed by "Politicus" to the *Fortnightly Review* (October). Everybody is aware that American competition with our coal trade has for some time past constituted a serious menace to our industrial position; but the facts and figures marshalled by this writer show the situation to be much worse than is generally supposed. It is not only that our own coal trade has seriously declined, but also that the American output has increased at an almost phenomenal rate; it is now thirty-fold what it was in 1865. "At the present time the United States produces almost exactly as much coal as all the other nations of the world combined."

Coal means wealth and world power. England was the first nation to use coal on a large scale for commercial and industrial purposes, and to this fact she owed her commercial and industrial pre-eminence. According to R. C. Taylor's "Statistics of Coal" published in 1848, Great Britain in 1845 produced 64.2 per cent. of the world's total production. In the same year the American percentage was only 8.9. In 1875 Great Britain produced half of the world's supply, and was still the leading manufacturing country.

At present the United Kingdom produces only from one-sixth to one-seventh of the world's coal. England has ceased to be the workshop of the world. America has taken its place owing to the vastness of its coal production.

The progress of the United States as an industrial country may perhaps best be gauged by the progress of its coal production, which has expanded in the following extraordinary manner:—

1810	...	...	20 tons.
1840	...	...	1,848,249 "
1860	...	...	13,044,880 "
1880	...	...	63,822,830 "
1900	...	...	240,789,310 "
1910	...	...	447,853,909 "
1917	...	...	640,729,680 "

Moreover the United States dispose of the most gigantic store of mineral fuel in the world. In 1913 an international geological congress was held in Canada, and before its members was placed a comprehensive and authoritative inventory of the world's coal deposits which had been drawn up by the most eminent experts of the various nations. From the figures supplied by the leading practical geologists, it appears that the United States possess approximately 55 per cent. of the world's coal, and more than twenty times as much coal as the United Kingdom. Compared with the wealth in coal possessed by the Americans, the coal wealth of the United Kingdom is poverty.

Unfortunately, also, British labour employed in coal mining is comparatively

inefficient. Figures given by Sir John Cadman, President of the Institute of Mining Engineers, a short time ago show that in 1916 the coal production per person employed in the United Kingdom was 263 tons as against 731 tons in the United States. In 1918 the former amounted to 236 tons, and during 1919 it sunk to 197½ tons. In 1915 the coal produced per man per day in this country was 0.98 tons, and in America it was 3.91 tons for bituminous coal and 2.19 tons for anthracite. In 1918 the British output figure was 0.80 tons and the American 3.77 tons for bituminous coal and 2.27 for anthracite.

In anthracite the American miner produces almost three times as much, and in bituminous coal almost five times as much, per day as the British miner. The United States have only a very small quantity of anthracite coal. It occurs in very thin, very irregular and very faulty seams. The mines are old and partly worked out, and mining is generally carried on by hand. The fact that in the anthracite field the American miner produces almost three times as much coal as the British miner shows that British coal production per man might easily be doubled.

It will be noticed that production per man per day has been rapidly declining in the United Kingdom and rapidly increasing in the United States. As five-sixths of the coal produced in the United States is bituminous, one may not unfairly compare bituminous coal production in America with general coal production in the United Kingdom. If we do so, we find that, whereas the English miner produces at present about 16 cwt. of coal per day, the American coal-worker produces nearly 4 tons per day. In other words, in a single day an American miner produces five times as much coal as his British colleague. Measured by their daily output, a single American miner does just as much work as do five Englishmen.

The inferiority in production is, of course, "to some considerable extent" due to the fact that the most easily workable deposits in England are becoming exhausted, while the United States can most easily draw on their most prolific and most easily workable sites. Against this, in the words of a well-known authority,

Such an argument is vitiated by the fact that improvements in the method of getting coal have during the last forty years far more than balanced the difficulty of getting the coal. It is destroyed by the further fact that in our new and favourable coalfields, such as the South Yorkshire area, the men working under the

most favourable modern conditions and in new mines where the fog is near the shaft, do not obtain as much coal per man employed as that got by the miners in the country generally under the conditions appertaining forty and fifty years ago.

"Politician" refers to seduction of output as "an article of faith with the British miner," and further charges him with preventing the introduction of labour-saving machinery.

While more than one-half of America's coal is mined by machinery, only a little more than one-tenth of the coal of the United Kingdom is mined by machinery. American machines produce per year far more coal than the United Kingdom produces altogether. In other words the English miner has to compete with his hands with the most perfect American machinery.

The prospects for American coal production are almost unlimited. Hitherto the miners have been employed only during two-thirds of the days of the year and even less, and if by reorganisation of the industry they should obtain full employment, production per man per year would vastly increase and the cost of production correspondingly decline. The Report of the United States Bituminous Coal Commission for 1920 states that at present there is an excess of capacity over home requirements of about 200,000,000 which means that this amount is available for export.

If, as seems by no means impossible, the American mineowners should gradually develop their mining output to the full capacity of the existing machinery, they can entirely wipe out the small portion of the British coal export trade that has remained to us, and they can in addition dump a surplus of coal, up to at least 100,000,000 tons, in the United Kingdom.

At the moment coal exports from the United States and other foreign countries are handicapped by high freights, but an enormous quantity of shipping is in the stocks, and with its release freight may fall to a very low figure. In a year or two we may see large quantities of cheap foreign coal being delivered in the ports of the United Kingdom and even in Newcastle, unless in the meantime our own miners and owners come to a definite and stable agreement on the question of better organisation and increased output.

JAPAN'S IRELAND.

When Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910, after dominating the country in everything but name since 1904, there was a widespread hope that the Korean question had at last been solved. With characteristic energy the Japanese introduced many of the elements of material civilization—improving communications, building roads, bridges, railways, and hotels, and making other changes which led to the belief that a new and prosperous era for Korea had begun. But behind this transformation there were soon murmurs that the policy of Japanizing Korea was not proceeding according to plan. The Koreans refused to be assimilated as the Japanese wished, and recent reports from the Far East are highly condemnatory of Japanese methods. Mr. F. A. McKenzie, an old friend of Korea, contributes a sharp indictment of Japanese policy to the October number of *The Welsh Outlook* :—

When Japan took over Korea she did so with the good will of almost every foreigner there. We—I was in Korea at the time—thought that she would bring to the country justice, liberty, and a liberal policy of commercial expansion. Here was no hasty task assumed by her statesmen. They had studied the problem for generations ahead. They knew what they meant to do, they had made up their minds how they would do it.

At the end of sixteen years we are entitled to say the Japanese colonial methods, as shown in her government of the Korean people, present one of the most conspicuous failures of modern times. She has brought a certain measure of civilisation, better roads, more schools, bigger harbours, more railways, sumptuous hotels. But she has disappointed her old European friends, and has turned almost the entire people, many of whom at first welcomed her, into her bitter foes. She has failed to give justice. She has re-created a spirit of nationality among the Korean people, and by her very harshness has turned that spirit into a deadly weapon against herself. She has destroyed liberty. She has made the country one great prison.

The Japanese attempt to destroy Korean national existence was met by the most remarkable pacific protest that modern history has to record. On March 1st, 1919, the leaders of the Korean people, backed by all classes in the country, presented themselves, without arms, before the Japanese, demanding their independence. Although the Koreans num-

ber more than seventeen millions, there was no attempt at an armed insurrection. The Korean appeal was made to the conscience of the world.

Here was Japan's hour of opportunity. Had her statesmen been wise enough to deal frankly and fairly with the people, she might even yet have won their confidence and loyal support. Instead, she replied with a policy of repression so brutal that it caused even the Allied British Government repeatedly to make urgent protests against the methods of torture employed. Floggings, the stripping of women, torture, burning, outrages of every kind were allowed. Fresh troops were brought over from Japan, and were given a free hand against the people. The prisons were packed so tightly that in many of them men could neither lie nor sit, but had to stand day after day—one wedged-in mass.

When the outside world came to know in part what was happening, there was such an outcry, particularly in America, that Japan was induced to withdraw the military Governor General, and to promise reforms.

Under the new Governor General, Admiral Saito, there have been certain improvements, but all is as yet very far from well. The policy of assimilation still continues. The policy of official torture of prisoners seemed to have developed more fiercely than ever last winter.

How are the Koreans meeting this renewed aggression? Apparently by continuing their policy of passive resistance. The very children, Mrs. Robertson Scott (who has just returned to England from the Far East) writes in the *World's Work*, "are without fear; and even the small boys joined in crying 'Mansei' (Hurrah for Korea), and spoke their minds before the Japanese teachers." The Korean hope is that Japan will tire of her militarism, and Mrs. Robertson Scott found Koreans who believe that a new spirit is rising in Japan. "The outrageous deeds of Japanese militarists in Korea and elsewhere," one Korean assured her, "are death throes."

"Not only is there an enlightened young Japan in the universities and in the schools, but there is a big body of Christian thought and feeling in Japan among both men and women. These people have been aroused, and have expressed their indignation at the Korean outrages. Again and again unrest rises in little waves like summer shocks that precede a big earthquake. Labour has never been more vocal. Japan is at heart a great democracy. Korea needs all her patience; but the day of her deliverance is nearer than she knows."

CHRISTIANITY AND STATESMANSHIP.

The part that Christianity can play in the post-war reconstruction of the world is indicated by Major-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice in an article on "The Church and International Problems" contributed to the new Quarterly, *The Pilgrim* (October). This little sermon is written with a soldierly directness and simplicity that are entirely commendable.

As a nation, we are just now concerned very much with our private affairs. The disastrous effects of the war upon social life and the individual purse have only now begun to make themselves felt, and personal anxiety as to the future is making us more self-centred, more apathetic as to others' interests. Such, too, are our individual troubles that "many amongst us are losing faith, are denying that human progress is a reality, and are predicting that civilisation, as we know it, is heading straight for an abyss."

Major-Gen. Maurice draws an analogy between the citizen of the state and the soldier in an army. He submits that it is easier for a soldier than for most men to keep his faith in times of calamity. The soldier knows that a Commander-in-Chief has often had to sacrifice one part of his army in order to gain victory with the remainder. The men who are sacrificed usually know nothing of the chief's plans. Their's but to fight desperately and, if need be, without hope, in order to gain time for the development of his great plan. They may curse their leader and die; but that cannot be helped.

In like manner, those who believe in a Commander-in-Chief to whom a thousand ages are as an evening gone, who know that they can but realise dimly a small part of His plans, are poor soldiers if they cannot also believe that what to them appears to be defeat, desolation, and destruction is a step on the road to victory. It is the soldier's duty to trust his Commander, to remember that he has been told just enough to enable him to do his own job, that he doesn't know everything, that he must forget his own troubles and look beyond his own front. These are also the duties of the Christian, and they are very pressing duties to-day.

Passing to the two great problems in world politics to-day, the prevention or at least limitation of war and the reconstruction of business and social life after its

ravages, the writer refers to the League of Nations Covenant, pointing out that its basic principle is that it is a free association of free nations formed for a common purpose. It does not create an autocratic and all-powerful authority which can impose its will upon its members. It does not create a supra-government, and cannot therefore order the abolition of armies and fleets.

Its founders have, rightly, as I think, rejected the conception of a supra-government as impracticable, and they have had to look to some other power than that of force to enable them to gain their ends. The Covenant opens with the words: "In order to promote international co-operation . . . the High Contracting Parties agree to this covenant of the League of Nations." This means that the statesmen have been compelled in their search for a remedy for the world's ills to go to the realms of moral rather than to those of physical force for the sanction which they require; they have, in fact, endeavoured to apply to world politics the principles of Christianity.

An impassioned reminder of the horrors of want and disease, present and to come if help is not provided, in Central Europe concludes with the *dictum* that it is our material as well as our moral interest to aid in the work of reconstruction in all the suffering countries, friend and foe alike. Our way of doing this, as regards the late enemy states, has not hitherto been exactly Christian.

Ever since peace was made with Germany and Austria agents of British business houses have flocked to those countries, and have taken advantage of the conditions of exchange to make very profitable bargains. Unwillingness to support remedial measures which would benefit our late enemies, combined with readiness to profit from their distresses, places us in a position unworthy of ourselves, and leads to a repetition of the old charge, that as a nation we are given to cant.

Statesmen tell us to think internationally, to worry less about our own particular to-morrow and more about the to-morrow of others. For once in a way their counsel is in accord with the call of Christianity and Christians should welcome the opportunity for action. Shall we Christians of the British Empire answer: "I am too busy with my own part; let those others see to their own affairs"?

WHY DICKENS LEFT THE "DAILY NEWS."

As everybody knows, Charles Dickens was the first editor of the *Daily News*. But his editorship lasted less than three weeks. He was responsible for only seven-teen numbers of the paper, and in a little more than four months from the day it started (January 21, 1846) the whole of his literary connection with it had ceased. What was the reason for his sudden abandonment of this venture, into which he had thrown himself with all the enthusiasm of his nature? John Forster, the friend and biographer of the novelist, tells us that, even before the day of publication came, "there were interruptions to the work of preparation, at one time very grave, which threw such changes of vexation on Dickens's personal relations to the venture as went far to destroy both his faith and his pleasure in it." But he does not give us any details of the quarrel or quarrels that brought about the separation; and other testimony is similarly general.

New light is thrown on the matter by Mr. Jesse Quail in an article on "Charles Dickens and the *Daily News*," contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* (October), and including a hitherto unpublished letter from Dickens to F. M. Evans, of the firm of Bradbury and Evans, at that time proprietors of the *Daily News*. This letter reveals very clearly the character of the annoyance to which Dickens was subjected.

Mr. Quail refers to the current theories put forward "to account for the apparent instability of purpose and fickleness with which Dickens threw down so suddenly the great work he had with such enthusiasm taken up."

One, which is suggested somewhat half-heartedly and with evident *arrière-pensées* by his biographer, is the fear of a breakdown in his health. Forster had undoubtedly opposed Dickens's proposal to edit a new daily paper, because he thought the strain would be too great for his friend's health. He speaks of this "tremendous adventure" as giving him, in October and November, 1845, "for more than one powerful reason" the greatest misgivings on account of Dickens's share in it.

The other theory which has been held to account for Dickens's act was that the existing editorship of a daily paper interfered with his more especial vocation as an author and hindered progress with his books.

The latter view is that held by the compilers of the *Daily News* history. But with some inconsistency the same authority enlarges upon Dickens as "the inspiring force of such an idea" and "just the man to start such a venture as the *Daily News*." "These apologies, therefore," says Mr. Quail, "must strike a thoughtful reader as unconvincing and not altogether ingenuous." Was Dickens really one who would put his hand to the plough and almost immediately turn back?

Despite his somewhat uncertain health and some degree of irritability which it occasioned, Dickens was not a man of moods, or apt to change his mind impulsively, or capriciously. Nor did ordinary discouragements divert him from his purpose.

The terms of Dickens's engagement should be understood. The prospectus of the new paper, which was drawn up by Dickens himself, stated that "The Literary Department of the *Daily News* will be under the direction of Mr. Charles Dickens." The *Daily News* Jubilee volume says that this meant not merely—as it might mean to-day—the reviewing of books and literary contributions; it meant "the whole political and literary matter which the paper was to contain, as distinct from the commercial department and the work of the compositor"—"all that comes within the province of an editor."

But the letter now published makes it plain that he was constantly being thwarted and often over-ruled in his own sphere by the managerial department and especially by Mr. Bradbury.

It would appear that after his resignation Dickens wrote to Mr. Evans respecting some arrangements rendered necessary thereby, and Mr. Evans replied expressing surprise that Dickens should have written to him privately on the subject, instead of to his firm. The following occurs in Dickens's reply to that letter:

I addressed you, because I am not in that state of feeling with reference to your partner which would render a personal negotiation with him agreeable to me. I consider that his interposition between me and almost every act of mine at the newspaper office was as disrespectful to me as injurious to the enterprise.

The last two instances in which he (without the slightest previous communication with me) took the course to which I so much object, may

be enough to mention here. Firstly, I ordered a gentleman to be sent down into the country to attend an election of great importance—in reference to which proceeding he wrote a violent note to Mr. Powell (!) incorrect even in its facts. Secondly, a Mr. Rourke—I think that is his name—having been engaged by me for an essential set of services and at a small salary; and having his engagement duly reported by my father; was by his direction refused his first week's salary by Mr. Joyce, whose courtesy and understanding of the matters over which he presides appear to be upon a par—and was compelled to apply to me. The position in which I

was placed in these cases was so galling and offensive to me, that I am as much irritated by the recollection of them as I was by their actual occurrence; and I conceive I have a right to claim so much consideration as to hold your partner bound in both these instances to have fulfilled my engagements without the least enquiry, and then to have come to me and said anything in reference to them that he desired to say.

It should be added that the Mr. Powell referred to was sub-editor, and Mr. Joyce probably the cashier.

THE LARGE AEROPLANE.

AN OLD-TIME THEORY DEMOLISHED.

Is there a limit to the size of aeroplanes? Mr. Carl Dientsbach, writing in the *Popular Science Monthly* (October) under the title "How big can they build them?" claims that a flying machine can be made any size. But the larger the machine the more difficult it is to land, and this fact must of necessity condition the size limit. Still, it is important that the theoretical objection to large aeroplanes as such has been definitely overcome.

Mathematicians once maintained that it was impossible to carry the size of an airplane beyond certain definite dimensions—dimensions dictated by theory. The men of figures argued that airplanes had already reached their limit of size and carrying capacity. Why? Simply because the weights increase as the cubes of the similar dimensions, while the areas of the supporting surfaces increase only as the square. In other words, the ratio of weight to area increases as the linear dimensions until the point is reached where the machine will not fly.

So much for theory. But the war called insistently for larger machines, and aeronautical engineers designed them, and, as we know, they proved quite able to fly.

How came the mathematicians to be in error? They forgot something. They forgot that the most sacred law of the cube held good only when a large airplane was a geometrical copy of a small one. When an airplane is so designed that it is not a copy of a small one, there appears to be no limit to the size it may reach. When this was proved, the law of the cube vanished in the wake of many other scientific superstitions.

New aerodynamical laws have been laid down that tell how large airplanes may be built. Practice, not theory, moulded these new laws into shape. They are very interesting, even to

the layman. The first law states that with an increase in over-all dimensions the weight must not increase faster than as the square of such dimensions. So far, so good. The second law is also a cold statement of fact. The substance of it can be made known with these words: The larger elements of an airplane must be so designed as to secure, for a given wing area, the minimum of secondary structure.

The writer forecasts aeroplanes with wing spreads two or three times larger than they are at present, several propellers strung out along the lead edge, double rows of landing wheels, etc. Everything, he thinks, favours the large aeroplane for commercial purposes. It permits of the enclosed cabin without which "commercial aviation would always have been a dream," the reduction by partitions of the annoying roar of the engine, and the increase of security afforded by the multiplication of engines. The passengers of the single-motored machine are entirely at the mercy of that one engine. It must not fail; whereas, in the case of large aeroplanes driven by several engines, if one should fail, the result will be nothing more serious than a reduction of speed.

On the other side of the account there is the fact that the radius of action does not greatly increase with the size of a machine, unless the cargo of the large aeroplane is reduced in favour of a greater fuel supply. And the larger aeroplane cannot "stunt." We agree, however, that the last objection is not serious.

TERRITORIALS AND REGULARS.

What is to be the future of the Territorial Force? That it proved its value in the late war, no one will deny, but at present the enthusiasm for it has waned almost to vanishing point. One reason for this is, doubtless, sheer war-weariness; but there is also the feeling that in the event of another great war there would be compulsory military service from the beginning, and the Territorials, now a separate organization, would be merged in the common herd. Minor reasons for the present slackness of recruiting are the counter-attractions provided by the growth of athletic clubs and other occupations for one's leisure hours.

Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Sidney Peel, writing on "The Territorial Force" in the first number of *The Army Quarterly*, admits that up to the present recruiting has languished, but denies that there is any reason for discouragement. War-exhausted men will recover and take up their duties again. The younger ones who have not yet served are only waiting for a lead. A Territorial Force, recruited on the voluntary principle for home defence, is a necessity, and the men will be forthcoming to meet the necessity. What then are to be the relations of this Territorial Army to the Regular Army, and what part is it to play should a similar necessity to that of 1914 unfortunately arise?

We have all heard something of the contempt felt by the regular soldier—even while the war was in progress—for the professional attainments of those who have only been practising in their spare time what he has been doing for a life-time. A war story told by this writer sums up the attitude admirably.

At a divisional conference of commanding officers in France, summoned to discuss the selection and training of officers with a view to commanding battalions, the only territorial officer present, seized with the untimely impulse to be funny, which such conferences engender, remarked that there could not be any such officers in his regiment, as they were all territorials. No jest ever fell flatter, for no one in the room regarded the statement as other than a perfectly natural statement of facts. The unfortunate officer had to wallow in explanations that he had meant it for a joke, even a very obvious joke, and even then failed to do more than convince most people present that no one

but a territorial would be so silly as to try and make a joke at a divisional conference, especially a joke which was not at all funny.

"If we are going to rely on volunteer auxiliary forces, they must not be told by any military authorities whatsoever that they are, and can be, of no military value. . . it is not true, and no sensible and experienced soldier believes it." Fighting power is not at all uncommon in the ordinary man, or soldiering in its elementary stages a very recondite or difficult profession. A stout heart and a little commonsense will make a man a fairly competent leader in war. And of course he must learn discipline—"the absolute life-blood of an army," and probably "the root core of all the objections to the Territorial Force."

The old Regular Army had and has its own methods of attaining discipline. One was the method of constant repetition; another was contained in the argument that "the best fighting battalions are those which salute best." Any attempt to impose discipline in such ways upon the Territorial is doomed to fail. It has already failed in the case of many returned soldiers.

The country as a whole is suffering from the reaction against discipline enforced in this blind way in the minds of many returned soldiers. They have so often been made to obey an order simply because it is an order, that they have become sick and tired of obeying any orders at all, and hence comes much so-called Bolshevism in certain groups of discharged soldiers.

The war has shown the value of encouraging individual initiative. Another problem intimately concerning the Territorial is the avoidance of boredom in training.

The story of the Guards' battalion that came shattered out of a successful action, picked up a draft of recruits, and did an hour's steady drill without further delay, is a very fine and touching one. But it would not do for the commander of a territorial regiment to apply the lesson indiscriminately in all times and in all places. If he did, and saved himself all the trouble of thinking and invention by doing nothing but steady drill, he would find his battalion melting away training by training, and the stream of recruits would dry up. A certain amount of drudgery is a necessity in every profession, and a certain amount of steady drill is an unavoidable foundation. But you must mix your powder with jam. Even drill can be made

amusing now and then. Theoretically you ought not to practise any field work with troops till they are thoroughly well drilled. If, however, you apply that theory too rigidly, you will make a dull thing of soldiering, and that will be fatal to the keeness and *esprit de corps* of both officers and men.

The article emphasizes two facts which must be frankly recognised. First, "home defence" means service abroad if the necessity should arise—"It is now recognised that the proper place on which to defend our shores is not within them, but outside We must, therefore, conclude that the duty of the territorials will be to take their place alongside the Regular Army in whatever field it may be." In the second place, the King's Regulation which before the war laid it

down that a territorial officer ranked as junior to all the regular officers of his rank, no matter what his seniority might be, is obsolete. Territorials who in peace time are allowed to make mistakes in their command, instead of being relieved of responsibility by a regular officer of greater experience, qualify themselves for war service much more quickly and thoroughly than would otherwise be the case.

In general, the relations, part, present, and future, between the Territorial and the Regular are treated here by a distinguished officer with a clearness and an impartiality that are in themselves symptomatic of a new and better spirit in professional military circles.

HOW TO BE HEALTHY.

Everybody knows that Mr. Eustace Miles is thinking of vegetarianism when he talks about self-health. But he puts forward a very moderate case for abstinence from meat in "Food and Physical Health" in the *Occult Review* (October). The notion of extremists, he observes, that vegetarianism is the all-sufficient avenue to health is absurd. Some meals, whose sole merit is that they contain no meat, are "lamentably excessive in starchy elements" and almost certain to produce "acidosis of a particular type from which so many vegetarians suffer." In more personal terms such a meal "would not develop the fiery passions; it would rather tend towards heaviness and what we may call close-mindedness," from which he also admits a number of vegetarians suffer.

The great mistake made about health culture is to leave out the personal element. Peace of mind, and an insight into the "symbolism" of the process are essential. Exercises must not be made a dull drill; they must become a ritual. Similarly, food must not be treated as so much chemical matter; it must be looked upon as a sacrament. "As to water sipping, realise that it is a symbol of

purification as well as of the taking in of energy. As to breathing, realise that exhaling is also a symbol of purification whereas inhaling is a symbol of the taking in of energy and of inspiration."

Mr. Miles' philosophy seems to be to enshrine common duties with an imaginative glamour. Beauty of mind must exist with perfect health, so as to create a harmony of "the whole," as his school puts it.

It will naturally be asked why the physical should be attended to if the efficiency aimed at is to be intellectual and spiritual?

First of all, then, the physical is to be attended to not only for its own sake, but also because it is symbolic and suggestive. How can we ascend to spiritual uplifting and advancement, without imagination? And how can we get our imagination pure and clear, how can we imagine satisfactorily the intellectual and spiritual life, with a clogged and deformed body?

Secondly, the physical is the instrument—not necessarily the sole instrument, but at least the chief instrument on this plane—of the intellectual and the spiritual. Almost as well might a person try to write a good letter with a crossed nib and dusty clogged ink, as get intellectual and spiritual well-being with an unsatisfactory body.

The secret of health is not only a science; it is an art. Food Reform is not simply a

matter of abstinence from meat, any more than right Physical Culture is simply the practice of some exercises, no matter what they are. The idea is to choose foods and perform acts that have a physical and spiritual significance, and thus maintain the delicate harmony between the soul and the body.

The Eustace Miles Method is summed up in five commandments, the application of which must be governed by commonsense and moderation. He invites those interested in the problem of Self-Health to discard his or her very natural objection to crude caricatures of Food Reform and physical culture and try the following plan instead:—

1. Search for the best foods and drinks, and for the best ways of exercise and rest, and other physical Avenues to Health. This will necessitate reading and discussion and sensible evaluation

of the different principles and methods, and of their application.

2. Make an experimental plan and scheme.

3. Try the experimental plan fairly, not for a day or two, but for some weeks or months.

4. Judge it by its results on the all-round life; judge it by its results on the physical life, including the health, the enjoyment of work, the appearance, as well as the efficiency and the endurance; judge it by its results on the intellectual efficiency and endurance; on the psychic and on the spiritual life; and, I would add, on the economical life, as regards the saving of time and money and energy.

5. See the symbolism of the practices; do not practise the things by themselves as if they had no meaning outside the obvious meaning; do not practise the exercises as a dull drill; rather realize the spiritual significance.

This is the quintessence of the particular school of Food Reform to which Mr. Eustace Miles belongs—or rather which he founded in this country.

TOBACCO NEXT ?

The Anti-Saloon League has achieved its programme in the United States, and on this side of the Atlantic Prohibition has made a start in Scotland. "Is a Tobacco crusade coming?" This is the question asked by Mr. L. Ames Brown in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* (October). He gives his reasons for thinking that it is. One of these is that the enthusiasts of the Anti-Saloon League, having accomplished their purpose, are now in search of fresh occupation. Another is the speeding-up of the anti-tobacco campaign which has been running in the United States for some years.

A pamphlet entitled "Nicotine Next," which was written in 1918, is now being distributed by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, a body that has already distinguished itself by its active propaganda on behalf of the Prohibitionists.]

The booklet is but one of the many outgivings of the Union on the subject of smoking, which has ever been viewed by it as the twin evil of drink. It is, indeed, the cumulative result of its propaganda against tobacco which provides the foundation for the proposed crusade.

The withdrawal of capital by the Tobacco industry from other more useful industries, fire losses and loss of industrial efficiency, are dealt with to provide an unsentimental background for the subject-matter of the argument.

The publication deals also with the cases of prominent public men and leaders of this and other generations who have not been smokers. Of this publication, it may be said that it recognizes the modern method of sociological propaganda utilized so effectively by the Anti-Saloon League, and that it attempts an appeal to the reasoning process and to material interests, rather than the unmeasured attack on the smoking habit which colours a hundred publications on the shelves of the Congressional Library and has brought odium upon the critics of smoking as fanatics and extremists.

An even cleverer line of attack is the propaganda for the prevention of smoking among boys.

The scientific facts against the use of tobacco by young persons are overwhelming. No mother is willing to have her young son smoke. Therefore, the anti-tobacco propaganda, in so far as it has been directed into this field, has been unanswerable. Legislation ought not to be necessary in any state to prevent the sale of tobacco to a growing youngster. Self-interest should prompt tobacco-dealers to establish a

voluntary prohibition. The reformers, contemplating a larger programme, rightly appreciate that the logical and strategical entering wedge in the matter of legislation is the protection of the young. Youngsters who smoke are really making a vigorous contribution, therefore, to the anti-tobacco crusade.

The Life-Extension Institute, which provides primarily a service of health-examinations and educational letters and advice, "available at a moderate cost to individuals applying directly, to life-insurance companies for their policy-holders, employer for their employees, and to members of clubs, societies, schools, etc.," issues a series of "Keep Well" leaflets, one of which, beside dealing with smoking from the health standpoint, embodies "a most illuminating presentation of the financial aspects of the national consumption of tobacco."

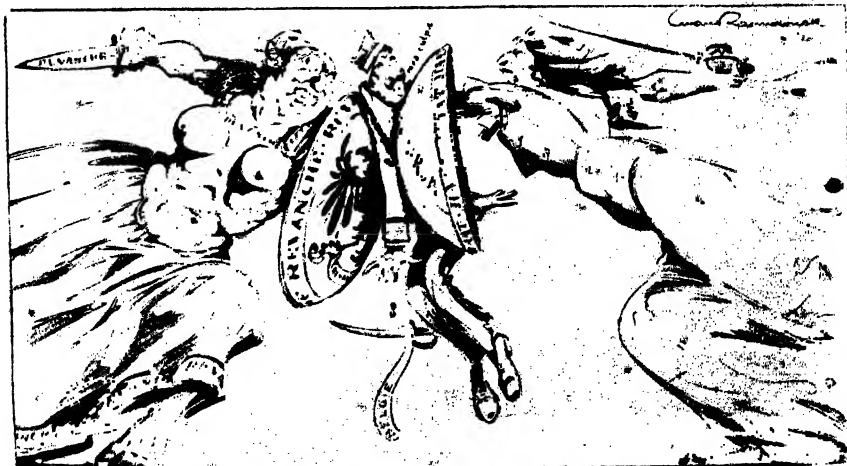
The Anti-Saloon League itself appears to be keeping quiet at present, doubtless for strategic reasons. But great activity is being shown by the companies that sell the so-called "cures" for smoking. The propaganda of these yields to none in impetuosity. It enlarges vehemently on all the physical troubles which "can often be traced to the use of tobacco"; and the firms use the most modern commercial methods for disposing of their goods.

Within the past six months, I am informed 300,000 lines of space in 400 different publications have been utilized to paint the evils of tobacco and the effectiveness of tobacco cures. A reader who is induced to write for particular is pursued for months thereafter by pamphlet and form-letter literature, intended to convince him that tobacco is a demon as greatly to be feared as the demon rum.

Several states have adopted anti tobacco legislation of greater or less stringency. There are many laws to prevent the sale of tobacco to person under 18 years of age. In Kansas,

"It is unlawful to sell or give away or to have in any store or other place of business cigarettes or cigarette-papers; or to advertise cigarettes, or to sell on news-stands or train newspapers or magazines carrying cigarette advertisements, or to sell or give away to any person less than 21 years of age any smoking material, including tobacco and cigarettes. It is likewise unlawful for the proprietor of a place of business, including railroads, railway stations and street cars, to permit minors of less than 21 years of age to use tobacco in any form, on penalty of a fine of \$25 to \$100 for each offence."

On the other side stand the tobacco "interests," which are great and powerful and the ordinary man who likes his smoke. It is to be hoped, says the writer, that the latter "will not be cowed and prevented from speaking out, as was the case with the ordinary man who indulged in intoxicating beverages."



De Notenbraker

The Franco-Belgian Convention.

Amsterdam

"Belgium's military position in a future war is now assured."

WHERE DOCTORS WOULD DISAGREE.

Are we to muddle with the relation of the existing criminal law to the insane? That law ordains that if the mind of an individual is, from any physical or functional cause, in such a condition that it cannot be beneficially affected by punishment, that individual should not be punished for misdoing, but should be given into the charge of medical men. From this, and from the fact that the State is really careful to inflict punishment only when it can subserve the objects of punishment, one would presumably be disposed to rest content with the present system. Yet the treatment of the insane by the criminal law is the subject of increasing discussion. Why?

Mr. E. Bowen-Rowlands, writing on "The Criminal Law and the Insane" in the *Fortnightly Review* (August) supplies an answer to this question. The reason for all the trouble is the difference of opinion which obtains between the Law, the Medical Profession, and the Ordinary Man.

How does all the trouble arise? The question can be answered summarily in the words of a distinguished barrister: "The law says that no one is insane; the medical profession says that no one is sane; the ordinary man inclines to the belief that 35 per cent. of the population is mad."

This truly represents the position: for at law all men are *prima facie* sane, and no man may evade punishment for his conduct unless he proves that he is in fact insane; the mental specialist's view is that all men are *prima facie* insane, and that, if any person wishes to maintain that he is not as other men are, he must prove it to the satisfaction, not of a jury, but of the mental specialist.

The ordinary man—generally termed the "man in the street," who, according to Mr. Justice Darling, is never seen but often heard—remarks, when he hears that a brutal crime has been committed by anyone: "He must have been mad to do it."

Eliminating the Man in the Street, as being comparatively unimportant, the difference resolves itself into one between Law and Medicine, i.e., between the barrister and the "mental expert." The barrister, as represented by Mr. Bowen-Rowlands, would leave it, as it now left, to the jury of fellow citizens to decide upon a criminal's sanity or insanity. On the other hand, the

medical profession say that, instead of a jury, assisted by mental experts and directed by a judge, being the tribunal to decide whether a person is sane or insane, a mental expert or a number of mental experts—it is not clear which—should be the tribunal. In other words, they demand that it should be left to the experts and not to laymen to decide whether, in an universe of lunatics, any particular lunatic is so insane that he ought not to be treated as a criminal but as a patient."

They explain their demand by asserting that the degree of insanity of a person is a question of opinion and should be left to those who are by training qualified to give an opinion. They also complain that at present the mental expert is almost a negligible quantity in a criminal court.

Now, dealing with this last complaint, it is undoubted that the evidence of a mental expert has little or no weight with a jury; but that is not because his evidence is contemptible, but because it is almost invariably balanced by the evidence of another expert. Recently, in a trial in the High Court, one eminent mental specialist said that a certain person was congenitally weak of mind and had also acquired a large amount of adventitious insanity; another equally eminent specialist said that that person was entirely sane and that his only defect was that he laboured under too great an amount of femininity in his composition.

Then, coming to the demand that insanity shall be determined by an expert or experts: if the contention is that one expert opinion should prevail, it is a contention that cannot be seriously considered; but if it is that there should be a sort of jury of experts, who would either privately or in public examine the plea of an alleged offender and give a final verdict on it, there seems to be a fatal objection to it which is founded on the presumed necessity for finality in the determination of a person's sanity.

But, assuming that there could be found two doctors to agree, would they agree on identical grounds? If they did not, then one of their opinions would be founded upon an insufficient appreciation of the facts. In a recent notorious case one expert said that the prisoner was insane because he had a jerky manner and wore a glassy look; another said that he was insane because, among other small things, he took a long time in playing a hand at bridge.

The argument for the *status quo* would appear to be conclusive.

FAME AND FIRST NOVELS.

The complaints of young authors who cannot get their work published—and their cause has been recently championed by Mr. Hueffer—are rivalled by the complaints of the publishers. Within the last few months the trials of a publisher have been voiced by nearly all the leading houses. The latest contribution is made by Mr. John Murray in his own magazine, *The Cornhill*.

The war and high prices are blamed. When a sale of, say, 1,000 copies before the war would have yielded a sufficient profit, it requires nearly double that number nowadays even to cover outlay. This is partly due to the system which makes a novel the victim of a conventional price. In the old days the price was fixed at 3s. 6d., and the sales were almost exclusively confined to lending libraries. Later, however, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction, and "all novels were placed in the Procrustean bed" of 6s. non-net. The publication of a novel became more of a lottery. "The gainers have been the popular novelists whose names are already made, and the chief losers have been writers of first novels—and this for two reasons."

Most publishers of novels have agreements for several works of leading writers of fiction: these involve an outlay of many thousands of pounds, and no inconsiderable risk. If they bring success, a considerable profit is secured—if failure, sometimes a heavy loss. With such commitments on his hands the publisher is naturally reluctant to take on many first novels, unless they are of exceptionally good quality. The outlay is less, and the loss is less, but the chances of success are also very much less. The "first novelist," moreover, is under this second disadvantage, that he (or she), having heard of prices paid to the favoured few, fixes his expectations too high, and thinks that he too should be paid a substantial sum in advance.

Mr. Murray produces some interesting statistics which show how conditions have been affected by the war and why publishers are reluctant to accept first novels.

In 1914 the cost of printing and binding 1,000 copies of a novel—say 350 pp. in length—was about £86, and to this had to be added the cost of corrections in proofs—and of advertising. This last item could not be less than £25 or £30. The price of the novel was 6s. non-net, in other words the public could buy it at 4s. 6d. and if the whole edition were sold—allowing for press copies, discounts to booksellers, etc., the gross

return was about £153, yielding a total profit of, say, £62. If this were equally divided the author and publisher each received £31, and out of the publisher's share had to be paid his "establishment expenses," which never enter into an author's account, but averaged about £30. So the author received £31 of clear profit and the publisher £1.

Existing conditions compare unfavourably with even this molecular profit. The cost of production, writes Mr. Murray, has risen from £66 to £218; and the price to the public has risen from 6s. nominal and 6s. 4d. actual to 7s. net. If the whole 1,000 are sold as before, the result is a gross return of £214 in place of £153, in other words there is a loss of £46, without making any allowance for advertising or "establishment expenses" which are quite double what they were in 1914.

So much for first novels. By way of comparison Mr. Murray gives the corresponding figures for the work of an author of established reputation.

Before the war, if an edition of 10,000 were printed the cost was about £280, and from £75 to £100 would have to be spent on advertising. In such a case part of the edition would have been done up in cheap binding for a Colonial edition, and the gross return would be some £1,450, but the publisher would be called upon to pay a large sum—not less than £500—in advance on a royalty of 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. So until about two-thirds of the edition was sold he did not even cover his outlay.

Such an edition now costs not £280, but over £1,000; the author gets his royalty not on 6s. as before, but on 7s., and the gross return is about £2,020. In other words, when the whole edition is sold, the author gets approximately one-sixth more than he did and the publisher about one-third less; and from his share establishment expenses, more than double what they were in pre-war times, have to be deducted.

The statistics are gloomy enough, but Mr. Murray does not despair of the future. He believes that conditions will adjust themselves in course of time. In the meanwhile a great deal rests with authors themselves. There is another side to the old legend of the wily publisher and the innocent young novelist.

There are cases in which the publisher has been generous enough to bear the loss on a first novel, and even on a second novel. But the literary agent comes along—who seems to be the villain of the piece—and the author may be tempted by him

er by another publisher to break faith with the man who gave him his first footing. Such a practice is against courtesy and good feeling.

Among the useful warnings to first novelists contained in the article is against

ever paying for a novel being published. In addition the author must play a fair game with his publisher, and not "gamble in futures." It is an interesting contribution to the "other side" of an age-long controversy.

A WORD FOR THE OLD DIPLOMACY.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe deals lightly but pointedly with modern methods of diplomacy in an article entitled "Vaudeville Diplomacy," contributed to the Sept.-Oct. number of *To-Day and To-Morrow*—the organ of the League of Nations Union. The negotiations carried on by the representatives of Britain and of Russia well illustrate the change which has occurred since the days when the solemn Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, who all meant the same thing and belonged to the same European family party, used to exchange their dull, pompous futilities for the purpose mainly of humbugging the nations which paid them their wages."

The New, the Vaudeville Diplomats remind Mr. Fyfe of the pairs of "backbit" (repartee) comedians of the variety stage.

Instead of keeping to the business in hand, they make personal remarks, they attack each other's methods, they dispute each other's authority. Mr. Lloyd George says to the Soviet Government, "Go on! you're an oligarchy," to which the Soviet Foreign Minister is told to reply, "Yah! you're another." British notes to Russia are like communications from Justice of the Peace to a tramp charged with burglary and strongly suspected of assassination. The Russian replies are in the tone of a professor of Political Logic rebuking a heedless undergraduate. One imagines the Prime Minister saying, after he has sent off one of his bi-weekly communications: "That ought to leave them asping"; and Mr. Lenin chuckling in the Kremlin, as he dictates his answer: "There's back-hander he didn't expect."

All of which has certainly made the newspaper more interesting; but does it not tear off the last rag of the dignity which used to be thought inseparable from such negotiations? Does it not hinder, instead of hastening, the end at which any aim? . . . The ill-tempered trickery which attended the recognition of General Wrangel by France would not have been possible so long as diplomacy held to a tradition of "honour among thieves." . . . Such changes of attitude, following the course of intrigue, as those which are marked the diplomacy of the United States in connection with the affairs of Europe could

not have happened when American policy was guided by men of the stamp of John Hay and Elihu Root.

Mr. Fyfe does not lament the passing of the Old Diplomacy; but it had undeniable merits. It did not shilly-shally about recognising a *de facto* Government once it was convinced of the authority behind that Government; and it no more thought of criticising other people's political systems than "of telling a sovereign they did not like his table manners, or a President that he was not wearing the right kind of tie." Their study of the world's history had given them a kind of gentle cynicism; they knew that all men are very much alike; wars to them were "the effect of criss-cross ambitions and expansions, just as thunderstorms are the result of electrical disturbances in the upper air." And, "as soon as fighting ceased they did all they could to make peace a reality, not a mere phrase."

There is, by contrast, a caustic reference to Mr. Lloyd George's Russian dealings.

He has undoubtedly done his best to come to terms with Russia, not by announcing boldly that he holds this to be the right course (and that he has the business world with him), but by a long series of manoeuvres, hard to follow, which were intended to make it appear that he was in agreement with everybody all the time. He resembled a man who was trying to enter a house, not by breaking the door open, but by leaning against it, and from time to time getting his foot a little farther inside.

But the arch-sinner in bringing the New Diplomacy into disrespect has been "Mr. Lenin." By shouting his fanatical belief that he would be able to hasten "freedom" everywhere, Lenin provoked all the attempts which have been made to suppress the Soviet system. . . . He was the first of the backchat comedian diplomatists; he tried to interfere in the affairs of other nations before any of them tried to put spokes in his wheel."

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

In regard to events of domestic policy, Germany was comparatively quiet during the month of September. There was in the last days of August and the first of September a general strike in Wurttemberg, directed, at least superficially, against the high price of food. But it ended satisfactorily and the measures of the authorities, although called in question in certain Social Democratic or Radical circles, were acknowledged to have been a success. Apart from this there was a continuance of the nationalist excitement caused during the preceding month by the assaults on French officers and the apology and other methods of reparation demanded of the German Government. But these incidents, although the subject of a vast amount of over-heated journalism in the Press of both the Right and the Left, were soon to yield place in the public interest to soberer matters.

Of these by far the most important was the change that took place in the ranks of the Independents. Some weeks previously a deputation of the Party had visited Russia for the purpose of conferring with Lenin. In Moscow they not only found a considerable disillusionment among those German workers who, attracted by the promise of work and superior conditions, had ventured to undertake employment under the Soviet Government; they were also presented with the terms upon which the Independents would be admitted to the bosom of the Third, or Moscow, Internationale. The impression made on them and on their comrades, when they returned, was almost as profound as that made on the French Socialist Party in similar circumstances a few weeks before. What they were asked to do, in effect, was to give up their geographical autonomy, submit entirely to the central direction of Moscow. Undoubtedly there were in the ranks of the Independents a certain number of individuals who would have been prepared to accept this somewhat humiliating surrender of their judgment for the sake

of participation in the great work of revolution. But they were not in large numbers on the party-executive and in any case the exigencies of the parliamentary régime and the party-system, to which the Independents were committed by their share in the last elections, compelled an attitude of comparative moderation. So that to the essentially pacific antipathy of certain of the leaders, such as the veteran, Karl Kautsky, to the militarism of Moscow there was joined a certain political tact. Adherence to the Third Internationale, on the terms laid down by Moscow, could only lead to one result: the collapse of the party the next time it submitted itself to the electors, and even before that, perhaps, the hostile intervention of the authorities, with the approval of the great majority of the German people. Hence, as in France, a division in the party. A minority, led by the assiduous advocate of the Soviet system, Dauemig, who has played a very considerable part behind the scenes in the support of the Bolshevik cause in Germany, were all for the acceptance of Moscow's conditions; the remainder of the party, for the reasons just indicated were no less firmly opposed, and the only outcome of the dispute that could be foreseen at the end of the month was the drifting of the first section out of the party, probably to take over the small and as yet insignificant Communist Party, which is represented in the Reichstag by two deputies, and the continued maintenance of the rest as a separate party—for the rapprochement with the Majority, mooted in certain quarters, does not appear as yet to be as close as it was just before the last elections.

Naturally there was a great deal of comment on this "split" in the Independent Party. The bourgeois Press of the Left was genuinely pleased at the disillusionment and hoped, it would seem with reason, that this would have a steady effect on German opinion during the coming winter, if only, that is, the

economic conditions can be maintained at a tolerable level. The newspapers and reviews of the Right did not attempt to disguise their pleasure at the disruption which Moscow had succeeded in bringing about, and an article in *Deutsche Politik* for September 3rd was not only typical of this tone, but also gave such a fair summing-up of the possibilities in the situation that it may be of interest to quote it at some length:—

In Moscow, at the very moment when nothing but Pan-Russian imperialistic policy was being carried on against Poland, a new and a strong impetus was given to the ideal of an international world-revolution: the communistic principle in the organisation was made more drastic. With the literary style, to which Moscow is . . . spoke of the risk the Third Internationale was running of "becoming fashionable." That they did not desire. They have no interest in the development of the proletarian movement, guided and sustained by the working-class in all the variety of their desires and aims. That way lies democracy, drawing its nourishment from the great mass of the people. No, the aim of Moscow is a small central force, which knows how to obey, which frankly claims terrorism and force as the legitimate weapons in the political struggle, which foregoes all reflection on its own account and places the whole machinery of the party-press completely at the disposition of the central party-executive. The policy which does not "in all points" correspond with that of the direction of the party is inadmissible. The trade-unions, co-operative associations, and the rest, must all be undermined in the sense of the Communist Party. "Within the shortest possible time" all Socialist opportunists must be broken with; in Germany this means in particular Kautsky and Hilferding. A kind of spy-system must be organised in all economic associations. The Communist parties must periodically undertake a "purging" of their organisation—which means the recognition of spying as a normal activity. The decisions of the Executive, Moscow, are binding for all groups attached to it. . . . The difference between the two sections of the Independents manifested itself even in Moscow. Between Crispian and Dittmann on the one side, Daemig and Stöcker on the other, there was a breach, which is now described to us in the columns of the *Freiheit*. Crispian considers the "dictatorship of the Internationale" as unacceptable; Daemig submits himself to it without any reserve and demands a heretic-hunt against Kautsky and his following. Indeed the new situation of the party is curiously confused. Kautsky, Cohn and Breitscheid favour the pacifist, anti-militarist tendency. They have a certain inborn sentimentality, and were able, perfectly naturally, to protest strongly against the Noske-guards. In regard to international relations they have always preached against the

use of force and the class-war was described by them as a bloodless struggle. . . . These are the circumstances in which the division in the Independent ranks is taking place. If Daemig's side wins, then the half of the party, the so-called intellectual workers, leaves the party, and it is easy to imagine what consequences this will have, in the event of elections, on the party's representation in the Reichstag. If the contrary happens, Crispian and his followers will have to make up their mind, whether they will definitely abandon connecting with Moscow or not. The very fact that Crispian, the wild revolutionary, is uttering warnings concerning the "infantile diseases" of extremism, that in itself is almost good enough for a comedy.

Naturally this development is being very carefully watched in the ranks of the Majority Social Democrats. Their tone is changing. In parliament the sharpness of the differences has not decreased. But outside the movement for a rapprochement has not been given up. It is known that this is the aim of Scheidemann's tactics. The attitude of the Majority at the Geneva Congress arose from the need of making an approach to the Independents in the matter of the "war-guilt," not reckoning the harm done to German consciousness by the avowal. . . .

The remainder of the article is an expression of the uncertainty of the ultimate results which the "split" which has been described will have. This only is certain that in all probability a new factor has come into German Social Democracy, of greater importance than any that have arisen since the outbreak of the Great War came to divide the party from top to bottom. An article by Richard May in the *Demokratische Deutschland* for September 5th is in somewhat similar terms; it deals, in addition, however, with the way in which Russia has also deceived the hopes of the German reactionaries, summing up the general German democratic view in the two sentences:—

Poland as a nationalist state next to us is a disagreeable neighbour. As a Bolshevist state it would be quite intolerable.

From the Socialist point of view, the most important expression of opinion was that contained in an article by Heinrich Cunow in the Majority *Neue Zeit* for September 17th. From this, before we leave the subject, may be quoted the following:—

The Independent Social Democratic Party is to-day a far less united workers' party than the Majority Social Democratic or the Democratic Parties respectively. Whoever moves in circles of literary men and school-teachers, of professors and artists—especially actors and musicians—is astonished to find so many who

formerly had no political interests now belong to the Independents. Still more is he astonished at the variety of reasons for this fact. There are reasons of personal interest, of "bread-and-butter," . . . the most assorted of motives. Even in the ranks of the speculators, the private-bankers in revolt against the big banks, may there be found supporters of the Independent Party. To a certain extent one is reminded of the following of the Hébertistes in 1793. . . .

If that is at all representative of the patronising tone of the Majority towards the Independents, the great plan of complete re-union ascribed to Scheidemann may well wait some time for its realisation.

An article in the *Neue Rundschau* by Hermann Schulte-Vaerting deals with a possible substitute for the League of Nations: what he author calls "Friedensfinanzierung," the financing of peace. He recalls that in Ancient Athens the financing of peace was undertaken and incidentally it is remarked how ill that state has been understood by German historians and economists, among the latter by none more than by Karl Marx, who relied, not on historical writings, but on the works of the Greek philosophers. The writer goes on to trace the growth of militarism and asserts that the development of the military spirit in England and the United States being of the weakest, both these states stand farther from disaster, after the most terrific war in history, than any other country in the world. But the League of Nations—the omens from history for its success are not promising. Even to-day there are hostile formations growing up in Europe, and such must grow up so long as the perfectly natural compulsion towards combination in the interests of equilibrium exists. It is of this natural compulsion that the militarists in every country are ready to take advantage. The only way, in the writer's opinion, to overcome this historical law, lies in the judicious use of money. Would it not have been possible, he asks for example, for Austria to have been bought off in August, 1914? And lest the idea appear too fantastic, he reminds us that in times past it was considered quite a natural thing for a country, as Prussia by England against Napoleon, for instance, to be assisted with money by another power with a view to war. Why not, then, with a view to peace? Why not, in the case of Russia, for example,

finance the peace-party in Moscow instead of financing the war-parties in the various countries engaged or ready to be engaged, in war against Bolshevik Russia? This very brief summary of a lengthy article will suffice to show that there is here, whatever one may think of its practicality, a startlingly new suggestion, advanced for our consideration in an interesting and arresting way.

A writer, "Mercurius," in the *Demokratische Deutschland* for September 19th, reminds us of the approach of the fatal date, November 15th, on which shall be settled whether the deliveries of German coal, fixed by the Spa Conference at 6,000,000 tons altogether, have reached the prescribed amount. Should it not be the case, then the Entente has the right to proceed to a further occupation of German territory. While not expressing any opinion on this point, "Mercurius" goes on to examine the probable position of Germany in regard to coal in the coming winter. Naturally his picture is by no means bright, is perhaps a little blacker than the reality, but it presents a case which is deserving of attention:—

In Germany the large towns are menaced by the growing throng of the unemployed, the industrial districts by communist outbreaks. Germany's capacity to work and pay constitutes the greater part of the credit side in the budgets of all the victorious states of Europe, particularly France. In the first six months of 1913 we produced 84,671,000 tons of coal, of 1920, 61,890,000 tons—both figures exclusive of Alsace, Lorraine, the Saar Valley and the Palatinate, but including Upper Silesia. From the lesser amount there must be subtracted two millions monthly, that is 12,000,000; there must also be reckoned off such coal in Upper Silesia as does not come into Germany's hands. Before the Spa Agreement the delivery of German coal required to be had reached, according to the White Paper published at the time of the Spa Conference) only 57 per cent. on an average between September, 1919, and May, 1920, although, during the said months, only between 450,000 and 709,000 tons monthly had been handed over to the Entente and in May 1,500,000 tons. What the consequences for the winter are to be can easily be estimated from these facts.

The coal-question, too, is naturally uppermost in the mind of Dr. Paul Rohrbach, in an article on the Saar Valley in *Deutsche Politik* for September 17th. As, however, this is in the main a recapitulation of the article on the subject

by M. André Tardieu in *L'Illustration* for June 12th last, with a great deal of—from the German point of view—appropriate and familiar abuse of the particular clauses of the Peace Treaty in question, there is no need to summarise the writer's arguments. It should merely be noted as an example of the undoubted fact that there are certain terms in the Peace, and above all those affecting the coal-supply most nearly, Upper Silesia and the Saar Valley, on which Germans are never tired of writing. There seems no reason to suppose that the stream of articles on these and allied subjects will cease for a long time.

In the same number of the same review, however, there is an article on a subject which appears and disappears from public notice with curious alternation. The question is of the future of German-Austria and the author who deals with it is Professor Carl Brockhausen, of the University of Vienna. Although disclaiming any attempt at prophecy, the Professor is evidently of opinion that if the prohibition to Austria to join Germany holds good there will be an end of Austria and the spread of distress and revolution which that fact would connote. If strength enough develops, however, in the sorely stricken land of Austria, and the will of her people is allowed free play by a return of sanity to Europe, then there will appear the first rays of a brighter dawn. It may be noted that this article in favour of the "self-determination" of Austria appears in a German review at a moment when German opinion has almost come to forget the subject. But that it will be revived, and probably strongly revived, during the winter, can hardly be doubted.

The September reviews were remarkable for the number of articles devoted to France and French culture. Thus the *Literarische Echo*, for September 15th, had an admirable article on André Gide and his circle; the *Preussische Jahrbücher* contained a well-informed article on "French Regionalism," also one on the French population-question; the *sozialistische Monatshefte* for September 3th had an account of present-day French socialism, while the *Deutsche Politik* for September 10th contained a number of

hints, on the whole sound, for the guidance of Germans who were going into France.

FRANCE.

Undoubtedly the question that was most discussed in French political circles last month was that of the Little Entente. The announcement of its formation met with a mixed reception in the press; but the prevailing note was uncertainty as to its precise implications, with a spice of anxiety added. In the mere fact that Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slovakia and Roumania had decided to combine, there was nothing that any Frenchman could reasonably take exception to; it had always been an article of French faith that a confederation of small states in Central Europe would be the best counterpoise to possible German aggression. But the idea was that such an entente should be directed exclusively against Germany, whereas Dr. Benes, on behalf of Czecho-Slovakia, had made it clear that Hungary was the power that had to be curbed. Moreover, Czecho-Slovakia's strained relations with Poland, the vociferous "neutrality" of the Little Entente in the Russo-Polish quarrel, and the fear that in some way the Treaty of Trianon would prevent the full execution of the Treaty of Versailles were disturbing factors that could not be disregarded in view of France's intimate relations both with Poland and Hungary and her determination to uphold the Versailles settlement at all costs.

French anxiety, but more particularly the desire not to betray it, was reflected in M. Poincaré's chronicle in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* of September 15th. Insisting on the friendship between France and the nations of the Little Entente, he wrote:

This association of our friends assuredly does not displease us. But it would be more to the point if instead of a Great and a Little Entente, there existed, after the common victory, a single Entente including all the allies of yesterday.

He went on to explain the French position in regard to Hungary. That country had shown a very favourable disposition to France in respect of her

railways, water-ways and banks. But these economic concessions did not entitle her to expect a closer political co-operation.

When Hungary proposes lending us her military forces in order to fight the Red Army, and when some of us imagine it possible to unite under the same flag the Czechs, Young-Slavs, Roumanians and Magyars, they are mistaking, as often happens in France, their desires for actualities.

He was at pains to repeat that the first three nations were always friends with France, and had proved it by their loyalty and valour in the war.

The Hungarians were, on the contrary, the most ardent and obstinate of our enemies, and it is unfortunately necessary to add that their influence on the policy of the Dual Empire was too often disastrous.

The bland restraint of M. Poincaré on this topic may be contrasted with some very outspoken remarks by M. Bernard Lacombe in the *Correspondant*. It is possible, of course, that the latter only sets down what M. Poincaré thinks, but does not want to say just yet; anyhow, it is he rather than M. Poincaré who expresses adverse French opinion on Dr. Benes's creation. In the issue of September 10th, he wrote that the Little Entente did not inspire great confidence. It was a defensive alliance against Hungary, whose crime was not a recrudescence of imperialism, but only a willingness to help Poland in her struggle. This Entente was too anxious to make Hungary respect the Treaty of Trianon, but what about the greater Treaty of Versailles? He cast a doubt upon the sincerity of Dr. Benes's protestations of friendship to the Allies.

M. de Lacombe returned to the charge in the following issue of the same journal (September 25th). The Little Entente was too exclusive. M. Take Jonescu, the Roumanian premier, had indeed proposed that Poland and Greece should become members, and again that they should make a point of respecting not only the Treaty of Trianon, but all the other treaties as being inseparable one from another; but on the other hand, there was M. Vesnitch declaring for a strict impartiality as between Poles and Russians, while Dr. Benes concerned himself only with the Magyar menace, leaving on one side the German menace and the

Russian menace, "which are, from every point of view, just as immediate and serious." After making all allowances for Czecho-Slovakian fears and disquietments, "To proclaim, at this moment, a hostile neutrality in regard to Poland was to put herself against her and against us, and on the side of the Germans, with out whom the Hungarians would be powerless, and on that of Soviet Russia."

A feature of this article is a tribute to M. Millerand on his election as President. Eulogistic references to his work as premier and his claim to the position at the Elysée are coupled with expressions of regret that he is quitting the actual government of the country. Millerand has governed well, says M. de Lacombe; at the Elysée he will not govern. His work of guiding France through the European chaos was not finished; he leaves the helm indeed at a most critical moment. Other subjects handled both in the *Deux Mondes* and *Correspondant* are the late Cardinal Amette, the military convention with Belgium, and Mr. Lloyd George in reference to the Russo-Polish question. France, at any rate, observes M. Poincaré with a touch of his old acerbity, "has shown her (Poland) that we are not of those whose friendship is warmed by the sun of victory and frozen by the shadow of defeat." M. de Lacombe charges the British premier with officiousness in lending some support to the German demand for an inquiry into the French methods of keeping order in Upper Silesia: "In making all this noise, which will please the people of Berlin and raise their courage, Mr. Lloyd George aggravates a dissension; he does nothing to facilitate the execution of the peace."

La Revue Mondiale journal for October 1st contains the conclusion of Sir A. Conan Doyle's "Vital Message" and a learned disquisition on "Obedience in Married Women" by M. Louis Martin. In the *Mercur* (September 1st) M. L. Chestoff asks and answers the question: "What is Bolshevism?" Literary articles in the month's reviews include "Mérimee, Novelist," by M. Paul Bourget (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 15th); and "A Reviver of the Romance: Marcel Proust," by M. C. Marx in the *Revue Mondiale* (October 1st). In the

Correspondant (September 10th), M. Paul Gruyer concludes his very interesting historical resume of Travelling as a pastime under the title of "Les Origines du Tourisme."

FINLAND.

The Council of the League of Nations at its session held in London on July 12th decided to refer to a Commission of Jurists the question whether the Aland problem was in international law a purely domestic Finnish affair or a matter of international interest. In the former case, it would clearly be outside the scope of the League's jurisdiction or purview. To this proposition, M. Enckell, on behalf of Finland, and M. Branting, on behalf of Sweden, assented. A Commission, consisting of M. Larnaudé (France), M. Struyken (Holland) and M. Huber (Switzerland), was then constituted. A summary of the Commission's report reached Finland early in September, setting forth the conclusions that Finland was not a constituted State at the date at which the movement in favour of secession started on Aland, and that, therefore, the question of the Aland claim to exercise the right of self-determination was of international concern. These conclusions were received by the Finnish public and press with evident disappointment and expressions of incredulous amazement. "We Finlanders," writes *Hufvudstadsbladet* (September 10th), the leading organ of the Swedes in Finland, "were so convinced of Finland's sun-clear right in the Aland question, and considered Finland's sovereignty over the archipelago to be so incontestable, that we conceived of no other possibility than that the Jurists would declare the Aland problem, as it now stands, to be a domestic Finnish matter." *Hufvudstadsbladet* expresses the opinion that the decision of the Jurists rested upon premises which no one in Finland would endorse. It characterises in particular the Jurists' opinion that Finland was not a constituted State in the Spring of 1918 as demonstrably false and untenable.

"Finland declared its independence through its legal State organisation, December 4th, 1917, and the resolution concerned the whole territory of the former Grand Duchy to which Aland had always and still continued to belong. A month later the independence of Finland was recognised by Russia, Sweden, France and Germany, and a little later by Denmark, Norway and Austria. That Finland therefore should not have possessed the character of a constituted State in the Spring of 1918 is an assertion for which there is no warrant that is, at least, intelligible to Finlanders."

Helsingin Sanomat of the same date, while admitting that the Aland question is in certain respects international on account of the Aland servitude under the Treaty of Paris in 1856, remarks that that does not give Sweden any right to Aland, and does not alter the fact that Aland, in law and equity, belongs to Finland.

"Finland was a State with a defined territory when it declared its independence in the year 1917. The Alanders in the Diet were parties to the Declaration, and all the most important foreign Powers, including Sweden, have unconditionally recognised our independence thus attained."

Uusi Suomi, the mouthpiece of the Finnish Conservatives, declares (September 10th) that it is open to no doubt that Aland is Finnish territory, and that it is a clear principle of international law that the State whose territory and subjects are in question is alone in a position to determine whether this territory and these subjects shall be permitted to decide by a plebiscite the question of their adhesion to another State.

On September 20th, the Council of the League of Nations met at Paris and considered the report of the Jurists. The Council resolved to appoint a Commission to prepare a report, which, having due regard to the legitimate interests of all parties concerned, should enable the Council to frame a final or provisional settlement of the question. M. Enckell, the Finnish representative, accepted this decision subject to the following declaration:—

"In declaring its competence, the Council does not prejudge the affirmations contained in the Report of the Jurists against which I have formulated numerous observations. Consequently, my acquiescence in the procedure defined is accompanied by this express stipulation:—In the procedure to be followed, my Government reserves the right to maintain the

point of view formulated by it from the first, viz., that the legitimate interests of Finland are coincident with its sovereignty over Åland; and that Finland consequently is exclusively entitled to make a decision in regard to a plebiscite."

The Council affirmed that it could only recommend the settlement that appeared to it to be fair and equitable but had no power to enforce a decision upon the parties. The Council was notified on the part of the Soviet Government of Russia that that country would not recognise any arrangement that was arrived at without its participation and consent.

Finnish newspapers of recent date greet with approval M. Enckell's declaration, and point out many inexactitudes in statements of the historical sequence of events contained in the Jurists' Report. Opinion in Finland has evidently hardened against any relinquishment of Finland's sovereign rights over the Åland archipelago.

Hufvudsbladet (September 15th) is, however, hopeful of a friendly solution being reached in view of the more tractable tone which is becoming audible in some influential organs in Sweden. It quotes with satisfaction *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*:

"It is incontrovertible that Finland is a European State of high culture, or, more precisely, an outpost of Scandinavian culture. A development of hundreds of years has given the country this character which is now, we may hope, ineffaceable. The work of countless generations of Swedish men with plough and sword and book has impressed its stamp upon our former daughter land. This is one of those elemental facts which no transient policy can wave aside, and whose fruits no ephemeral feeling can destroy. It is to Sweden's interest, culturally, politically and economically, that a free and strong Finnish power should exist between Scandinavia and Muscovy."

Such declarations show, says *Hufvudsbladet*, that there are yet circles in the old Motherland which recognise that Sweden in its relations with Finland has greater and more important interests to protect than the movement among the Ålanders for reunion, produced as it has been by quite external causes.

Hufvudsbladet quotes further from the same Swedish newspaper:—

"There is in Sweden a surprising contrast between what one may call newspaper opinion and that of the people. It has been possible to affirm time after time that the excited feelings

which have been expressed in the Press in connection with the Åland dispute has not had the support of a corresponding popular feeling. This has of late become several degrees cooler."

This declaration of the *Göteborgs Tidningen*, continues *Hufvudsbladet*, makes it plain that a solution of the Åland problem which should build upon certain concessions on both sides would not be so decidedly rejected by the whole Swedish public as the statements of the *Stockholm Tidningen* might lead us to suppose.



Kladderadatch

[Berit]

In the Occupied Territory.

"Why do I carry the little dog on my arm? Well, you see, it is a new order—dogs passing French officers in the street have to whisk their tails!"

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

MR. WELLS'S HISTORY.

The Outline of History. By H. G. Wells (Cassell 21s. net).

The difficulty that every reviewer of Mr. Wells's latest work must feel is to know where to begin, and—a still greater difficulty—which of the hundreds of subjects which have interested him or aroused his desire to contradict, or at least question, to leave out. The value of any review depends so enormously on proportion—it is so easy to let one's own whims do the choosing and thus to allow the balance to become ridiculously lop-sided. It is so far easier to complain of what a book is not than to appreciate its true worth, to attack a book than to burrow inside it and see the world from the author's side, and then emerge to render a sane estimate of the view one has thus discovered. We have hardly yet read an estimate of *The Outline of History* which has seemed to us to do it justice, and that although it has been most warmly greeted on the whole, and although we do not think the objections to it have yet been strongly enough stated. We feel that it should be possible for a man to disagree fundamentally both with Mr. Wells's views of the past and his hopes and fears for the future, and yet to welcome the book as one of really enormous importance for the present education of the country, as well as one of the most interesting confessions of faith that we have had for many years.

Let us take the educational aspect first, just pausing long enough to explain that we mean by education a process which does not so much cease as begin at the so-called age of discretion. Mr. Wells is, of course, first and foremost a teacher. (There are times when, at his best, he almost deserves the name of prophet; there are also times when it would not be libellous to class him as a rather narrow and bumptious schoolmaster). He does not believe in the "art" of writing. He writes with the set purpose before him of

making this world a better place to live in, and by "better" he has a very clear idea of what he means. He means a cleaner place, better swept and with better sanitary arrangements of all kinds; he means a more widely educated place; he means a place where unpleasant toil is almost entirely handed over to efficient machines; he means a place where there is at once more freedom and wiser regulation; he means, still further, a place where selfishness and grab shall by some process of education (this is a little obscure, of course, for the two have not yet at any rate marched hand in hand invariably) be sublimated not so much in brotherly love as the love of the individual for the whole of mankind.

It is with this purpose of making the world a "better" place that this book is written. And the method is twofold. In the first place Mr. Wells has set out to give us a bird's eye view of the general history of the world from the year 800 million or so B.C. (or whenever else it started) until now, so that when faced with the problems of to-day we may at least have a little wider view of what manner of men both we ourselves and our neighbours are. And in the second he will, whenever he wishes, proceed to draw lessons from the failure of the past that he considers applicable to our conduct in the present. Mr. Wells makes no more pretence to being a "pure historian" than a "pure artist." What interests him is to-day and—still more—to-morrow. He will be useful or nothing.

Now it seems to us that while it is of the utmost importance that we should understand Mr. Wells, it is of very little use indeed to object to what in his make-up we do not approve or agree with. One can object to Mr. Wells's views on evolution as wiser men than we, and perhaps than Mr. Wells, have already done; one may look with amazement at

the neglect of art of every kind (except the kind that is really curiosity in this history of the world; one may wonder with all one's might why it is that Mr. Wells should appear so inconceivably blind to more than one side of Christianity; if one is a Biblical or a Chinese or any other sort of specialist one can doubtless also be surprised at many things; but when all these wonders and objections are expressed, it is worth while just taking stock for a moment of what remains. Just think of the ordinary educated man's knowledge and even conception of history. It consists of a few chunks. He knows something of the history of Greece and Rome, he may perhaps, if he is interested in Egyptian art, have some slight knowledge of Egypt, he has read of the decay of the Roman Empire, and he may, perhaps, have forgotten something of what happened after the death of Charlemagne. Of English constitutional history he will know a little more, and in the Court History of England and France, with, perhaps, a short period or so in Italian history, he will, perhaps, be better informed. And that in nine cases out of ten is the limit of his knowledge, and as often as not of his curiosities. Of history as a continuous process from prehistoric times until now, he has not the glimmer of an idea. Of the races which go to make up his own country and those of his neighbours, of where they came from and when, of how the differences of nationality have become so striking while those of race are often so almost negligible, of the great Eastern Empires who in their time have loomed as large in World History as those of which he has read—of all these things, which by rights are commonplaces, his knowledge is both inaccurate and hopelessly spasmodic.

Here then is the enormous merit of Mr. Wells's book for the ordinary man—that it does succeed in a way in which no book we know of has ever even attempted to succeed, in giving us a history of and forcing us to be keenly curious about the world in the past as a whole. Knowing Mr. Wells we can, if we desire to do so, neglect both his "scientific bias" and his moral lectures; they can hardly fail to stimulate, even though it be merely to violent aggression, but they are not of the

first importance. If the book consisted of nothing more than the admirable time charts of Mr. Wells and his no less admirable illustrator, it would be enormously interesting and of the keenest educational value. Again, if it contained nothing beyond the first three Books in which the amalgam of Mr. Wells the novelist, Mr. Wells the scientist, and Mr. Wells the strenuous teacher, produces one of the most fascinating conjectural pictures of our un conjecturable past that we have ever read, it would remain in our minds as one of the best books that Mr. Wells had ever written, and the best introduction to the subject that any man in the world could possibly write. As for the chapters on Asia and the Great Mongol Empires, we do not know how they appear to the man who can speak with authority on the subject—to us they appear as a glorious opportunity for wallowing up to our necks in a subject of whose fascination or importance we had no adequate conception whatsoever.

It is as a continual spur to curiosity that this book is such an astounding performance. Perhaps the man is living who knows already all that Mr. Wells can tell him, but it is totally impossible for anyone to have done more than peeped in at half the doors that Mr. Wells is continually opening so invitingly. What matters the subjects he has neglected or appears to misunderstand? The man who reads *The Outline of History* will be tempted to read more other books than he has ever dreamt of reading except on his own subject before. That is where its educational value comes in. Mr. Wells's opinions on the Greeks may be as utterly unfair as they are obviously unsympathetic, his neglect of Roman Law and what one may call the institutional side of Christianity (it is of course something much more than that) may be even a little ridiculous, his curious refusal to see "art" as of any importance in history at all may enrage a good many. (One reviewer, we noticed, complained that music is nowhere mentioned; the fault goes deeper than that, for neither pictures, sculpture, architecture nor poetry have the least importance for Mr. Wells as such, nor even is such a man as Rabelais, who surely must have a hundred points of

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contact with him, to be found in the Index.) The fact remains that Mr. Wells's omissions are those that leap to the eye of every reader, while his inclusions are often things that one has passed by in complete ignorance over and over again.

Of course the book has faults. The amount of space that Mr. Wells gives to the war is a typical temptation that even the teacher that Mr. Wells cannot possibly help himself being should certainly have made some efforts to resist. And the final chapter, with its attempt to pierce the future, though interesting, is a little out of place. On the subject of Mr. Wells's view of great men, a whole review could be written—would indeed have to be written if one dared embark on the subject at all. And lastly, there is that curious desire to rap past ages over the knuckles that almost everyone must have smiled at in his turn. We shall give one example where we might give a hundred, and pass on :—

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To blame the Romans for employing an "antiquated device" is surely rather funny.

But as we have said, and wish to insist, the faults that one can find with the book are overwhelmingly outweighed by its innumerable virtues. It is most clearly and fascinatingly written, and the mere arrangement of detail is a really wonderful performance. It is crammed full of vivid pictures from all ages, prehistoric and historic. It is gloriously alive. If often wrong, it is never in the least unfair. Mr. Wells has permitted his advisers to contradict him flatly in footnotes, and the best detailed criticism of the book as yet is probably to be found within its own pages. It is splendidly illustrated. And the best of it is that though one may find a vigorous objection

arising with the reading of every page one's desire to continue reading is invariably increased rather than diminished.

We said at the beginning of this notice that there were two ways of looking at this book. The other way, of course, is to regard it, as one regards all Mr. Wells' other books, as a further step in a long volume of confessions. Treated in this way there are no objections to make at all, for then every idiosyncrasy of Mr. Wells's becomes of more value to the reader. What may be want of proportion in a history is significant proportion when it is Mr. Wells's mind that one is studying while the way that Mr. Wells underestimates or overestimates the world's great men can give us more material on which to form our estimate of Mr. Wells than even the most biographical of his spiritual æneids. But our space is exhausted and we have not yet done the book justice. It cannot be helped. It is a book to read rather than to criticise and we would wager that even Mr. Wells's sternest critics have enjoyed this book of his more gluttonously than most of the books they have praised during the last few years.

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CONTENTS.

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permanent place in the literature of a very fascinating phase of English history.

The temptation of the author, one would have said, was to overload the facts with interpretation. He has commendably left them to speak for themselves, giving his own verdict in something less than a page at the end of the book.

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The reader will form his own opinion of the value of this. When Mr. West is dealing with facts he is, at once, critical and sympathetic. He sees that the demagoguery of the 'forties had often its ridiculous side; sees, too, that sincerity and goodwill are never wholly or merely ridiculous. The habit of building extravagant hopes upon political changes, and the inevitable disillusion are nowhere better illustrated than in the history of Chartism. "The system they sought to establish," says Lovett, "would sweep away all this world's cares and troubles, and make it bloom like a terrestrial paradise." Feargus O'Connor is more enthusiastic. "Universal suffrage would at once change the whole character of society from a state of watchfulness, doubt and suspicion to that of brotherly love, reciprocal interest, and universal confidence." It is all very familiar, and so is the comment on the Reform Act of 1832. "The organised working men were in the unfortunate position of a savage tribe which has captured, at considerable cost to itself, a supposed wonder-working idol, only to find that it was a completely useless goliwog."

In the days of the Council of Action it is not entirely uninteresting to turn to the

account of the National Convention of 1839, and how seriously it took itself. Dr. John Taylor regarded it as "the most extraordinary experiment in politics which was ever presented in the history of any country." Lord John Russell more shrewdly soon discovered that it was "a body for the sole purpose of preparing and presenting petitions to Parliament." The Secretary of the Convention was soon lamenting that "the love of talk was a characteristic of our little house as of the big one at Westminster."

Labour politics are subject to the general rule that there is nothing new under the sun. A William Benbow in 1831 was counselling a General Strike as the panacea. A few years later the faithful were debating the vexed question whether Whig or Tory was the most hated enemy. If the Socialists have preserved the continuity, so have their most vocal opponents. "Blackwood's Magazine" took the agitators as seriously in 1838 as they took themselves, which is saying good deal. State Church and all the rest of it were to disappear. Political history is one long commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes.



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met the young artist. He called her "Fairly Queen," and she called him "Saint Michael." Naturally enough, after this opening she becomes a famous dancer without effort and turns the heart of every man in London, and he having rescued her from an accident tells her that he hates her type of woman. From there to the end is a rather hectic race of passion in luxurious surroundings, and in the end the artist wins for his bride the peerless and aristocratic Wielitzka, a fate we cannot help feeling that he has richly deserved. It would be misleading to suggest that the book was real; still its unreality to every sort of life that exists on the earth, or to any one would care to imagine, may undoubtedly prove comforting and even pleasurable to some people.

Caliban. By W. L. George (Methuen, 8/6 net).

The title is the only puzzling thing about Mr. W. L. George's new novel. All the rest is as plain as a pike-staff, and not nearly so graceful. What Mr. George has done has been to take a more or less imaginary Lord Northcliffe, to show us his limited and materially ambitious boyhood in a family circle that is merely limited, his expansion *via* "Zip," the counterpart of "Answers," into newspaper proprietorship, and his subsequent rise to fame as the greatest of all the "stunt" newspaper wizards in the country. The story is a little dull and thoroughly conscientious. Bulmer is possibly a figure one can believe in, but he never interests one at all, and the chronicle of war-time England is, like a hundred of its present fellows, something we could do without. It is queer, too, to find so conscientious a naturalist as Mr. George making mistakes in fact. After all, he aims at little more than verisimilitude, and yet chronologically he is inaccurate, and he succeeds in producing a racehorse which, as a three-year-old, won "the historic race" in October, and became a certainty for the Derby in the following year. The book is of course a quite intelligent account of certain sides of modern England. It is competently written. It contains a lot of quite accurate facts. And as we have said, it is rather dull. But what connection there is between Lord Bulmer and Caliban we have given up trying to guess.

Quest the One-eyed. By Gunnar Gunnarsson (Gyldendal, 8s. 6d. net).

This modern Icelandic story suffers a little from its curious mixture of romanticism with hard fact. It is the story of two brothers, the sons of a rich farmer in Iceland, and it is concerned for the most part with the peasant population of that island. Yet one brother is a sort of weary superman who can accomplish everything and then tire, while the other brother is a ridiculously roguish Priest, who becomes a figure and dies in the odour of sanctity. The first brother we cannot piece together at all. He becomes a great violinist, and then on the eve of his triumph throws success to the winds; he next becomes a millionaire, and having succeeded in that returns to the farm and marries the girl his rascally brother has seduced

and deserted. Half the book with its pictures of the simple and hospitable life of Icelandic farmers is delightful, but the heroic size of the romantically conventional adventures is not merely not convincing, but seriously harmful to our enjoyment of the rest. It is a pity, for the small pictures of the simple characters ring true. There are a boy, a girl, an old servant with second sight, and a drunken and pleasant old reprobate of a doctor who are really worth knowing, and the descriptions of the country itself are intimate and genuine. Yet all these pleasant little things are made the frame for a highly romantic story that does not hold our interests for a moment.

The Happy Highways. By Storm Jameson (Heinemann, 9s. net).

Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, we know, but much as we like him we often feel that Mr. Wells has received enough of it. Pseudo-Wells is tiresome reading, and the trouble is that it seems almost impossible to write an autobiographical novel without falling into it now and then. Let us give an instance chosen at random: "What amazes me when I look back on our life in London is not its inconsequence, nor its unleashed enthusiasms, nor even its perilous freedom. It is our devastating indulgence in talk and self-explanatory criticism," and so on. The whole book is written like that, and we repeat that we find it tiresome. The story is that of a man who has been blinded in the war, and who, for some reason or other, is desirous of putting down on paper an account of his young life in London before the war broke out. There is a lot of youthful enthusiasm and promiscuous experience, and far too much long-winded argument. The friends of the imaginary author are obviously intelligent and, we daresay, rather pleasant people. But there seems precious little point in recounting their small adventures and long talks at such considerable length. Of course, the book is true enough in a way. We mean, that is to say, that it is true that hundreds of people in real life approximate quite closely to the various people in the book. What is puzzling us is why the book was written and where its significance comes in.

Is the Mountains. (Macmillan, 7/6 net).

This is a study of a very delightful cottage in the Swiss mountains, and of two feminine temperaments acting and reacting on each other in the friendship of Dolly Jucks and the unknown author of the book. It starts with a despairing self-analysis by one who has loved and lost, and seeks in her Alpine retreat merely a dulling of her pain; it develops into comedy when Mrs. Barnes and Mrs. Jucks, the latter of whom is the widow, not of one German, but of two, come upon the scene; it touches farce when her uncle the Dean, coming to capture the author, is himself captured by Dolly Jucks, he "past" notwithstanding. The book is a richly coloured cameo of piquant but essentially human emotions. Critics will be wondering who wrote it.

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Miscellaneous.

A Hospital Letter-Writer in France. By May Bradford. (Methuen, 5s. net).

A good deal has been published concerning the "hospital" side of the war, but this, we believe, is the first account of an "official" letter-writer for the wounded. The author acted in this capacity practically throughout the war, first at the Boulogne hospital and subsequently at Etaples. Her record, though naturally sad rather than gay, was well worth preserving. Most of the letters were written at the patient's bedside, which meant that there was a good deal of conversation in addition to the actual writing; and the picture of the sufferers given in this quiet narrative is vivid in its passages of pathos and humour. The young Scot who, fatally ill with pleurisy and a suppurating inflammation of one knee, was asked how he felt, and replied promptly, "No sae bad," perhaps summed up as well as anybody else the spirit of these patients.

Secrets of Earth and Sea. By Sir Ray Lankester. (Methuen, 8s. 6d. net).

A series of newspaper articles on various scientific subjects has been collated in this volume. They include such topics as pre-historic art, the scientific significance of species, a first-hand study of Vesuvius in eruption, hybrids of the colour of water, sus- through low temperature, and so forth. No one knows better than the author how to "popularise" scientific fact and theory, and the inquiring but uninformed mind will find plenty of stimulating food in these essays. There is a good selection of line illustrations. Those of animals reproduced from actual drawings by the pre-historic men who saw them, are quite a fascinating series.

The Brazilians and their Country. By Clayton Sedgwick Cooper (Heinemann, 15/- net).

The interest of this book is largely commercial, though Mr. Cooper has a pretty gift of description, and has studied and grasped the outstanding social characteristics of the Brazilian people. Within recent years this, by far the largest of the South American republics, has made huge strides in development, and here we get a graphic view of what has been done to open up the vast resources of the country. An excellent account is given not only of the principal cities, but of the far less known country districts in the South and the forest region of the Amazon. The book is plentifully and most interestingly illustrated.]

By the Way. By Lady Alice Eyre (Nisbet, 6/- net).

Lady Alice Eyre writes pleasantly though without great distinction, on a variety of topics that have formed subjects of her reading. Shakespeare, Rudyard Kipling, and Mr. Bennett are all laid under contribution, and the volume is with historical essays under the title of

"Personality and Charm," "Dinners and Dinners" and "True Friendship," culled from French and English sources. The first paper on Rostand's "Chanticleer" is a sympathetic interpretation of which the diction rises above the level of most of the others; she is at her best when she is working, so to speak, from text.

New Periodicals.

Outward Bound. An Illustrated Monthly Magazine. (Oxford University Press, net).

Amid the crowd of monthly periodicals having no *raison d'être* except the momentary entertainment of their readers, this new venture strikes a fresh note. It appears to have definite mission: that of interesting people in this country in foreign countries and people more particularly the non-Christian peoples of the East—with the ideal of ultimate racial brotherhood in the background. For its purpose a notable list of contributors to its numbers has been secured. The calibre of the material gleaned from the names of John B. Water, Rabindranath Tagore, Beatrice Hayden, Mary Gaunt and others who have promised to write. This first issue leads off with instalment of a new serial by Col. John Bue entitled "The Path of a King"; there is a story "Jonah" by Mr. John Russell; Maude Royden writes on "The Goal of World's Womanhood," and there are strong written articles on "The World-Wide Danger" and "Cinema Shows the World Over" by Mr. Basil Mathews, a poem "Build us a better world" by Mr. Alfred Noyes, and important contribution by Lord Robert Cecil on "Every Race and the League of Nations." The literary tone of the magazine is vigorous throughout, and the illustrations are of a high standard.

The Pilgrim. Edited by William Tuck (Longmans, 3s. 6d.).

The first number of this new quarterly described as "A Review of Christian Politics and Religion," shows a welcome intention to treat broad questions of religion and literature on a broad way. With Major-General Sir Maude's article on "The Church and its National Problems" we deal on another paper articles well worth study by the thoughtful layman are Lord Eustace Percy's "The Divine Mission of Government," "Mysticism in relation to Philosophy and Religion" by the Rev. St. Paul's, and "Christian Unity: Theological Background" by the Editor. Religious revival stimulated in this country, the sufferings of the war has, we believe, recast a fresh impetus from the social troubles have since supervened, and there is more ever an instinctive craving for spiritual and leading of a kind adapted to bring the old line with the new requirements. It is a room and a future for *The Pilgrim*.

5. NOV. 1920.

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THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

No. 374. Vol. LXII.] Founder: W. T. STEAD. [NOVEMBER, 1920

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, November 8th, 1920.

The Coal Strike.

We were disappointed in the hope which we expressed on going to press with our last number, that a miners' strike would be averted by the Government's proposal to grant increases of wages to the miners on a sliding scale which would base their earnings on the total output of coal in the country. The miners' executive agreed with the coalowners upon the form in which these proposals for a settlement should be put to the general body of the miners, and a ballot was taken. The leaders of the miners refrained from making any recommendation as to whether the proposals should be accepted or not. Opinion in the mining districts rapidly concentrated against acceptance of the offered terms, and the local leaders were for the most part vehemently opposed to acceptance, for they argued that the proposals placed no obligation upon the coalowners to assist the miners in increasing output. On the contrary, they pointed out that in certain instances the coalowners were already working the least productive seams in their mines, and if this practice should become general, the miners would be at the mercy of the coalowners who might at any time agree among themselves to work only the unproductive seams and so reduce the output of coal, thereby preventing the miners from gaining any benefit under the sliding scale arrangement. There was much truth in this argument, and it proved so convincing to the miners that they threw

out the proposals—which were generally referred to as the "datum line"—by an overwhelming majority, which was even larger than the majority which decided in favour of a strike. A complete deadlock ensued, and as no one was able to find a way out of the impasse, the strike notices expired on October 16th, and the strike began on the following Monday. Parliament met on the day after, and in a House which was profoundly impressed by the necessity for overcoming the obstacles which had produced the strike, Mr. Brace, M.P., the leader of the South Wales miners, brought forward on his own initiative proposals which ultimately led to a resumption of negotiations with the Government, and so paved the way for the formulation of new proposals which were sufficiently attractive to induce both parties to the dispute to abate part of their claims.

The New Basis of Agreement.

The deadlock had arisen largely owing to the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Hodges, the very able Secretary of the Miners' Federation, who declared repeatedly that the miners' claim to an immediate increase of wages must be granted without any conditions whatever attaching to it. The Government had been scarcely less uncompromising in its refusal to make any grant of increased wages unless the miners' claim was submitted to an impartial tribunal. The Miners' Executive had wisely abandoned its impossible claim to dictate to the Government how the excess profits of the mining industry were to be employed, and the main issue between the

miners and the Government had thus been disposed of, leaving only the question of increased wages to be settled between the miners and the coalowners, with the Government holding a watching brief for the public. Once the strike had begun, the exchange of opinions upon the merits of the case among the leaders of the trade union movement, soon focussed public attention upon a few main points in the dispute. It became clear that the miners were prepared to abandon their uncompromising attitude which had refused to consider any conditions designed to safeguard the public against a still further decline in output, and it became clear at the same time that the Government was willing to allow part of the excess profits earned by the export of coal to become available for an immediate increase of wages, and so avoid another rise in the price of coal, the miners would give guarantees that output would not be reduced if wages were increased. At the same time, the justice of the miners' complaint that they were being asked to guarantee increased output when they had no control over the most important machinery of production, became generally recognised. Negotiations were resumed in the second week of the strike, and the Government left no room to doubt its intention to require the co-operation of the coalowners with the miners in working towards a return to the pre-war rates of output. An elaborate basis of agreement was at last arrived at, under which the miners obtained the immediate advance of wages which they had demanded all along, while their leaders pledged themselves to do all in their power to prevent absenteeism from the mines on condition that the coalowners played their part loyally in increasing production as far as they could. On that basis, the former principle of regulating wages in relation to output was accepted. However, this acceptance was gained, largely because of the accompanying clauses of the agreement which provided for the establishment of a national Wages Board and local district committees to assist in keeping up output. The wages increases are to become operative at once, but are subject to reduction in the New Year if the quarter which has now begun, and is to be treated

as an experimental period, to see what can be done in the way of increasing output, shows a further decline.

The Third Ballot.

These terms were finally approved by the miners' and the coalowners' representatives, and were submitted to the miners for approval in a ballot on the first and second of this month. Mr. Smillie and Mr. Hodges, as well as Mr. Herbert Smith, the President of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, cordially accepted the proposed settlement, and recommended the miners to vote for it. Leaders of some of the other principal unions, and particularly Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Political Secretary of the National Union Railwaymen joined with them in urging the miners to accept the proposals, and appealed for their acceptance with the argument that if they were rejected, such a decision would be equivalent to a vote of censure upon the Trade Union Leaders. Nevertheless the terms met with opposition, and were alleged to be little better than a repetition of what one of the miners' leaders described as "the cursed datum line." South Wales and Lancashire soon made it clear that they would vote heavily against acceptance, but eventually the total figures gave a vote of 338,000 in



(Evening News)

(London)

The Wife's Relations.

favour of acceptance, and 346,500 against. A bare majority against the compromise had thus been secured, in spite of the strenuous efforts of Mr. Smilie and Mr. Hodges to have it accepted. But the majority was fortunately too small to allow the strike to continue, for the elaborate constitution of the Miners' Federation provides that two-thirds of its members must vote in favour of a strike, or for a strike to continue, if work is to cease or not to be resumed. The strike was, therefore, declared at an end, and work was generally resumed on Monday, November 8th.

Three weeks of the coal strike have resulted in **A Coal Peace at Last?** widespread unemployment in many industries which depend upon coal for their factories. The Potteries, especially, as well as the engineering trades and the textile trades have had to work short time or else close down altogether, and in all branches of industry and commerce, the dislocation of ordinary business due to the strike, has caused a set back to industrial revival and has cost an incalculable sum in cancelled orders. The miners themselves have all but exhausted their strike funds in a strike which has produced no tangible results that would reasonably be held to have justified recourse to a strike. Yet something will have been gained if the termination of the strike brings with it a new spirit of co-operation between the miners and the coalowners, and if the proposed Wages Board is conducted in a spirit of genuine sympathy and with a real desire to put an end to the ceaseless agitation which has demoralised the mining industry in recent years, and undermined that confidence in the future which is indispensable for successful enterprise in all industries. The railway strike last year led to the formation of a national Board, composed of representatives of the railwaymen and of the public, sitting with equal authority to that of the railway managers. It is too early yet to estimate what the effect of that bold experiment in joint control will be upon the railway system of the country; but there are at least grounds for believing that even though this experiment may lead to a

certain extravagance in railway administration, it has, at any rate, gone a long way towards securing peace on the railways by allaying the distrust of the railwaymen towards a system in which they had no control, and which they believed to be used for exploiting their labour to earn dividends for the shareholders. If a similar result can be achieved by a settlement with the miners, a new hope will have arisen of establishing peace, or at any rate a suspension of hostilities for a considerable time, between Labour and Capital in the coal industry. Until that peace is in sight, it is equally impossible for Capital to embark confidently upon new enterprises, and for the Government or anyone else to make constructive plans to deal with unemployment. As it is, unemployment which would in any case have been abnormally high this winter owing to the slump in trade, has been increased considerably by the dislocation of industry caused by the coal strike. It remains for the Government to repair the injury done to trade by the strike as speedily as it can, by losing no time in establishing the Wages Board promised to the miners, and by creating among them the confidence which they do not now possess, that every effort will be made to secure its successful operation.

Death of the Lord Mayor of Cork.

After a hunger strike which lasted for 74 days the Lord Mayor of Cork died in Brixton Prison on October 25th. Two days earlier, one of the eleven untried prisoners who were on hunger strike in Cork Goal had also died, and a second of them died on the same day as the Lord Mayor of Cork. The Government had thus brought to a successful conclusion its policy of refusing to yield in any way to the agitation, to which the King himself at first lent his influence, to secure the release of the Irish political prisoners who were protesting against their imprisonment by the only method left to them. While the eleven prisoners on hunger strike in Cork were not tried, Lord Mayor McSwiney was tried before a court martial and convicted under the new Coercion Act. The only definite charge against him was that he had in his possession a copy of the secret

cypher of the Royal Irish Constabulary. No evidence was ever produced at the trial to connect him in any way with the murders of the Irish Constabulary, and he was convicted entirely on the unproven, and in our belief, the unjust supposition that he was implicated in a conspiracy to murder members of the Irish police. We cannot accept the view that even in Ireland it is a crime for the Lord Mayor of an important city to be in possession of the code of the police force which, nominally at least is at his disposal for the enforcement of civil justice and the protection of property. As a matter of fact, the Royal Irish Constabulary in the South of Ireland have long ceased to perform any police duties in the ordinary sense, and since they are employed by the Government for no other purpose than to raid and arrest, and in some cases to shoot at sight in their own homes, peaceful citizens who sympathise with the demand for Irish self-government, we cannot see that the Lord Mayor of Cork or of any other Irish city is guilty of a crime in securing information which may enable him to protect his citizens from such attacks by the armed forces of the Crown. In any case there can be no excuse for the Government's action in waiting until the Lord Mayor's death was announced, to publish a document which is alleged to have been found in his desk on the day of his arrest, but of which no mention was made previously in all the elaborate case which was constructed against him by the Government. The document which the Government produced after the Lord Mayor was dead would seem to implicate him completely in the preparation of an arsenal for the Irish Republican Army. If such a document was in existence, why was it not produced at the fitting time.

Is the Government telling the truth?

The question is a highly important one, for it raises the whole issue upon which Sir Hamar Greenwood has sought to base his own defence in recent debates of Parliament, of whether the Government's statements in regard to events in Ireland are or are not to be believed. We have expressed doubts before now about the Government's veracity, in matters relating to

Ireland, and the events of the past month have so shaken our confidence in the truthfulness at any rate of Sir Hamar Greenwood, that we find it impossible to believe any statement whatsoever that comes from him unless it is supported by independent evidence from outside. We regard the publication of this document, designed to convict the Lord Mayor after his death as a singularly disgraceful attempt to calumniate a man who was tried for definite offences before a military court which had complete access to every document that could be used to convict him. We have no hesitation in saying that we disbelieve entirely in the authenticity of this particular document. Sir Hamar Greenwood has carried disregard for accuracy of speech to lengths which we would not have believed possible. He has even stated in the House of Commons that not one single instance of reprisals carried out by the black-and-tans or the troops has been substantiated by those who have raised an agitation about their campaign of organised violence. To accept that statement would be to repudiate the veracity of scores of English and American journalists of repute who have described these shameful tragedies from first hand evidence. We have ourselves seen ample testimony coming direct from sources with which we are acquainted, which leave no doubt as to the Government's policy of terrorism. We have noticed in detail in previous issues of this *Review* some of the most flagrant instances of reprisals.

The Case of Mrs. Annan Bryce.

We need scarcely comment upon the final proofs which the Government have given of their own bad faith by their treatment of the wife of a distinguished English politician, Mr. Annan Bryce. Mrs. Bryce has amply earned a right to be heard on public questions by her generous action in converting her large house in County Kerry into a convalescent hospital for officers during the war. She personally took charge of the hospital for several years, and conducted it as a hospital at her own expense. She has lived there since, and during her residence in County Kerry, she has had personal

knowledge of outrages committed by the troops and the armed police. Mr. Annan Bryce, whose personal record in public life entitles him to be heard with all respect, apart from the fact that he is brother to the most distinguished ambassador we ever sent to the United States, has written two long letters to *The Times* making definite charges against the military government of Ireland, and publishing the correspondence he was received from General Macready and from Sir Hamar Greenwood, in which both alike repudiate responsibility for what has occurred. His letters have attracted considerable attention throughout the country, and Mrs. Bryce was invited at the end of October to address a meeting in Wales which was being held to protest against the policy of reprisals. She actually landed at Holyhead, and was there detained by the Government's instructions, sent back to Dublin, and actually imprisoned there, and soon afterwards released. The Government knew that it could not deny her accusations, and in its determination to prevent her from declaring publicly the facts within her knowledge, it took to itself power to interfere with her liberty of action at Holyhead, as though the Coercion Act applied to Wales as well as to Ireland.

What the Reprisals Policy Means.

That the Government, while it repeatedly disclaims any responsibility for a deliberate policy of reprisals, is in fact, carrying out a systematic policy of terrorism throughout Ireland, cannot be doubted. Sir Hamar Greenwood has been driven back upon the defence that such attacks as have been made upon the civil population have been acts of legitimate self defence in the course of raiding suspected houses for arms and ammunition. He deliberately conceals the fact that on this pretext the houses of countless unoffending people in Ireland have been raided, broken up or burnt, and fired into. For instance, the houses of Mr. Erskine Childers, the well-known English Liberal, and of Mrs. J. R. Green, the historian, have been raided in this way, and so indiscriminate has the policy of raiding houses become, that among others, Mr. Max Green, the Chair-

man of the Irish Prisoners Board, and Mrs. MacMahon, mother of the Permanent Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle, have had their houses searched, and their private papers taken away. Even more fantastic, but symptomatic of the reckless terrorism which the military are enforcing in Ireland, was a raid in County Cork carried out by a military party under an officer, upon the house of Miss Penrose Fitzgerald, who not only is a cousin of the King's private secretary, Lord Stamfordham, but actually had one of the Resident magistrates of the county living in the house. Even the wholesale reprisals on a scale similar to the destruction of Balbriggan or Mallow have begun again. Towns and villages have been sacked and burnt within the past few weeks, while many entire countries outside of East Ulster have been intimidated so savagely that no man can sleep in security in his own house. Those who are in any way identified with the popular movement, especially if they have been elected to important positions such as membership for a Parliamentary constituency or of a county council, are liable to be seized as hostages, and arrested, or to have their houses burned down by way of reprisal and their families turned out into the night. Even the correspondents of some of the principal English newspapers are no longer safe, and Mr. Hugh Martin, the special representative in Ireland of *The Daily News* has been so directly threatened with assassination by the black-and-tans, that he has to go from place to place concealing his identity.

Its Effect upon American Presidency.

We protest against this appalling reign of barbarism that is being conducted in the name of the British Government in Ireland, not only because of its inherent immorality, but because it has destroyed the prestige of this country throughout the world. Ireland is at the present time full of newspaper correspondents from America, and from most of the Continental countries, who see from day to day fresh evidence of the Prussian terror which is being enforced in Ireland, and send elaborate reports about it to their own papers which are in most cases glad to publish circum-

stantial reports which throw discredit upon British policy. Above all, we cannot afford at the present time to deepen the gulf of misunderstanding which separates us from the United States. In the closing stages of the Presidential election both parties were equally outspoken in denunciation of British policy in Ireland, and while Governor Cox made a more direct bid on behalf of the Democrats for the support of the Irish vote, there is little doubt that the Republican victory will mean a period of intensely anti-English administration in the United States. Both parties, in fact, fought the election in so far as it was concerned with foreign issues, on the basis of a reaction against the close co-operation with the British Government which was the principal cause of President Wilson's defeat on the League of Nations. Ireland figured largely in the last and most important weeks of the campaign. Governor Cox found it necessary to interpret his support of the League by arguing that the future of Ireland must be one of the test cases which the League would have to settle. On the other hand, the Republicans who took their stand principally on the rejection of the Peace Treaty, denounced it, and the League of Nations Covenant which it embodies, as a League of Power, created by British diplomatists to guarantee their own immense acquisitions of territory since the war by obtaining the aid of other nations to make their empire secure. And up to the last moment, while every action of the British Government which was liable to be reported to our disadvantage in America must inevitably count against us in the election which was about to take place, the American Press was provided with a series of outrages by the British Government in Ireland so flagrant that even during a Presidential contest, they could not fail to figure with large headlines in the newspapers. One important American journal, the *New York Nation*, has even instituted a public inquiry into the acts of reprisal which have taken place in Ireland, and has obtained the services of a great number of the most influential men in American public life to investigate the evidence which the British Government suppresses, and which they—in spite of all attempts to interfere with the inquiry by

passport restrictions—are able to collect. In the very week in which the American elections were held, the American Press and the Press of the whole world had to report the story of how the coffin of the Lord Mayor of Cork was violently seized by a detachment of black-and-tans sent specially from Dublin to Holyhead, and transferred, after his relatives had been forcibly ejected from the van in which the coffin was carried, to a steamer specially chartered by the Government at the last moment to prevent a public funeral from being held in Dublin.

Senator Harding's Election.

The policies which the Government is pursuing at the present time produce events and combinations of forces which must have incalculable results in a future that may at any time become menacing. The most disquieting fact with which we have to reckon in the present state of international politics is the total estrangement which has grown since the war between ourselves and the United States. Had Governor Cox been made President, it would have been at least possible that a return to our former friendly relations with America might have taken place if the Government decided to reverse its Irish policy and settle generously with Ireland, and so give the most practical pledge of its faith in its public professions to the American people. Governor Cox was at least genuinely concerned for the immediate establishment of an effective League of Nations. Had he become President and set to work to help in giving life to the League, the White House would have been brought far closer to Downing Street. But Governor Cox, having fought the election mainly on the issue of The League of Nations, has gone down before an overwhelming landslide, which has brought the Republicans back to power with a majority such as President Wilson never commanded. His antagonist, Senator Harding, who will now succeed President Wilson at the end of six months, has been selected by the Republicans above all because he is considered to be in every way a safe man for the Presidency. He has been chosen not for any distinguished public record, nor for any personal

qualities of political imagination or capacity, but simply and solely because he can be counted upon to embark upon no daring policies whether at home or abroad. In domestic politics he is expected to act in loyal subservience to the dictation of the plutocracy which financed his candidature, and won him the Presidency. America is tired of the endless series of experiments, in social reform and in foreign politics which were initiated under President Wilson's administration. The overwhelming majority of American electors who have returned Senator Harding to power, yearn for domestic peace and a return of the prosperous stable conditions under which American industry thrived and forged ahead in the past generation. In foreign politics, they have equally decided to refrain from all interference with the affairs of other nations. They have reverted deliberately and decisively to their traditional doctrine of isolation in world politics.

In another sense, also, **His Prospects as President.** Senator Harding's election is a triumph for the parties of reaction. One

of the principal considerations which induced the leaders of the Republican Party to adopt him for the Presidency was a desire to lessen the power which, under Mr. Wilson's increasingly arbitrary exercise of authority, has become vested in the President. Shrewd constitutionalists like Senator Lodge, calculated that if a man of commonplace ability were sent to the White House, the Senate could, within a few years, reassert its proper influence upon politics. The Presidency of the United States was never intended to become the autocracy which Mr. Wilson made of it, and the completeness of his defeat is due largely to the fierce resentment of the Senate against his high-handed treatment of their opposition to the Peace Treaty, and to the bitter struggle throughout last year, in which the Republican leaders in the Senate proved themselves to be, to some extent at least the champions of representative government in America, and in which President Wilson himself collapsed a broken and discredited man. That struggle for the rights of the Senate as against the President will undoubtedly continue under

Senator Harding's Presidency, but it will continue in circumstances that will ensure victory for the Senate. The deadlock which arose over the Peace Treaty between President Wilson and the Republican majority in the Senate may conceivably arise again with a Senate, which as it is now constituted, contains a bare Republican majority which may on various issues either be enlarged or disappear. Should Mr. Harding attempt to defy the Senate, as President Wilson did, he would undoubtedly be opposed not only by the solid block of Democratic votes in the Senate, but by those of his own party whose jealousy of their own right and privileges brought about Mr. Wilson's downfall. Therefore, it would seem that Senator Harding's election will result in a revival of power for the Senate, and a diminution of the President's personal authority, both because of the Senate's determination to reassert its own influence in public affairs, and because of the personal mediocrity of the new President. Internally, the United States is likely, we believe, to prosper under the new administration. Its principal difficulties will most probably arise from Senator Harding's dealings with Labour, for he is credited with the will, if not the intention of reviving the old and drastic methods of strike breaking which were characteristic of American administration not many years ago.

Another Misunderstanding with France. In European politics, there have been several developments of great importance during the month. One of the most significant was the decision by the British Government to forego the claim to which it was entitled under the Peace Treaty, to confiscate any German property in British possession as security of payment of the German indemnity in the event of repudiation of its war debts by any German government. With the principle of this decision we cordially agree, but it would have been impossible to devise a more unfortunate method of publishing the decision than that which the Government actually adopted. Without any warning to the Allies, and without any previous consultation with them on the subject,

the Government announced unobtrusively through the Board of Trade that it would forego the right which France and Belgium and other countries which have suffered terrible devastation at the hands of Germany during the war, regarded as vital to their future security. The result was an immediate outcry in the French Press against the action of the British Government. Had the decision been communicated formally and with due warning, to the Allied Governments, there would have been little cause for recrimination, although our Allies might reasonably complain that by foregoing this claim which they regarded as essential, we were prejudicing their claim in the eyes of the world. But the Government's method of making this announcement was particularly objectionable, because it exposed us to the charge of having made a secret agreement with Germany behind the backs of our Allies, under which we could immediately resume trade with Germany on a basis much more favourable than was possible to them. For months past, trade with Germany has stagnated, for the easily intelligible reason that no German trader would export to countries abroad which were in a position to confiscate his goods if the German Government ever repudiated its debt. This was, in fact, one of the most disastrous consequences of the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, and the Government acted wisely in deciding to break the deadlock. Unfortunately, whereas we can afford to take risks about the payment of the German indemnity, because of our immense wealth and the vast resources of the Empire, neither France nor Belgium can hope to recover from the devastation of the war until a great part of the reparation money has been paid to them. Some form of collective financial guarantee, which will advance credits to the bankrupt countries while securing the just claims of the devastated countries to receive the reparation demanded by the Peace Treaty has yet to be created.

General Wrangel's Last Stand.

Peace between Russia and Poland has at last been signed, and the Bolsheviks are now concentrating their entire military forces

upon the Southern front with a view to overwhelming General Wrangel. He has already been driven back from his advanced posts along the Dnieper and has been compelled to fall back in the face of superior forces upon his defensive line around the Crimea. Unless some internal revolution leads to the collapse of the Moscow Government, there would seem to be no chance of his being able to maintain his position in the Crimea unaided by French troops. France is in fact already supplying him with munitions, and in the event of his being forced to withdraw from the Crimea, it seems certain that French warships will guard his retreat and bring the remnants of his army away to safety. Reports of an impending collapse of the Moscow Soviet have so far proved as baseless as the similar stories which have been circulated at frequent intervals during the past two years, and there is little reason to doubt that, having made peace with Poland and terminated all foreign wars, the Bolsheviks will be able to drive General Wrangel out of his last foothold in Southern Russia, and for the first time hold undisputed possession of the former Russian empire. But whether that success is likely to endure for long under the administration of Lenin and Trotsky is a different matter. Evidence continues to accumulate, more rapidly now that access to Bolshevik Russia is becoming less difficult, and since the number of independent witnesses who have visited Red Russia daily increases, which all tends to show that the Bolshevik system has completely broken down, and is quite incapable of reconstructing the ordinary life of the country which it destroyed. In every other country the revolutionary movement appears to be steadily subsiding. The fires of the world revolution would seem to have nearly burnt themselves out, and it may be that the Bolshevik organisation which has its headquarters in Moscow, will itself not long survive the establishment of peace throughout Eastern Europe. Not least among the difficulties of the Moscow Government is the incorporation in the Red Armies of hundreds of thousands of those who fought with Denikin and Koltchak for the overthrow of the revolutionary Government under Lenin.

Death of King of Greece. An extremely serious situation has arisen for Greece by the death of King Alexander as the result of an accidental bite by a monkey. His death raises anew the vexed question of the Greek dynasty. Constantine, who was forced to abdicate the Kingship during the war after a general election which pronounced overwhelmingly in favour of M. Venezelos in his contest with him over Greece's attitude towards the war, was compelled to consent to the succession of his younger son, Alexander, who was the only one of the family whom the Allies could trust not to work for Germany. The Crown Prince was set aside in favour of Prince Alexander and now that the young King is dead, ex-King Constantine and the Crown Prince are both intriguing hard to regain the throne. As both of them were ruled out after the general election of 1916, M. Venezelos, as Prime Minister, in the National Assembly, offered the throne to the youngest son, Prince Paul. He, however, under the influence of his father and his elder brother, has declined to accept the throne, stating that it belongs by right to his father or at least to the eldest son. M. Venezelos has uncompromisingly defied any such proposals, and states that in view of the general election held during the war the ex-King has forfeited all claim to the throne, and that, whatever attitude the rest of the Assembly might adopt, he himself would resist Constantine's return to power, even should he find himself to be the only reconcilable left in Greece. The whole constitution of Greece is at stake in the present crisis, and it is to be hoped that M. Venezelos who has already saved his country in a similar crisis may save Greece once again. At the Peace-making at Versailles, he was one of the four or five really great figures in the Conference, and no national leader has served his country with greater self-sacrifice or with more magnificent success. As a result of the Treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey, Greece has attained a position of leadership in the Near East, with greatly increased territories, and with a firm footing in the most highly developed provinces of Asia Minor. But her triumph has yet to be consoli-

dated. And if the present crisis should result in the accession of a monarch who refused to work loyally with the Greek Prime Minister, who has incurred the undying hatred of the ex-King and the Crown Prince, divided counsels may bring about the downfall of Greek prosperity and a new lease of life to the tottering power of Turkey.

Municipal Elections Scotland and Prohibition.

were held at the beginning of the month in all the municipalities in the country outside of London. A year ago, Labour gained such sweeping successes in these elections as suggested that in municipal politics the Labour movement might gain that training and experience without which it cannot hope to win control in Parliament eventually. Unfortunately the result of the large majorities which Labour won last year by something in the nature of surprise tactics has been to increase rates in many instances to a level which has provoked revolt among the ratepayers. For a great part of this rise in rates we are fully aware that not the Labour representatives, but the action of the Government is to blame. However, in the elections which have just been held, Labour has in fact, suffered a defeat scarcely less remarkable than the victory which it gained last year. But we hope that the Labour Party will not be discouraged by this reaction, and will persevere in its attempts to gain wide representation in all the municipalities. It was not to be expected that Labour candidates elected with so easy a victory should appreciate from the start the necessity of drastic retrenchment in the rates, or should be conservative in their attitude towards proposed new enterprises. More interesting in many ways than any other recent elections are the polls which are now being taken in Scotland to decide whether each district shall go "dry." That such a referendum should be taken is a triumph for the temperance movement in Scotland, such as few of its leaders had hoped to see in their lifetime. The elections have aroused extraordinary interest and excitement in Scotland, and both sides have spared no effort to secure

victory at the polls. Two alternatives, other than the continuance of existing conditions are placed before the electors. To secure complete prohibition of the liquor trade, 54 per cent. of the electors must vote for it. Only 35 per cent., however, need vote for a limitation of licences in order to secure the reduction of the total licences in the district by one fourth of their number. Twenty-four districts voted for no change in the existing licenses, but in four prohibition has actually been carried, and in nine others the limitation of licences will take effect.

Public resentment against the extravagant Government continues to conduct the administration of its great departments has found expression in a number of important protests by influential critics during the month. The committee which was appointed to inquire into the work performed by the Labour Exchanges as a result of Lord Askwith's demand some months ago for their total abolition has taken a great deal of evidence, and is expected to report before long. Notwithstanding the severe criticism which this department of the Ministry of Labour has called forth, the Government is making active preparations for adding a large number of new Labour Exchanges to carry out the work involved in the extension of unemployment insurance which has become operative under the recent Act. Critics of the exchanges, and especially Mr. Harold Cox, urge that the creation of new labour exchanges can only involve the establishment of a new vested interest in maintaining the extravagant cost of the Labour Ministry, and they insist that by an arrangement with the trade unions, the Government could have the entire work of unemployment insurance done at a comparatively insignificant expense by the trade unions themselves. The Trade Unions could undoubtedly take over the greater part of their work, but some Government Agency will be necessary, working in close co-operation with the trade unions, to provide for the large number of workers who do not belong to any trade union. Mr. Geoffrey Drage,

the well-known economist, has drawn attention also to the appalling growth in the total expenditure on various forms of social legislation, such as old age pensions, education, Provision of Meals Act, national health insurance, poor law, etc. For the whole United Kingdom the total expenditure on these numerous forms of state subsidy to the poorer classes of the population, has risen from 25 millions in 1891 to 40 millions in 1901, to 66 millions in 1911, and to 173 millions in 1919 or the last available year, which in some cases is not later than 1916, so that this last figure is well below the real total. Moreover, this total has to be increased still further in view of this year's debates in Parliament, which have added from the taxes alone 10 millions for old age pensions, 15 millions for education, 11½ millions for housing, 22 millions for out-of-work donation and resettlement, 4 millions for unemployed insurance and 6 millions for national health insurance. There is a further increase of 72 millions in war pensions for 1920, so that in all £140,000,000 has to be added to the £173,000,000 of 1919. Deducting every sort of receipt from voluntary or other sources apart from rates and taxes, there remains a total expenditure of at least £286,000,000 to be found from rates and taxes in 1920 as against £25,000,000 in 1891. Scarcely less surprising than the totals here presented is the fact that some 28 million persons out of a total population of 48 millions in the United Kingdom benefit directly by one or more of these subsidies. Even subtracting the expenditure upon education and the number of persons who benefit by it there remains a total expenditure of £225,000,000 benefitting some 20 million people.

[We regret that Mr. John Wallace, M.P. was erroneously described in a recent issue of this REVIEW as an Independent Liberal Member of Parliament. As a matter of fact, although he has taken a very independent line, he has not severed his connection with the Coalition, and must be included among Coalition Liberals.—Editor R. of R.]

Diary of Current Events

FOR OCTOBER.

Oct. 1.—The miners' delegates decided by a majority on a card vote to suspend the strike notices, and to submit to a ballot of the miners the last offer made by the coal owners for successive increases in wages, based on corresponding increases in output. Sir Hamar Greenwood and Sir Nevil Macready attended a conference at 10, Downing-street, at which the Premier and other members of the Cabinet were present.

The Emir of Bokhara is in flight to Afghanistan with the object of seeking support against the Bolsheviks. Emissaries of the latter at Kabul have been striving for an alliance with the Ameer.

The report of the Committee on re-organisation of the Indian Army has been published.

The special court of honour in Chile has decided that Senor Alessandri was legally elected president of the Republic at the recent election.

Oct. 2.—The Bishop of Manchester has decided to resign his see at the end of the year.

The *Daily Herald* appealed for financial assistance. Of £400,000 asked for last year, only £90,000 has been received in cash, and £24,000 promised by the N.U.R.

The conference of the C.G.T. at Orleans has by a large majority declared against the third Internationale.

King Alfonso has signed a decree dissolving the Cortes, and the policy which Senor Dato's Government will submit to the country will include sweeping financial reforms.

Mr. Edison has stated that he is engaged on an instrument by which he expects to establish free communication with the dead.

General Smuts has, in view of the determination of the Nationalists to adhere to a policy of secession, issued a manifesto appealing to all right-minded South Africans to join together in a new party to fight the policy.

Oct. 3.—The Bishops of London and Chelmsford held ordinations. The former's list contained 23 candidates for deacon's orders, and the latter's 10.

Oct. 4.—The Chemical and Dye-stuff Traders' Association have submitted a memorandum to the Board of Trade in which suggestions are made for the re-organisation of the British Dye Manufacture, and a scheme for licences for importation of dye-stuff.

A Sinn Féin court was raided by police and soldiers at Meath, and documents seized.

Lord Haig addressed a City meeting at Glasgow on behalf of unemployed ex-service officers and men.

The armistice between the Poles and the Lithuanians has been broken, the Poles having attacked Lithuanian posts.

The text of the draft of the proposed agreement for trading with Russia is published, but it is understood that no agreement will be concluded, nor will any negotiations to that end be resumed, until satisfactory assurances have been received by the British Government from the Soviet authorities on certain outstanding questions.

Mr. Wilson issued an appeal on behalf of the League of Nations in which he declares that the coming Presidential election should be a solemn referendum on the covenant.

Oct. 5.—Negotiations for the retention by the Air Ministry of part of Kenley Common, occupied during the war, have resulted in certain conditions being put forward by the City Corporation, including the transfer of an equivalent area on the east side of the common.

Commodore F. W. Young, C.B.E., R.N.R., has been promoted K.B. in recognition of his services in the raising of the block ships at Ostend and Zeebrugge.

Reports from Sicily state that risings have taken place in various parts of the Island, numerous estates having been seized by groups of peasants and ex-soldiers led by monks.

A combination of German and Austrian aviation companies has been formed to carry on aerial traffic in Europe.

It is reported from Helsingfors that a peace agreement has been reached between Finland and Soviet Russia.

Mr. Theodore, the Premier of Queensland, announced that if a local loan of £2,000,000 cannot be raised voluntarily before Christmas, compulsion will be resorted to, and London capitalists will be forced to contribute out of the funds earned in the State.

Oct. 6.—The Bolsheviks have accepted all the Polish proposals, and the line of the new frontier which extends north to Latvia, thus severing the connection between Lithuania and Russia, is favourable to the Poles.

The withdrawal by China of recognition of the Russian minister and Consular staff has produced a storm of protest from Russians and certain foreigners interested.

Oct. 7.—The War Office is to hand over to the Disposal Board for gradual sale, as the trade situation admits, further supplies of surplus stores, originally valued at £200,000,000.

- Mr. Ernest Bevin has drawn up a scheme for a guaranteed wage of £4 a week for dockers, the cost of which, £2,600,000, would be met by a levy of fourpence a ton on every import and export except coal.
- Mr. Smillie, expressing his personal view, advised the miners to vote for acceptance of the owners' offer as a temporary measure, urging that it would give occasion for a three months' truce, during which preparations could be made for going into the whole question of permanent conditions of wages and work in the mining industry.
- The English herring fishing season opened at Lowestoft and Yarmouth, and about 1,600 vessels are engaged.
- It was announced that Mr. James White was the friend of Sir Thomas Beecham who had offered to find a sum which would pay his debts in full.
- For the first time in history, women were admitted to membership of the University of Oxford, and 110 women under-graduates were presented.
- The annual conference of the Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis opened at Liverpool.
- Oct. 8.—Mr. Lloyd George addressed a meeting of Welsh Liberals at Llandudno, when he was re-elected President of the Welsh National Liberal Council. He described Mr. Asquith as Jehosaphat, and prophesied that a Coalition Government would carry Home Rule for Ireland.
- Mr. Chamberlain announced at Birmingham University that the Government proposed to grant an extra £500,000 a year to the Universities.
- The result of the Ilford bye-election was a victory for the Coalition, which retained the seat by a majority of 9,035.
- Opposition is being expressed in France to the proposal of Lord Curzon for a meeting of the chiefs of the Allied and German Governments on the Spa model.
- Abe Mitchell (North Foreland) beat Josh Taylor (Sudbury) in the final round of the *News of the World* professional golf tournament.
- Oct. 9.—Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Carnarvon, said that Dominion Home Rule meant a separate army and navy for Ireland, which the Government would resist.
- Vilna was occupied by Polish troops, and the town evacuated by the Government.
- Oct. 10.—The Prince of Wales in the *Renown* arrived at Spithead shortly after 6 p.m.
- Oct. 11.—The Prince of Wales was given an enthusiastic reception on his return from his tour to Australia and New Zealand.
- The miners' ballot began.
- A bequest for the establishment of a Heinemann foundation to literature to help in the production of literary work of real value is made in the will of Mr. William Heinemann, the publisher.
- The Polish Government has disavowed the action of the troops under General Zeligowski in occupying Vilna.
- Oct. 12.—Belfast bankers deny a report that owing to the boycott in the south and west of Ireland they have asked the Government to declare a moratorium.
- Princess Clémentine of Belgium unveiled a memorial on the Thames Embankment erected as a token of gratitude by Belgian people who, during the war, found refuge in England.
- At a Government dinner to the members of the Belgian delegation, Mr. Lloyd George on behalf of the King presented the G.C. (Civil Division) to M. Delacroix.
- The legal year opened with customary service at Westminster Abbey and Westminster Cathedral, and the procession of judges to the Law Courts.
- A provisional government has been set up in Vilna by the invaders.
- Oct. 13.—Sir Hamar Greenwood declared that Belfast the Government's intention to go on with the Home Rule Bill, which they were prepared to enlarge in the most generous way possible.
- The Air Ministry's programme of research and experiment was discussed at the Conference.
- The Committee on motor fuel, costs and profits, holds that while the present price of petrol is unjustifiably high, the "concerns" control the situation.
- The County of London Electrical Supply Company has applied to the Electricity Commissioners for permission to erect a new electric power station at Barkin involving an expenditure of £4,500,000.
- Oct. 14.—Mr. Asquith, speaking at Ayr, saw a reason against giving Ireland complete Dominion Home Rule, with power to establish land forces and a navy in the same way as the other self-governing dominions.
- The miners' delegates decided, in view of the rejection by ballot of the owners' offer, that the strike notices must stand.
- At the final session of the Air Conference was announced that the Air Minister was prepared to hand over its airships and the aerodromes for civil development as a national undertaking.
- Degrees were conferred for the first time on women at Oxford, and the Senate at Cambridge debated the question of the admission of women to the University on the same terms as men.
- The reply of Soviet Russia to Lord Curzon's last note states that the Soviet Government is ready to start immediately the exchange of prisoners.
- A scheme is now under consideration for the purchase on behalf of the Admiralty of a large smokeless steam coal area in British Columbia.
- Oct. 15.—The Miners' Delegate Conference decided "in view of the unsatisfactory reply of the Government" to the wage claim to inform districts by telegram that the only course was to cease work.
- Sir Eric Geddes opened the International Commercial Motor Exhibition at Olympia.

- The monthly return of the Ministry of Labour showed a decrease in the number of ex-officers unemployed, but an increase in the number of unemployed ex-service men.
- Oct. 16.—Mr. J. H. Thomas, speaking at Cricklewood, said that the railwaymen would not be doing their duty if they did anything to precipitate a crisis.
- Emergency orders restricting the supply of coal, gas and electricity to houses and factories were issued by the Board of Trade. The Government's measures for safeguarding the food supply included an order forbidding hoarding, and the reduction of the sugar ration to eight ounces.
- Mr. Churchill, speaking at Dundee, criticised the recent letters on Ireland of Mr. Asquith, Lord Grey and Lord Morley.
- The Conference of Societies of the League of Nations was concluded at Milan.
- Oct. 17.—The King and Queen were present at the dedication of decorative carving in Sandringham Parish Church to the memory of King Edward; and later, the King unveiled a stone cross erected as a memorial to the Sandringham men who fell in the war.
- Oct. 18.—Serious riots in Downing Street and Whitehall attended a demonstration of unemployed, many people, civilians and police, being injured.
- Mr. Lloyd George informed a deputation of London mayors that elaborate schemes were in preparation for the winter to overcome unemployment, the Government to pay half the cost.
- During the last eighteen months tonnage under construction in the United Kingdom increased over 65 per cent., while during the same period the United States figures show a fall of 58 per cent.
- Sir F. Andrewes, President of Pathology at London University, who delivered the Harveian Oration, argued that art had passed its highest stage of development, while progress in science was rapid.
- The People's Volunteer Army, formed by M. Savinkoff and General Bulahovitch to continue the fight against Bolshevism, issued its programme, the first item of which is relentless war both against Bolshevism and the Tsarist reaction.
- Oct. 19.—The coal strike was the chief subject of debate at the opening sitting of Parliament.
- All racing was suspended for the duration of the strike, except in Ireland.
- The Executive Committee of the National Transport Workers' Federation issued an instruction to all engaged in commercial road transport to prepare for a national strike in support of a minimum wage of £4 7s. a week. There are 180,000 workers involved.
- The Government plans for dealing with unemployment include the construction of arterial roads, employment of ex-service men on housing schemes, and dilution in other grades, and were announced by the Premier in Parliament.
- The Church Congress opened at Southend and the Bishop of Chelmsford delivered his Presidential address dealing with questions of Church unity.
- Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was arrested at the offices of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, of which she is editress.
- In reply to Anglo-French joint representations, the Polish Government stated that it estimated too highly the Allies' loyalty to Poland to imagine that advantage would be taken of her difficulties to advocate the renunciation by her of Vilna.
- Oct. 20.—Owing to the coal crisis the steamship services between Ireland and the Continent were drastically cut down.
- The Senate of the London University decided to accept the Bloomsbury site offered by the Government, but only subject to several conditions.
- Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was charged under "D.O.R.A." at the Mansion House, where it was alleged that articles in the *Workers' Dreadnought*, of which she is editor, were of a seditious character.
- Ireland was debated in both Houses of Parliament, and a motion for an independent inquiry into reprisals was defeated in the House of Commons.
- The King has conferred an Earldom on Lord Buxton in recognition of his services as Governor-General of South Africa.
- Oct. 21.—Delegates of the N.U.R. in Conference decided to inform the Government that unless the miners' claims were granted, or negotiations resumed by 23rd inst., railwaymen would be instructed to cease work at midnight on 24th inst.
- The Church Congress at Southend was addressed by Miss Sybil Thorndike, who argued in favour of a drama free from censorship.
- One of the most destructive fires for many years was that which broke out at the London Hop Exchange, one of the walls falling across the railway.
- Lord Onslow is to be appointed Civil Lord of the Admiralty in succession to Lord Lytton, the new under-secretary for India.
- Oct. 22.—A plan for the settlement of the coal dispute with the concession of the miners' wage demand as the first item was proposed. The Church Congress ended at Southend with devotional meetings.
- Oct. 23.—The text of the Government Bill "to make exceptional provision for the protection of the community in case of emergency," was issued.
- The L.C.C. Special Committee recommended acceptance of the Government's arterial road scheme for the unemployed.
- Particulars are published of the final German Budget Estimates for 1920, showing a deficit of 50,000,000,000 marks.
- French trade returns for the first nine months of 1920 showed a large increase in exports. The French Government, in reply to the British Note on reparations, put forward a scheme by which German delegates would attend a meeting of experts nominated by

- the Reparations Commission, and urged that the decision on measures to ensure the fulfilment by Germany of her obligations should be made by the Supreme Council, on a report from the Commission. The Polish Government refused to sign the Convention with Danzig as drawn up by the Council of Ambassadors.
- Oct. 24.—On the suggestion of Mr. Lloyd George, Ministers had a two-hours' discussion with representatives of the executive of the Miners' Federation. Miners' and N.U.R. executives were in conference on the 23rd inst. It was subsequently announced that the threatened strike of the railwaymen was suspended.
- Oct. 25.—The Government made new proposals for the settlement of the coal strike. Higher scales of salaries for teachers in secondary schools under local authorities were recommended by the Burnham Committee Report.
- Under the Firearms Act which comes into operation on November 1st, all persons possessing rifles or revolvers must obtain a permit from the police.
- Alderman McSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, died in Brixton Prison, after 73 days' hunger strike.
- King Alexander of Greece died in Athens after an illness due to a monkey's bite. Prince Paul was mentioned as successor. Portugal has completed negotiating an internal loan amounting to £4,000,000.
- Oct. 26.—The Government, the Coal Owners and the Miners' Executive met in conferences.
- Oct. 27th.—New proposals put forward by some of the miners' representatives caused a serious hitch in the negotiations. The Emergency Powers Bill was read a third time in the House of Commons. It was announced in the House of Commons that no official report of the Battle of Jutland is to be published. Thousands of pounds credited to the Irish Republican Army were confiscated by the soldiers in a raid on the Munster and Leinster Bank, Dublin.
- At the inquest on the Lord Mayor of Cork, the jury found that death was due to heart failure, consequent on his refusal to take food.
- Oct. 28.—An agreement was reached between the Government and the Miners' Executive, in which the Executive consented to recommend the miners to adopt the offer in a ballot.
- The Government prohibited the landing of the remains of the Lord Mayor of Cork at Dublin owing to the risk of a political demonstration.
- Admiral Condouriotis, a former member of the Salonica Provisional Government, has been elected regent for Greece.
- The Council of the League of Nations propose a plebiscite as a means of ending the Polish-Lithuanian dispute.
- Oct. 29.—Acceptance of the agreement recommended by the Miners' Executive and Mr. Hodges emphasised the need preparing the permanent plans for the regulation of the industry as promptly possible. The Emergency Powers Bill received the Royal assent. Honorary degrees were conferred at Cambridge on the Archbishop of Wales, Lord Allenby, and Sir George A. Grierson. In the House of Commons, the Committee stage of the Irish Bill was completed. The Council of Ambassadors has fixed the compensation to be demanded from Germany for the sinking of the German ships in Scapa Flow.
- Oct. 30.—Acceptance of the terms provisionally agreed between the Government and the Miners' Federation Executive was recommended by most of the District Councils but Lancashire and South Wales decide against it. Mr. Lloyd George has been elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University by majority of 1,255 votes over Professor Gilbert Murray. Prince Paul has declined to ascend the Greek throne unless the Greek nation definitely insists on the exclusion of his father and elder brother. The M.C.C. team opened their tour at Perth with a one-day match against Western Australia.
- Oct. 31.—Amid general mourning the funeral of the Lord Mayor of Cork took place in his native city.

OBITUARY.

- October 3.—SIR T. VEZRY STRONG, Lord Mayor of London in the year of King George's coronation.
- October 5.—MR. WILLIAM HEINEMANN, Publisher. MR. C. N. WILLIAMSON, novelist.
- October 11.—ADMIRAL SIR MICHAEL CULMESEYMOUR, Bt. (84).
- October 14.—MRS. OGDEN MILLS, wife of the American financier.
- October 20.—SIR CORNELIUS DALTON, late Comptroller-General of Patents.
- October 21.—MRS. B. M. CROKER, novelist.
- October 24.—SIR ARTHUR TREVOR, last survivor of the Afghan massacre of 1841. REV. DR. J. P. BRIGHT, historian, formerly Master of University College, Oxford.
- October 25.—ALDERMAN MCSWINEY, Lord Mayor of Cork, at Brixton Prison. KING ALEXANDER of Greece.
- October 29.—SIR GABRIEL STOKES, formerly Chief Secretary of the Government of Madras.
- October 30.—LORD FERMOY.

The Probable Future of Mankind

By H. G. WELLS.

II.

The Nature of the Effort Demanded from Mankind.

The urgent need for a great creative effort has become apparent in the affairs of mankind. It is manifest that unless some unity of purpose can be achieved in the world, unless the ever more violent and disastrous incidence of war can be averted, unless some common control can be imposed on the headlong waste of man's limited inheritance of coal, oil, and moral energy that is now going on, the history of humanity must presently culminate in some sort of disaster, repeating and exaggerating the disaster of the great war, producing chaotic social conditions, and going on thereafter in a degenerative process towards extinction. So much all reasonable men seem now prepared to admit. But upon the question of how and in what form a unity of purpose and a common control of human affairs is to be established, there is still a great and lamentable diversity of opinion and, as a consequence, an enfeeblement and wasteful dispersal of will. At present nothing has been produced but the manifestly quite inadequate League of Nations at Geneva, and a number of generally very vague movements for a world law, world disarmament, and the like, among the intellectuals of the various civilized countries of the world.

The common failings of all these initiatives are a sort of genteel timidity and a defective sense of the scale of the enterprise before us. A neglect of the importance of scale is one of the gravest faults of contemporary education. Because a world-wide political organ is needed, it does not follow that a so-called League of Nations without representative sanctions, military forces, or authority of any kind, a League from which large sections of the world were excluded altogether, is any

contribution to that need. People have a way of saying it is better than nothing. But it may be worse than nothing. It may create a feeling of disillusionment about world-unifying efforts. If a mad elephant were loose in one's garden, it would be an excellent thing to give one's gardener a gun. But it would have to be an adequate gun, an elephant gun. To give him a small rook-rifle and tell him it was better than nothing, and encourage him to face the elephant with that in his hand, would be the directest way of getting rid not of the elephant but of the gardener.

It is, if people will but think steadfastly, inconceivable that there should be any world control without a merger of sovereignty, but the framers of these early tentatives towards world unity have lacked the courage of frankness in this respect. They have been afraid of outbreaks of bawling patriotism, and they have tried to believe, and to make others believe, that they contemplate nothing more than a league of nations, when in reality they contemplate a subordination of nations and administrations to one common law and rule. The elementary necessity of giving the council of any world-peace organisation, which is to be more than a sentimental international gesture, not only a complete knowledge but an effective control of all the military resources and organisations in the world, appalled them. They did not even ask for such a control. The frowning solidity of existing things was too much for them. They wanted to change them, but when it came to laying hands on them—No! They decided to leave them alone. They wanted a new world—and it is to contain just the same things as the old.

But are these intellectuals right in their estimate of the common man? Is he such a shallow and vehement fool as they seem to believe? Is he so patriotic as they make out? If mankind is to be saved from destruction there must be a world control; a world control means a world government, it is only another name for it, and manifestly that government must have a navy that will supersede the British navy, artillery that will supersede the French artillery, air forces superseding all existing air forces, and so forth. For many flags there must be one sovereign flag; *orbis terrarum*. Unless a world control amounts to that it will be ridiculous, just as a judge supported by two or three unarmed policemen, a newspaper reporter and the court chaplain, proposing to enforce his decisions in a court packed with the heavily armed friends of the plaintiff and defendant would be ridiculous. But the common man is supposed to be so blindly and incurably set upon his British navy or his French army, or whatever his pet national instrument of violence may be, that it is held to be impossible to supersede these beloved and adored forces. If that is so, then a world law is impossible, and the wisest course before us is to snatch such small happiness as we may hope to do and leave the mad elephant to work its will in the garden.

But is it so? If the mass of common men are incurably patriotic and belligerent why is there a note of querulous exhortation in nearly all patriotic literature? Why, for instance, is Mr Rudyard Kipling's *History of England* so full of goading and scolding? And very significant indeed to any student of the human outlook was the world response to President Wilson's advocacy of the League of Nations idea, in its first phase in 1918, before the weakening off and disillusionment of the Versailles conference. Just for a little while it seemed that President Wilson stood for a new order of things in the world, that he had the wisdom and will and power to break the net of hatreds and nationalisms and diplomacies in which the Old World was entangled. And while he seemed to be capable of that, while he promised most in the way of change and national control, then it was

that he found his ~~most~~ support in every country in the world. In the latter half of 1918 there was scarcely a country anywhere in which one could not have found men ready to die for President Wilson. A great hopefulness was manifest in the world. It faded, it faded very rapidly again. But that brief wave of enthusiasm, which set minds astir with the same great idea of one peace of justice throughout the Earth in China and Bokhara and the Indian bazaars, in Iceland and Basutoland and Ireland and Morocco, was indeed a fact perhaps more memorable in history even than the great war itself. It displayed a possibility of the simultaneous operation of the same general ideas throughout the world quite beyond any previous experience. It demonstrated that the generality of men are as capable of being cosmopolitan and pacifist as they are of being patriotic and belligerent. Both moods are extensions and exaltations beyond the everyday life, which itself is neither one thing nor the other. And both are transitory moods, responses to external suggestion.

It is to that first wave of popular feeling for a world law transcending and moving counter to all contemporary diplomacies, and not to the timid legalism of the framers of the first schemes for a League of Nations that we must look, if we are to hope at all, for the establishment of a new order in human affairs. It is upon the spirit of that transitory response to the transitory greatness of President Wilson that we have to seize; we have to lay hold of that, to recall it and confirm it and enlarge and strengthen it, to make it a flux of patriotism and a creator of new loyalties and devotions, and out of the dead dust of our present institutions to build up for it and animate with it the body of a true world state.

We have already stated the clear necessity, if mankind is not to perish by the hypertrophy of warfare, for the establishment of an armed and strong world law. Here in this spirit that has already gleamed upon the world is the possible force to create and sustain such a world law. What is it that intervenes, between the universal human need and its satisfaction? Why, since there are overwhelming reasons for it and a widespread

disposition for it, is there no world-wide creative effort afoot now in which men and women by the million are participating—and participating with all their hearts? Why is it that, except for the weak gestures of the Geneva League of Nations and a little writing of books and articles, a little pamphleteering, some scattered committee activities on the part of people chiefly of the busybody class, an occasional speech and a diminishing volume of talk and allusion, no attempts are apparent to stay the plain drift of human society towards new conflicts and the sluices of final disaster?

The answer to that Why, probes deep into the question of human motives.

It must be because we are all creatures of our immediate surroundings, because our minds and energies are chiefly occupied by the affairs of every day, because we are all chiefly living our own lives, and very few of us, except by a kind of unconscious contribution, the life of mankind. In moments of mental activities, in the study or in contemplation, we may rise to a sense of the dangers and needs of human destiny, but it is only a few minds and characters of prophetic quality that, without elaborate artificial assistance, seem able to keep hold upon and guide their lives by such relatively gigantic considerations. The generality of men and women, so far as their natural disposition goes, are scarcely more capable of apprehending and consciously serving the human future than a van full of well-fed rabbits would be of grasping the fact that their van was running smoothly and steadily down an inclined plane into the sea. It is only as the result of considerable educational effort and against considerable resistance that our minds are brought to a broader view. In every age for many thousands of years men of exceptional vision have spent their lives in passionate efforts to bring us ordinary men into some relation of response and service to the greater issues of life. It is these pioneers of vision who have given the world its religions and its philosophical cults, its loyalties and observances; and who have imposed ideas of greatness and duty on their fellows. In every age the ordinary man has submitted reluctantly to such teachings, has made his peculiar com-

promises with them, has reduced them as far as possible to formula and formality, and got back as rapidly as possible to the eating and drinking and desire, the personal spites and rivalries and glories which constitute his reality. The mass of men to-day do not seem to care, nor want to care, whither the political and social institutions to which they are accustomed are taking them. Such considerations overstrain us. And it is only by the extremest effort of those who are capable of a sense of racial danger and duty that the collective energies of men can ever be gathered together and organised and orientated towards the common good. To nearly all men and women, unless they are in the vein for it, such discussion as this in these essays does not appeal as being right or wrong; it does not really interest them, rather it worries them; and for the most part they would be glad to disregard it as completely as a lecture on wheels and gravitation and the physiological consequences of prolonged submergence would be disregarded by those rabbits in the van.

But man is a creature very different in his nature from a rabbit, and if he is less instinctively social, he is much more consciously social. Chief among his differences must be the presence of those tendencies which we call conscience, that haunting craving to be really right and to do the really right thing which is the basis of the moral and perhaps also of most of the religious life. In this lies our hope for mankind. Man hates to be put right, and yet also he wants to be right. He is a creature divided against himself, seeking both to preserve and to overcome his egotism. It is upon the presence of the latter strand in man's complex make-up that we must rest our hopes of a developing will for the world state which will gradually gather together and direct into a massive constructive effort the now quite dispersed chaotic and traditional activities of men.

As we have examined this problem it has become clear that the task of bringing about that consolidated world state which is necessary to prevent the decline and decay of mankind is not primarily one for the diplomatists and lawyers and politicians at all. It is an educational one.

It is a moral based on an intellectual reconstruction. The task immediately before mankind is to find release from the contentious loyalties and hostilities of the past which make collective world-wide action impossible at the present time, in a world-wide common vision of the history and destinies of the race. On that as a basis, and on that alone, can a world control be organised and maintained. The effort demanded from mankind, therefore, is primarily and essentially a bold reconstruction of the outlook upon life of hundreds of millions of minds. The idea of a world commonwealth has to be established as the criterion of political institu-

tions, and also as the criterion of general conduct in hundreds of millions of brains. It has to dominate education everywhere in the world. When that end is achieved, then the world state will be achieved, and it can be achieved in no other way. And unless that world state can be achieved, it would seem that the outlook before mankind is a continuance of disorder and of more and more destructive and wasteful conflicts, a steady process of violence, decadence, and misery towards extinction, or towards modifications of our type altogether beyond our present understanding and sympathy.



De Notenhraher]

In front of and behind the curtain.

[Amsterdam

Oh, no! No relations with the Bolshevik.

But selling him something is naturally another matter.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us."—Burns.



[Kladderadatsch]

A Bagatelle.

[Berlin.

Lloyd George: "We have made thousands of widows, tens of thousands of orphans and hundreds of thousands of starving German children. The way they are crying out about one Lord Mayor of Berlin is perfectly ridiculous!"



Evening News

[London]

The Neutral (John Citizen).

Daily Express

[London]

The Spectre of Unemployment.

Westminster Gazette

In the Irish Sea.

[London]

Mr. Lloyd George: "It's all right, John! I've got my sou'-wester on!"

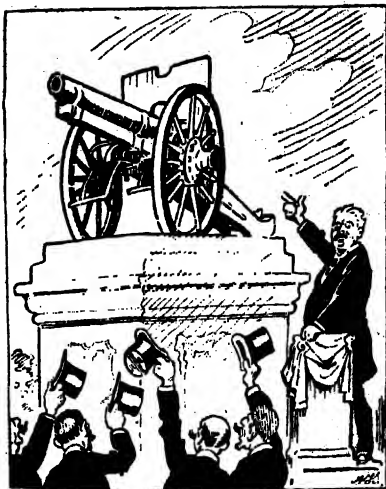


[Kladderatsch]

[Berlin]

The New Louis XIV. and his Ministers.

Millerand: "L'Etat c'est Moi!"



Wahre Jacob]

[Stuttgart]

The Franco-Belgian Military Convention.

Millerand: "By means of thatannon the Franco-Belgian Financiers have succeeded in disposing of the League of Nations."



Wahre Jacob]

[Stuttgart]

Millerand as President.

Lloyd George: "Millerand has got on, he is above me. How was it I let slip the Presidency of the Irish Republic?!"



Kiegrini]

[Vienna]

Foch, the Terrible Conqueror.

"Disarm those German Barbarians!"



St. Louis Star

[St. Louis, U.S.A.]

Ticklish Moment for the Builder.



Dayton Daily News

[Dayton, U.S.]

He was Hungry but they gave him a Stoi



Los Angeles Times

[Los Angeles, Cal.]

Overshadowing.



St. Louis Star

[St. Louis, U.S.]

Strange Bedfellow.



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

War in Ireland.

English Tommy: "Don't whimper so about your closed-up shop, old woman, or next time we will show you how the Poles do their devastating in Upper Silesia."

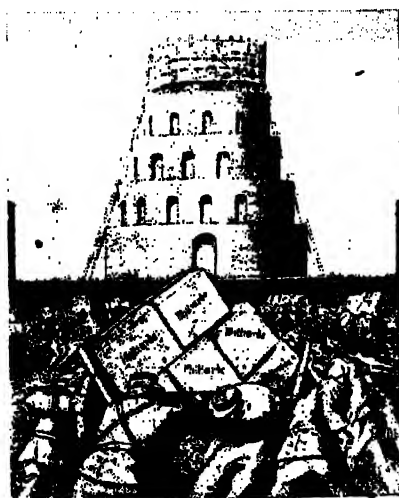


[Simplicissimus]

[Munich]

The Disarming in Upper Silesia.

"Hands up! or I fire!"



[Wahr/Jacob]

[Stuttgart]

Tower-Building at Versailles.

The tower of the German war liability will never be finished because the insatiable French keep adding to its height.



[Looker-on]

[Calcutta]

"A Land fit for Heroes."

The Gentleman underneath: "Ah, brave fellow, still at it, keeping the Empire safe for heroes to live in."



[Sondags Nisse]

[Stockholm]

The Tug of War between Sweden and Finland.



[De Nieuwkraker]

[Amsterdam]

The Labour Conflict in Italy.

The Working Man: "Come, you poor devil, I will help you to carry the load (Wages and Workers' Administration). Otherwise you might collapse under it."



[Karikaturen]

[Christiana]

The New Uncle Sam.

According to American Naval Secretary Daniels, America is to built eighteen new Dreadnoughts and twelve other vessels of war.



[Nebelspatter]

Europe's Daily Cry.

"If only this Bolshevik pest would leave us in peace!"



[The Call]

[New York, U.S.A.]

The Fate prophesied for Wrangel by the "Reds."



[L. Rivo]

Two Fists—that's all.

[Paris]

The extremists enthusiastically accept the "nine points" of Lenin; but they forget the two essential conditions: Misery and Enslavement.



[Le Rire]

[Paris]

At the C.G.T. Conference at Orleans.

Rappoport: "Karl Maxx? Nothing more to be done with him . . . It is Krupp we want!"



[Numero]

[Ti]

Giolitti cries "Kamarade."



[The Bulletin]

[Svengali]

[Sy]

It is rumoured that Mr. Hughes has been urgently asked to attend the first meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva. There is a suspicion that this is what Billy is wanted for.



[Les Hommes du Jour]

The Great Panic.
Europe and Bolshevism in 1920.

[Paris]



[Wladyslaw]

[Berlin]

The Peace between Russia and Poland.



[Le Rire]

[Paris]

Here Lies the Entente Cordiale.
John Bull (weeping Crocodile tears):
"Heaven is witness we did not desire that!!"



Le Rire]

[Paris

Edison's "Ghost" Telephone.

"Is there any answer?"

"Yes, uncle Aaron is speaking; but he asks ten francs for a message."

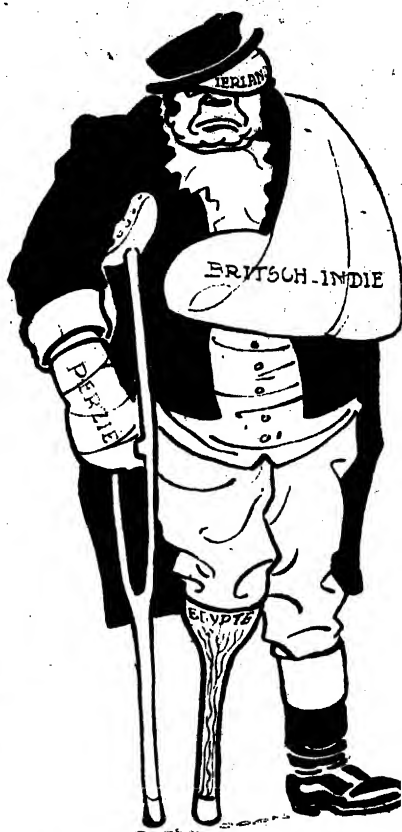


L'Asino]

[Rome

The Independence of Fiume.

International Capitalism:—This cursed Fiume has scattered all my cards!



D. Notenkraaker]

[Amsterdam]

The Gamble for World Empire.

Whatever he secures, he loses quite as much.



America Buying up Europe.

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

What are to be the relations of America with the Old World? The question is posed acutely now that the electoral campaign is finished and the result of the fight known. There is to take up office in March next a man who is very different from the President who now continues to fulfil his duties in a more or less perfunctory manner. It is impossible for him to use the last days of his expiring Presidency to give a new turn to American policy. All that can be done is to wait for the advent of his nominated successor. We are in a sort of No Man's Land—the interregnum between the election of a President and his effective entry on the scene.

Until the Presidential election was concluded it was impossible for America truly to consider her relations with Europe. Obviously the whole question was obscured by political passion, and in contests of this character both sides are often forced to go farther than they seriously intend. Shall America detach herself from Europe? Shall she seek to isolate herself in the great Western Continent—a gigantic Crusoe on a Gargantuan island? It is not of course possible, whatever may be thought of the Versailles Treaty and of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which would seem to pledge those who sign and ratify them to guarantee a settlement which is extremely precarious and in many respects dishonest. Nobody writing from Europe could with an easy conscience advise America definitely to engage her army and navy to uphold all the frontiers fixed, or to take part in the entangled jealousies, rivalries, quarrels, which have made of the post-war Europe a complicated and unstable mass of antagonistic nations struggling for supremacy. But American help is wanted in the revision of these wretched documents. We find the fight transferred to another sphere—the diplomatic and commercial domain—and there is not a single Government which does not strive to get its head above the rest.

The policy of France, for example, has

been largely dominated by the desire to shake off British control, and this demand for independence caused her to break the Entente Cordiale which had served her so well and which is indispensable to European peace. France felt, rightly or wrongly, that she had become a second and subordinate person in the Alliance, and that Mr. Lloyd George was the "boss." There was some justification for the belief, because after the Armistice each nation pursued its own ends instead of pursuing common ends. England tried to get the most out of the peace; and so did France. America had nothing to get except by trade, and Mr. Wilson, had he been more judicious, might have played a supreme rôle as arbitrator. M. Clemenceau, however, while doing his best for France, would certainly not have done anything to bring about a rupture with England. He was ready to make any sacrifices to keep British friendship. Not so his successor. M. Millerand came into power at a time when discontent with the treaty had reached its height. He heard the old statesman denounced everywhere as "England's man." The disillusion which France experienced after her enthusiasm and her exaggerated hopes, made her turn upon her own hero when it was seen that the promised indemnities could not be realised.

America was blamed to some extent for having opposed French militarism, for having prevented the breaking up of Germany, for having laid its cuckoo egg of the League of Nations in the European nest. Needless to say, this criticism is, whatever one may think of the League, not accurate. In assuming that without the League, with a free head given to French militarism, France would by now have been paid enormous sums of money by a broken and bankrupt Germany, the critics assume too much. The truth is that France went out from the earliest moment to kill the League hostile to her aims.

Hence the attacks on America which filled the French newspapers last year.

They succeeded too well, if not in changing the sentiments of the American people—there must exist a warm regard for the France which fought and suffered in the cause of civilisation—at least in bringing the opposition to the President to a head and in destroying effectively the League of Nations. Might-have-beens are not very useful; but if there is one might-have-been which is almost a certainty it is that without these French repudiations of the work of Mr. Wilson which gave an impetus to the anti-Wilsonian movement in America, the Versailles document would have been, however reluctantly, ratified.

II.

France was alarmed at this unexpected effect. In showing America that she too was against the Covenant she had imperilled the peace: she had lost American aid. She is now eagerly asking that America shall, with the necessary reservations which will not diminish the American national sovereignty, accept the document. It may be a bad one but—it's the only one we have!

Meanwhile France, clinging with a pathetic faith to the integral treaty, refused to listen to British suggestions of a compromise by which Europe might be put on a sound economic basis. England proposed—and M. Millerand flouted these proposals. England was annoyed when France marched on Frankfort without consulting her Ally: England was annoyed when France broke her pledge given at Spa to meet the Germans again at a round table; England was annoyed when France, repudiating the Boulogne conference, acted "on her own" in recognising Wrangel. France has been "acting on her own." It is not surprising if England should, growing impatient, have "acted on her own" also; and by informing Germany, without any consultation of France, that in future England would not apply the economic punishments envisaged in the treaty for non-fulfilment of treaty obligations, she has definitely moved towards a commercial alliance with Germany. It is her interest to re-establish Germany: France conceives it to be her interest to hold Germany down.

That is the situation expressed bluntly and whatever gloss may be put upon these events, it is to me plain that France in sticking to the treaty finds herself isolated and can only rely upon herself to ensure its execution.

What a terrible result of the so-called peace making! As an ardent lover of France, whom I know even better than I know England, it is to me almost heart-breaking to witness this quarrel. But nothing is served by concealing the truth: the truth is that England and France have taken different paths.

III.

Last year the French papers were filled day after day with abuse of America. This year they have been filled day after day with abuse of England. These Press campaigns were mad. They were inspired by lunatics and conducted by criminals. There was a real estrangement of America, and the generous promise of international co-operation was defeated. Now it has been England's turn to be denounced in season and out of season as the enemy. The beautiful amity of the Channel peoples has been killed by goose quills dipped in gall. But now mark the sequel.

Exactly in proportion to the intensity and gravity of the Franco-British dispute there is produced a new Franco-American rapprochement. That is a sort of fatalism in politics—when one country is friendly with another it is hostile to a third country and when it is hostile to the second it becomes friendly with the third. It is grotesque—but it is so. As soon as the differences between France and England appeared to be as great as they really are every effort was made to enlist the sympathy of America. M. Millerand clutched at American agreement with his Polish policy, his anti-Bolshevik policy, as at straw. The exchange of greetings only served to emphasise the contradictory British thesis. When Codrin is not the friend Short is; and when Short is the friend Codrin is not. A *menage à trois* in international affairs is difficult—when two of the parties are on good terms the other is inclined to range themselves against the other.

It is a happy thing to observe that an... ling of a ~~conflict~~ character is possible between France and America—but it is an unhappy thing that it should be used to play off against the British. I have always in my endeavours to prevent the present breach believed in plain speaking, and I propose to speak plainly once again.

France then is deceiving herself if she imagines that the predominant purpose of America is not commercial. That America will and must come back to Europe—if indeed she ever left Europe except in the political sense—is certain. But precisely what are these American relations?

They are based above all on the possibility of making good deals. The whole trend of politics since the armistice has been away from altruism, has been more and more towards a stark, blatant egoism. There might have been at one moment a generous cancellation of debts. America was truly capable of such an act. But that day is gone. Wilsonianism is dead, and is not likely to be revived for some time. France, to repay her loan obtained from America, had to get money from American bankers on which she has to pay interest which, taken with other expenses, amounts to nearly ten per cent. There has been a catch-word in the United States which demanded that good citizens should be 100 per cent. Americans—that is to say, that they should only consider American interests. One might elaborate the phrase and declare that 100 per cent. Americanism means 10 per cent. friendship!

In this *Review* at the beginning of the year I revealed some of the American proposals, notably to Poland. Poland at that time was extremely indignant at the terms offered to her. She would not consider the prospect of being subjected to American control even for the sake of American credits. But since then there have been developments of the most significant character. Nearly every leading American financier has paid a visit to Europe. Believe me that these visits were not pleasure trips. They were not for the purpose of looking upon the battle-fields where American soldiers have fought. They came to Europe because

Europe, in spite of its unsettled condition, may prove to be a capital investment. There are many businesses to be financed. America of course is not alone in this struggle for financial domination. England controls, for example, 60 per cent. of the iron works in Upper Silesia—hence the conflict of interests now that the plebiscite, which is to decide whether Upper Silesia is to go to Germany or to Poland, is about to be taken. France has been particularly busy in Middle Europe. In Czecho-Slovakia the Skoda works have passed under her control. In Upper Silesia she has the workshops of Kattowitz, in Poland the Huta Bankowa, in Rumania waggons and locomotive factories, in Yugo-Slavia an important part of the river system and ports, in Hungary the State railroads, the Credit Bank, and the port. This is of course not an exhaustive account—it is intended to be the merest hint of the rôle of high finance in the post-war Europe. England and France are competitors with America and have beaten her at many points. But American finance is very strong. The American dollar is indeed almighty. American bankers may have been cautious about European speculations, but they are not going to let the chances of buying up lots of Europe go by.

IV.

The most startling incident in the American invasion is the formation of a French branch of the gigantic Standard Oil Company. This is an event of the most far-reaching consequences. Remember that hitherto France has been dependent upon the Royal Dutch and associated concerns for her supplies of oil. The Royal Dutch offered large credits and the French Government allowed this company to be the furnisher of oil. It is regarded as essentially a British Company—it and its filial companies. America appeared to be left out of the reckoning. Now you cannot leave America out of the reckoning. The Standard Oil Company is not going to accept defeat at the hands of a British rival or of any other rival.

We know now why Mr. A. C. Bedford the Oil King of America, has been so busy in France. His projects seemed harmless enough. He appeared to be in Europe

chiefly for the purpose of founding an International Chamber of Commerce. His main preoccupation, however, was the capture of the French oil market and the aid of France in the search for oil.

The public can hardly be expected to follow the mysterious doings of great corporations. The ways of trusts, of monopolistic companies, of financiers, are past finding out. But this oil question is perhaps the biggest question in the industrial sense with which the world is faced. Oil is going to be the fuel of the future. Whoever controls the oil supplies of the globe controls commerce and industry. A monopoly or anything like a monopoly in this important, this vital, commodity, would place us at the mercy of those who possess it.

Now some alarm was caused in America a little while ago at the discovery that the available supplies would only last another twenty years. I do not accept the estimate, but it sufficiently indicates the position. The position is that new sources must be found. New sources exist in the Old World. Oil is probably to be found in many places where its presence has not yet been suspected. I have no doubt that we are only at the beginning of a scientific search for oil which is destined to drive our trains as well as our motor-cars, our ships as well as our aeroplanes, our machinery in factories as well as to light our lamps. I believe that oil can be had in almost every country. I believe there is oil in France and oil in England, oil in Morocco as well as oil in Mesopotamia. Russia is rich in oil, while Roumania is realising the importance of oil so keenly that she is endeavouring to keep out foreign prospectors and foreign exploiters. Indeed to the minds of the directors of such groups as the Royal Dutch group and the Standard Oil group, the world is just one huge oil well.

The rivalry between the British and the American enterprises is naturally intense. The selling of oil is one thing, but the finding of oil and the obtaining of concessions are another thing—and that other thing is really of far more consequence than the subsequent selling. Hence finance is governing politics.

We are witnessing a fierce commercial fight. Much of post-war politics has

turned upon oil. England has been only during the past year or two but the past ten years or more quietly stake out her claims all over the world where oil might be available. France came in the deal in rather disadvantageous circumstances. She was treated a little like a poor relation. She had been lacking in enterprise and could only obtain a comparatively small share of, for example, the Mesopotamian oil.

But French and British policy in respect of oil marched together. Now France in asserting her independence of transfers, in some degree, her allegiance to America. The American Company has now triumphed. Incidentally many French investors are not pleased since they had put their money very freely in Royal Dutch shares. It cannot escape attention that the President of the French branch of the Standard Oil Company is a diplomatist. One may ask quite properly what are the qualifications of M. J. Cambon, the distinguished servant of the French Government. At any rate it is the American Oil King that he should be at the head of the French Company. Is a French Bank—Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas—which furnishes just over half the capital and thus apparently possesses a small controlling interest. We do not, however, know the terms of the contract and it may well be that the real control is American.

At least it is clear that two Gargantuan oil rivals are arming themselves for a fray. The conflict may appear to be so pacific enough, but in reality it is full of gross possibilities. World politics being dominated by oil. It is impossible to foresee the results of this mighty clash. Will new wars spring from it? Will we be led into new colonial adventures? Will there be created enmities between peoples? Will we be at the mercy of bloated corporations which will hold the destinies of industry and, therefore, of the workers in their grasp? In Europe our best brains are still often to be found in politics, in America it is recognised that these associations are greater than governments and that the effective power is possessed by business men.

I will not insist upon the obvious dangers. At the beginning I declared

that business men by demanding normal conditions for international trade are better peace-makers than the politicians; but I am bound to add that the advent of huge trusts—whether American, Dutch, or British—into European politics must be carefully watched. We do not intend that there shall be anything greater than our Governments—unless it is the League of Nations. We do not intend that our rulers and our diplomatists shall be in the pockets of American—or of British—financiers.

My final word is that precisely because America has acquired such large interests in Europe the policy of the new President—irrespective of the programme of either Republican or Democratic Party during the election—must inevitably be turned towards the establishment of some organisation which will have real powers to keep peace between the belligerent States of Europe. The Supreme Council has been broken up: the League of Nations, now beginning its Assembly at Geneva, calls out for American support.



Simplicissimus

The Brussels Financial Conference.

[Munch]

"None of us has any more money, but Germany has still less. So she must pay up!"

E

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

THE CRISIS IN IRELAND.

It is with the greatest regret that we read the announcement, that the *New Europe*, which, by the extraordinary high standard of its discussion of foreign politics, has filled a unique place in contemporary journalism during the past five years, is to suspend publication this month. In its last number it published a symposium on the crisis in Ireland, choosing for its motto the last of a series of magnificent and skilfully chosen quotations with which it has adorned each of its weekly issues—Macaulay's dictum that "the great cause of revolutions is this, that while nations move forward, constitutions stand still."

In a survey of the Irish problem, the editors write that the problem is not only one of pacification and constitutional statesmanship in Ireland, but also of a careful tactical advance in England.

That the Prime Minister has forgotten the alphabet of the statesman's duty, if he ever knew it, is clear from the policy he pursues in Ireland, and doubly clear from the levity with which he defended it at Carnarvon. We should have to search long in the annals of Britain before we could find a rival to that utterance; and, to our shame be it said, we should have to search long among contemporary public men before we could find one capable of bringing Mr. Lloyd George to book.

He who would solve the Irish riddle, the editors declare, "must first persuade the British public that the solution, to be lasting, can only be found by Irishmen on Irish soil. That means that the decision regarding the Irish constitution must be made, in principle, by an Irish assembly—Parliament, Convention, Constituent Congress, call it what you will—acting with the widest discretion that can possibly be given to it."

It is, of course, not necessary to assume that there will be any election at all; but there must be some consultation of the Irish people at some stage in the process of making a settlement; and the point we wish to make is that it will not be favourable to a lasting solution, or indeed to any solution at all, if the subject matter is hedged about with conditions which remind Irishmen of an evil past.

To secure the right atmosphere for new departure, two things are essential; first, that the irritants causing the present Irish fever must be removed second, that a certain period of time must elapse in order to let the fever itself subside.

It is idle to discuss or propose any new departure or modification of present proposals unless you provide for a change in the temper of the opposing parties. No good can come of any conference under the auspices of black-and-tan. The removal of the chief irritant can be effected only by the virtual evacuation of the British Army in Ireland and the calling of a truce to all violence. We are not prepared to dogmatise on the precise measure of withdrawal which is necessary, but we believe that the more nearly it comes to the complete disappearance of our armed forces the better.

"No genuine offer of negotiations has ever been made by Mr. Lloyd George, and as long as he consents to be Prime Minister on sufferance, with a Bonar Law-Carse veto on his freedom of action, no such offer can be made."

But if Mr. Lloyd George would brace himself to shed his unreasoning bias towards Ulster he would be much nearer a settlement. The Ulster veto is still the most serious obstacle to Irish peace. It is effective, not because of the merits of the case endow it with force, but because of the inherent vice of the whole Irish problem still clings to the Ulster part of it after it has disappeared elsewhere. Hitherto Irish parties have pinned their faith to British parties, and have thus entangled Ireland in the irrelevant preoccupations of our domestic affairs. The alliance between Redmond and the Liberal Party was balanced by the devotion of Conservatives to Ulster. There is no longer any such balance and the actions of the British Government are longer inspired by the rough common sense of Englishmen, but by the fierce bigotry of Belfast. The influence of Sir Edward Carson has been the ascendant too long. It destroyed the chance of peace in 1916, and it still supplies the black-and-tan motive of 1920. In the strict sense of the word, it is an irresponsible influence because Ulster has never yet had to face the realities of her situation and to take considered action with responsibility for consequences. She has stood in the privileged position for forty years of saying No.

"Ulster's" irresponsible reign is now nearly over, and before long, she will be compelled to put her cards on the table, and take her due share in the responsibilities and mutual sacrifices of a settlement. She will be coerced, in fact, not by British arms, but by the force of Irish circumstances.

The same coercion must in the end bring the Sinn Fein leaders to accept a settlement which falls short of their public professions.

If Ulster has economic ties with the other three provinces which will ultimately ensure the political unity of Ireland, Ireland herself has economic and political ties with Great Britain which make separation impossible. Even the public declaration of Mr. de Valera and Mr. Griffith show that Sinn Fein knows that the final settlement must be an arrangement which satisfies British needs as well as Irish. Speaking at Spokane, Wash., in November, 1919, Mr. de Valera said that he had no quarrel with the British Crown, and early in the present year he spoke of Cuba as offering an analogy for Anglo-Irish relations. Only the other day Mr. Griffith said that once England recognises Ireland's right as a nation to independence, "Ireland is ready to meet her and discuss with her, as a friend, any military, international or financial points upon which she may be uneasy, and to enter into treaties which will secure our mutual interests." If Sinn Fein publicly professes a readiness to temper the extreme rigour of its republican ideal in this way, how much further may it not go when it sits down to business at a round table?

To-day we must withdraw the army of occupation, and give a short breathing space thereafter for tempers to cool a little before we approach the actual discussion of a settlement.

The minimum on which probably all will agree is the unimpaired security of the British Isles in war and the unimpeded exchange of commodities in peace. Security both for Britain and for Ireland demands the unfettered control of all instruments of naval defence by the British Government. Some will interpret it further as forbidding the establishment of a Territorial Army in Ireland; others would give Ireland consuls, but not ambassadors, abroad, and so on: while even those who would go furthest to meet Irish national claims will be disposed to uphold what may be called the Lincoln view on secession. We prefer to leave the general statement of the two conditions in the form given above and to concentrate public attention, as far as our influence extends, upon the urgent need for an emphatic expression of the popular will upon the whole question of our present responsibility in Ireland. There never was a more crucial issue; nor was there ever a Government in power which needed sharper reminders of the moral law in politics.

Two other articles in the same Number

deserve to be quoted. Mr. Basil Williams in a description of the state of Ireland contrasts the appalling failure of the military government to carry out its most ordinary functions, with the astonishing success of the Sinn Fein government against which the dice are very heavily weighted.

Their elected representatives have been forbidden to meet, some have been shot in the struggle, many of them are in prison or are fugitives from justice. The Sinn Fein organisation, to which a large majority of the Irish people now belong, has been declared illegal. This government's attempts to carry out the law, to study the means of improving the condition of the people, or to perform the ordinary functions of government, are treated as treasonable. It has no regular revenue, and depends for the means of carrying out its work entirely on unpaid volunteers or on the contributions voluntarily subscribed in Ireland or by Irishmen overseas.

Though outlawed and harried, this Sinn Fein government not only survives obstinately, but performs many of its assumed functions with considerable efficiency.

It has its own Republican police, who are liable to arrest or even to be shot if found doing their work by the rival police or soldiery, and this police is, in some parts of Ireland, the only force able or willing to undertake the ordinary police duties of preventing or detecting crime. Sinn Fein has its own republican courts, before which, in addition to the criminal cases brought up for trial, civil suits are voluntarily brought by private individuals. In criminal cases the judgments given and the punishments meted out seem to be generally accepted as fair; and so great is their authority that they are able to enforce sentences of fines, of the restitution of stolen goods to Unionists as well as others, and even of banishment from Ireland. The closing of public houses at certain hours has been enforced by them, illicit stills are destroyed on their mandate, and the potheen poured into the rivers, and in many cases a stop has been put to the practice of driving cattle. In civil cases there are instances of Unionists who have been willing suitors, partly from the confidence inspired by these courts, partly because they are sometimes the only courts capable of ensuring respect for their decisions. It is understood that this government's economic commission, though officially prohibited by the other government, is still pursuing its enquiries as to the best methods of developing the industries and resources of the island. The members of the cabinet or parliament not actually in gaol meet as best they can periodically, and issue decrees on such matters as land legislation, the prevention of land grabbing, temperance and the limitation of rents on the English model, decrees, which though necessarily circulated informally, are accepted as the law of the land by a large majority of the Irish people. Of course it must not be supposed that these activities are univer-

sal even throughout the most Sinn Fein parts of Ireland; they are necessarily sporadic and confined to those parts where the regular constabulary is least effective. This, however, may be said, that the Sinn Fein government, though harried and proscribed, has had some success in its attempts to carry out civil justice in some parts of Ireland. This is due to the fact that it is the government which represents in most parts of Ireland the will of the people.

As for the official military government, its functions have been practically reduced to two: (1) self preservation; (2) the suppression of a political movement. In the pursuance of these aims, the police and the soldiers who support them are armed with the most extraordinary powers under the most recent Coercion Act.

People they may arrest can be imprisoned indefinitely without trial, witnesses may be arrested, military courts to try offences may be held in secret, and the acts of the police and soldiers may be made immune from investigation by a coroner's court. With all these extraordinary powers, granted on the assurance that they were the only means of suppressing a treasonable association, or preventing or punishing murders of the police and of maintaining order in the country, the Irish government has been no more successful than it was before.

Mr. Desmond McCarthy, writing in the same issue, insists that the question which every Englishman must now put to himself is: Can we, who fought Prussian methods as the scourge of Europe, use them ourselves? He recalls the fact that the youth of England fought and died to champion the rights of Small Nationalities, and as the sworn enemy of militarism all the world over, and that the men who are now responsible for England's policy in Ireland were the most vehement in denunciation of the inhuman politics

of Prussia. The average Englishman, he points out, makes a distinction between murder and acts of arson which are done deliberately, and those which are done in cold blood.

What has made him uneasy about the Government's policy is that the reports which have begun to get into the English press point to the fact that many of these "reprisals" are deliberate. Warnings signed by military or police authorities are sent beforehand, that in the event of barracks being attacked or of soldiers or R.I.C.'s being shot, a village or certain houses in it, will be burnt down. When a soldier or a member of the R.I.C. is shot, it is not necessarily their comrades on the spot who run amok. Lorries full of soldiers or police, provided with petrol for burning houses, maps, ammunition for shooting villagers and towns-folk, bombs, incendiary and explosive, are telephoned for and arrive with their officers from a distance. After liquoring up at the public house, these men proceed to destroy certain houses and buildings and shoot particular people, against whom there is nothing but the supposition that they might have approved of the original outrages. Such people have been pulled from their beds and shot out of hand, and their houses burnt over the heads of their wives and children. The selection of buildings destroyed has been clearly deliberate. Men in a blind fury do not pick out property, the destruction of which will cause the most widespread misery. Over twenty co-operative creameries have been burnt down. This destruction of these is clearly deliberate and the reason they are picked out is that the loss of this kind of property reduces an enormous number of people to misery. It shows, too, direction from above, and proves that the policy of reprisals is directed not so much against a murder gang, as against the whole people of Ireland, with the aim of terrorising them into submission to the English Government.

This is the kind of policy which English men are bound in honour not to pursue even if it "pays." Our soldiers die fighting that inhuman policy.

AN AMERICAN VIEW.

Mr. Francis Hackett, one of the editors of the New York *New Republic* contributes to that paper (October 13th) an article which sets out his impressions during a recent personal investigation in Ireland. Superficially, he declares, the problem of Ireland has come to a deadlock.

There is a deadlock between Belfast and Ireland, between Ireland and Britain, between Britain and the rest of the world. To break this deadlock, some one factor, or more than one factor, must yield to the other. Either Belfast, National Ireland, Britain or the world conscience, must give way. That, in crude, mechanical terms, is the position at this moment, a

position which baffles, and reduces to despair any ordinary impartial observer.

"But these nominally fixed factors—Belfast, Ireland, Britain, the World—are themselves in constant flux. They are never the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever. In the past ten years, for example, the most obdurate and resolute forces in Irish affairs have been transmuted in a manner almost beyond imagining. Thirty years ago, the most potent force in Ireland was Landholding. Dublin Castle, the House of Lords, the Tories i

England, the great Conservative newspapers, and the Legats, and the Universities, were all bent upon interpreting Ireland in relation to Landlordism. . . . And yet, after all the damnable outrages and murders, after all the coercion and suppression, and boycott and forgery, the British Government yielded to moral pressure and ended landlordism in Ireland."

Landlordism of the feudal type was ended in Ireland by the introduction of a system of state credit. The state lent money to the tenants so that they could by instalments purchase the land. This meant that the old absentee class of landlords stayed withdrawn from Ireland to live in England which they really loved. A much larger number of Unionist landlords remained in Ireland as practical farmers and landowners. These men to-day are, with few exceptions, ardent Dominion Home Rulers. They have no longer a vested interest in the subjection of Ireland. Their lot in Ireland is now the common lot. Some are with Sinn Fein, not many. Practically all are against the British government.

That is one great change in recent years. Another is the change in Nationalism.

With the victory against landlordism and the recruiting of the peasant proprietors for a higher political agitation, nationalism in Ireland has taken on a new form. The old Nationalist party submitted to looking on the Irish question as a domestic British issue. That party was wiped out of existence in one election. The Irish question, in the 1918 election, was given the status of internationalism, so far as the Irish people were concerned.

The Irish people voluntarily withdrew their members from the British House of Commons. For Ireland, so far as the Irish have the power, the British legislature thereupon ceased to exist. Military force, undoubtedly, remained to compel some degree of deference to the British legislature. With its harsh application has come the old story of murder and outrage, coercion, suppression, imprisonment, libel, forgery and international anti-Irish propaganda. But the purpose of the Irish in rejecting legislation from Britain is as strong as was their purpose in rejecting landlordism. Britain's attempt to force an alternative, a modified form of political freedom, is not more likely to be successful.

Mr. Hackett declares his belief that so far as Ireland's rejection of British legislation goes, the Irish have won.

Ulster Volunteers may hold the body of Ireland down for a time, and Lloyd George and his government may pump British laws into Ireland's legislative system. This sort of bullying, tried so often, cannot break down the well-seasoned will of Ireland.

The action of the Irish in proclaiming the Irish question international, in withdrawing from the British establishment, is one that free peoples are likely to endorse, so soon as they understand.

If Britain trusted itself to an Irish Constituent Assembly, Mr. Hackett believes that there is "a bare chance" that Sinn Fein might tolerate the establishment of a Dominion. But the British Government prefers the methods that led to "pacification" after the manufactured rebellion of 1798. "It is now, in fact, manufacturing another rebellion in Ireland."

Mr. Lloyd George hopes, by letting the prisoners who hunger-strike die, to take the last weapon of protest away from Sinn Fein, and then to "brutalise" Sinn Fein into submission. Rebellion is the goal of this policy of coercion. But Mr. Hackett does not ignore the provocations by Sinn Fein.

These include raids for arms (though officially reprobated), attacks on police and military, seizure of the mails, the assassination of police officers and policemen and the assassination of government officials. On the other side must be considered the peculiar lawlessness of Britain in Ireland to-day. . . . A policy of terrorism has been furthered by the hiring, at a pound a day, of British mercenaries to serve as "police" in Ireland, these mercenaries shooting up villages and destroying life and property on slight provocation. Military inquiries have been substituted for coroner's inquests, to shield such acts from public opinion--except in the North, where public opinion can be relied on.

Sinn Fein, he believes, cannot succumb to the policy of reconquest, provided that it avoids two dangers. If it meets British violence and coercion with retaliation, it will then challenge a war in which reconquest will become permissible in the eyes of the world, and Sinn Fein will lose. Equally, if Sinn Fein does not propose self-determination for Ulster, Sinn Fein also loses.

The only way to bring Belfast into Ireland is to let Belfast first vote itself out of Ireland. Conquest is morally repugnant, and physically improbable. If Belfast and Orange Ulster have a taste of exclusion from Ireland, and Ireland goes ahead independently, the probable result will be Ulster's desire to join forces with the Irish people on democratic terms.

"I can see nothing," he concludes, "but degradation for Britain in continuing to oppose Sinn Fein. It is Britain that must yield, not the Irish who believe in self-government. These Irish may go through all the horrors of underground revolution and hate and vengeance. Abandon Sinn Fein they cannot and will not. The power that seeks to coerce them is poisoning itself."

A GLIMPSE OF RED RUSSIA.

Those who have read through many of the accounts which have been published of the prevailing conditions in Bolshevik Russia, have long since learned that no such descriptions are of any value unless they are confined to some particular area at a given time. One of the most vivid and convincing accounts that we have yet read is contributed to *The Fortnightly Review* (November) by Captain Francis McCullagh, who describes the town of Ekaterinburg as he saw it during this spring. He had lived there previously, first in 1918 when the Czechs were there, and again in 1919 under Koltchak. It was in those days, "like any other army base, a town of good cheer, overcrowding, khaki, hustle, horses, and sin." With all its faults it was human, but the town as he saw it in February last was completely changed.

Trying to describe that change to myself in one word, I meant to say "Bolshevism," but found myself saying "Puritanism." For between the two there are the most astonishing resemblances, perhaps because extremes meet, perhaps because the one is as pre-Christian as the other is post-Christian. I know that it ought not to be so, and that Lenin should be seated on a heap of skulls quaffing human blood, while Trotsky should be engaged nightly in bacchanalian revels; but, as a matter of fact, Lenin leads as austere a life as Oliver Cromwell, while Trotsky is as busy as Lloyd George.

He gives a graphic description of one of the "Propaganda Points" which exist in every station along the Siberian railway. At Ekaterinburg, as elsewhere, one great hall of the station had been converted into a propaganda office, to which all Communist workers were ordered to bring their men without fail, and to apply there for newspapers and "literature" which would be given free.

Over the entrance of the Ekaterinburg hall there was painted in large letters the text, "Those who work not, neither must they eat," while inside one saw on every wall the well-known appeal of Karl Marx: "Workers of the world, unite! You have a world to gain and only your chains to lose."

The pictures and cartoons, with which the whole interior was covered from floor to ceiling, might be divided into several groups: (1) Those praising the Red Army and calculated to foster a military spirit; (2) those condemning capitalists, priests, and militarists; (3) those flattering the workman and promising him the overlord-

ship of the world; (4) those exciting anger against foreign countries, particularly France and England. There were appeals to the railway workmen not to go on strike, but to remember that by striking they would inflict a deadly blow on democracy, and that, though their present discomforts were great, there was a good time coming. There were charts showing the parts of machine-guns and the way to make bombs, and these were generally accompanied by explanatory letterpress and by appeals to the workmen to drill and arm and study the mechanism of their rifles, so that no power on earth could disarm them and force them back again into the old servitude. Side by side with these were charts explaining the construction of the latest agricultural machinery and exhorting the peasantry to make themselves proficient agriculturists. There were numerous exhortations to study, and numerous denunciations of ignorance and illiteracy as unpardonable crimes which would only lead to the capitalist yoke being again fastened on the necks of the workers. The attacks on religion consisted of caricatures showing monks and priests making money out of holy relics and squandering that money privately on revels and debauchery.

The anti-clerical propaganda was of a kind which "would meet to such an extent with the approval of the English Protestant Alliance that I would respectfully suggest that these two great organisations get into touch with one another."

Most interesting are Captain MacCullagh's observations on the amazing growth of bureaucracy under Bolshevism.

Formerly there were few Government institutions and no clubs in Ekaterinburg, but now there are whole streets consisting of nothing else. Instead of promoting business, however, this multiplication of Government offices has killed it. The dead hand of Government control has stifled every kind of enterprise. An engineer employed by the Soviet told me that on one occasion, in order to put through a matter of urgent public interest, he had had to visit five different institutions, including a Government office dealing with railway work, a Government office dealing with Ural industries, and a "Professional Union" of industrial workers.

One man told me that if he lost a button of his trousers he would have first of all to get a permit from the "House Committee." Then he would have to bring that permit to a Commissar. Then he would have to go to a Government department, which would give him an order of a Government store. Then he would wait all day in a queue outside that Government store only to find, when his turn came, that it had given out all its buttons, and that he would have to go to a similar store at the other end of the town and wait all day in a queue there.

A button in the offertory is consequently a source of unmitigated joy to the impecunious Russian and Polish priests, for a whole plateful of the paper money and the postage stamps which are given liberally by the Faithful would not buy a packet of cigarettes. I tried to get twopence worth of Fignon salts, a very cheap and common drug in the "ruble," but I found that I had first to go to so many widely separated departments that I gave up the attempt in despair and asked a friendly *Feldsher* to get it for me. The *Feldsher* told me, however, that it was no use his trying, owing to the complexity of the process; and I had consequently to go without.

All trade stopped when the Reds entered the town, writes Captain MacCullagh, just as all trade stopped in Pompeii when it was overwhelmed by Vesuvius. The reason for this stoppage lies in the socialist theory that the State should feed everybody and that there should be no private restaurants, no shops, and no middle class at all. That kills all private enterprise as surely as a tree is killed by the cutting away of its roots.

Farmers will not grow grain if it is to be handed over to Government Departments which do not pay them for it and which persecute and imprison them if they make any complaint. The peasants will not rebel; but the passive resistance of this great dark mass of over one hundred millions causes profound disquiet to the Soviet Government, much greater disquiet than that caused by all the Allies put together. The *muzhik* is the Sphinx of the situation. Lenin storms at him and calls him a capitalist. Trotsky takes his sons and makes Red soldiers of them, and sends them back to the villages to preach the gospel of Karl Marx. The Sphinx smiles and says nothing, but Lenin likes neither that smile nor that silence.

There are 125 million people in Russia, and according to Trotsky, the Bolsheviks number only 604,000, of whom not more than 70,000 are workmen.

All the rest are bureaucrats, and, from personal investigations which I conducted in Moscow, I discovered that at least half of these 70,000 workmen are engaged on what they call "political work," though they are paid by the factories, are inscribed on the books of the factories, and are supposed to be working in the factories. The Bolsheviks are losing touch with the manual workers at a very rapid rate indeed, and, in a short time, every member of the party will be a bureaucrat.

There are now, in Moscow alone, 230,000 Bolshevik officials who do not work with their hands, against 100,000 manual workers, of whom considerably less than half are members of the Communist party.

"Those who work not, neither must they eat"; out of their own sacred books, declares Captain MacCullagh, shall the Bolsheviks be confounded.

Two other questions cause profound disquiet—the partial failure of the harvest and the destruction by fire of most of the wood fuel which had been collected along the railways. I might add to this the curious fact, which I pointed out in an official report six months ago, that the very completeness of Trotsky's victory over Kolchak and Denikin has, by leading to the incorporation of very many White officers, officials, and soldiers in the Red Army, proved to be a misfortune to the Soviet Republic, which now realises that it has swallowed more than it can digest.

Captain MacCullagh concludes his extremely illuminating article with the prediction that—

The most probable outcome of this Russian experiment will be a successful military reaction involving the extermination of half a million Reds and perhaps another half-million of inoffensive Jews, after which the pendulum will go on swinging from right to left and from left to right until it finally comes to rest at a Constitutional Monarchy or a *bourgeois* Republic.



Les Hommes du Jour

[Paris]

French Support for Gen. Wrangel.

"Those things there—do you recognise them?"

ANGLO-AMERICAN ISSUES.

THE ROAD TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING.

First place in the *Contemporary Review* (November) is given to an article by Mr. A. G. Gardiner on "Anglo-American Issues." There is no subject that is more important at the present time; and "no other single issue, perhaps, is charged with such momentous consequences to the future development of human society." Mr. Gardiner points out that there are two sources of peril to Anglo-American relations, the one springing from historic causes and from those temperamental activities and intellectual misunderstandings that affect the atmosphere of intercourse, and the other from certain specific problems. His article deals with the latter.

It is well known that the Irish problem is the most serious obstacle to good relations with the United States, but it is not the only obstacle. The Japanese Alliance is another. The future development of China and Japan is one of the major problems of the world at large, but there are no countries so deeply interested in it as Great Britain and the United States. Unfortunately the British record in regard to China is not good; that of America, on the other hand, is excellent. "The Chinese have come to look upon the Americans as the best friends they have." Among the influences that have caused the anti-European reaction in America since the war, "few have been more powerful than the decision of the Paris Conference to countenance the aggression of Japan in Shantung."

That incident has aroused little indignation in this country, but in America it is accepted as typical of the Peace Treaty and, more than anything, stamps that Treaty with the hall-mark of the old, unrighteous diplomacy of Imperialism. This feeling is, of course, intensified by the distrust and dislike of Japan that are so prevalent. Even in the Eastern States this distrust and dislike are apparent. Two questions are put to the English visitor with unfailing regularity. The first is: "Why don't you settle with Ireland?" The second is: "Are you going to continue the Japanese alliance?" As one travels West, this preoccupation with Japan increases, and in the Far West it easily dominates all other international political considerations. The reason is not far to seek. The Chinese in America represent no nationalistic or ulterior aim, but the Japanese come with the

outlook of a highly-developed and intense nationalism, and America, justly or unjustly sees in them a menace to its civilisation. It may seem odd that a country which has been the melting-pot of all the nations of Europe should be alarmed at the idea of Japanese immigration, but the white man, no matter where he comes from, is easily assimilated, while the yellow man remains a race apart, with characteristics that seem fixed and with a civilisation fundamentally alien to that of the white man, and the Americans are sufficiently afflicted with the negro question without wishing to add yellow to their colour problem.

Apart from this domestic question, there is "the larger shadow over the future of the Pacific involved in the Imperialist policy of Japan" and her hope of establishing an Asiatic hegemony.

It is not to be wondered at that Americans, turning eastward and seeing the naval supremacy of Great Britain, and turning westward and seeing the sea-power of Japan, look with concern upon the alliance of the two Powers, so dissimilar in race, in religion, in sympathy, and alike only in pursuit of the Imperial idea. The alliance with Japan—an alliance that has never commanded the popular approval of the English people—may have been defensible when Imperialist Russia seemed a menace to our Asiatic interests. It is wholly indefensible now that that menace has disappeared. Its influence has been thoroughly vicious, and it has made us at least a consenting party to the ambitions of Japan in China, and criminally silent about such infamies as those practised by Japan in Korea.

The Japanese question, however, is overshadowed by the Irish as the governing fact of Anglo-American relations.

In a recent speech in the House of Commons Sir Edward Carson, referring to the Irish question, said: "Let America mind her own business and we will mind ours." Until we realise that the Irish question is an American question as much as the negro question is an American question, we shall miss its capital meaning. The idea that in this matter the United States is an impertinent outsider interfering in a domestic British quarrel is a complete misreading of the situation. The United States is concerned about it because it is the most vital of its domestic issues. A moment's reflection will make this apparent. . . . Of the various broad categories of the population, a tenth is negro, an eighth is German in origin and sympathies, not less than a tenth is Irish, and there are in addition large elements of Poles, Russians, Italians, Portuguese, Scandinavians, Greek, and Jews of different nationalities. Among these different families that are absorbed or being absorbed in the general currency of the race, the Irish form the most solid, coherent, detached

mass. It alone preserves an *imperium in imperio*, alone brings into the American system the antagonisms of the Old World, alone keeps alive the passions of "old, unhappy, far-off things." In the midst of the confusion of races, foreigners among foreigners, accommodating themselves to a common life, the Irish bring a violent extra-territorial loyalty and a fanatical idea. The loyalty is to Ireland and the idea is revenge upon its ancient enemy.

The Irish are the true "hyphenated" Americans, much more than the Germans. They are powerful in finance, in law, in literature, in the services. The police force is mainly Irish. So is the political machine; there is hardly a great city whose caucus is not dominated by the Irish influences.

When Mr. Hiram Johnson, of San Francisco, appeared on the horizon as a possible Presidential candidate, his first step to forward his prospects was to go to Boston and make a violent anti-British speech. It was not, probably, because he wanted to make it, but because he had to make it as an evidence that on the main Irish-American issue "he was right." He had to twist the lion's tail to put himself in the running. And most of the tail-twisting, political and journalistic alike, has its origin in the same motive.

"Why don't you settle that Irish question?" asks the "average decent American" in "tones of almost anguished entreaty." It is not the pro-Irish who ask the question most anxiously, but the pro-English, who are "most eager to get

the grit out of the Anglo-American machine." While the Irish grievances continue in America they are helpless.

There is a third source of peril—the now unchallenged supremacy of British sea-power.

Americans view the British Navy as more supreme than ever to-day, now that its most serious rival, Germany, has gone under, and they also see something sinister in the fact that the only other possible competitor, the Japanese Navy, is the British Navy's ally. "In these circumstances, the United States will inevitably be compelled to revise its whole attitude on the subject of sea power. It is, in population, natural resources, and accumulated wealth, the most powerful nation on earth, and it cannot ignore the grave responsibilities that rest on it for the protection of its national interests."

More than a hundred years ago, Monroe, the U.S. Secretary of State, wrote to the American minister in London, instructing him to suggest to the British Government a proposal for regulating the naval forces to be kept by either country on the Great Lakes. From that proposal sprang the Rush-Bagot Agreement, in pursuance of which it has been possible for the American-Canadian frontier of nearly four thousand miles to remain for a century without fort, or gun, or warship, or sentry from end to end—in uninterrupted peace.

The opportunity has come for an enlarged and more splendid affirmation of the sacrament of a century ago. If at the end of a war in which we had been foes, our forefathers could rise to so grand an argument, it ought not to be difficult for us to-day, after a war in which we have been comrades, to follow and better their example. Then the lead came from Washington. The circumstances now dictate that it should come from London, and that it should come in the shape of a proposal to pool the naval resources of the two nations and to dedicate them, not to any selfish national interest merely, but to the League of Nations and the enduring peace of the world. It is not necessary to dwell on the material gain of such a compact. . . . It would establish them (Anglo-American relations) upon the impregnable rock of a common faith and a common purpose. It would rout the warmongers of both countries finally and irrevocably. And the announcement that the Anglo-American peoples had taken a step which would make naval war henceforth impossible would strike a death-blow at competitive armaments generally, stabilise the world on a peace basis, and turn its face confidently to the light.



[Boston Daily News]

[Devotion S.A.]

"There must be a new order!"

THE ITALIAN LABOUR UPHEAVAL.

A series of documents translated from the Italian, which explain the quasi-revolution that took place in Italy during September, are given in the *Contemporary Review* for November. The prelude to the event occurred in August, when a demand for an increase in wages, etc., was refused by the National Federation of Employers in the Metal and Engineering Trades. On September 2 the Federation, having formed the opinion "that the policy of obstruction has already degenerated into a condition of absolute anarchy within the factories," declared a lock-out of the men. Meanwhile, however, the Federation of Italian Metal Workers had constituted a Committee of Action, and directly the Employers' intention became known, orders were issued by this body to the men to occupy the factories. During the assault on those at Genoa several of the workers were killed or wounded by Government troops; but not only were the factories seized, but the men proceeded to run them, acting in strict accordance with the instructions issued by their Federation. The latter's orders were obeyed by the workers with extraordinary unanimity and discipline, and factories were occupied in nearly all the large industrial centres.

The Government tried to effect a settlement, but their proposals were refused by the employers. The Government then made it plain that they were unwilling to use force to eject the workers. On September 7 the Executive of the Socialist Party met, at Milan, and decided to support the F.I.O.M.'s action. A reply by the Employers demanding evacuation of the factories as a condition for resuming negotiations had no effect; and on September 12 the General Confederation of Labour was entrusted with the direction of the movement, and proceeded to put before the Government the suggestions of the workers.

The General Confederation of Labour has examined the problem of production in Italy and has come to the conclusion that in order to obtain that increased output which is absolutely necessary if an equilibrium is to be re-established between consumption (enormously raised by reason of increased demand and new conditions of living) and production (enormously

decreased by reason of various factories arising out of the war), in order to reduce imports and thus hasten the restoration of a normal exchange, in order, further, to prevent ignorance of industrial conditions from affording an opportunity to the employers, on the one hand, making unchecked statements, and to the workers, on the other, of advancing impossible claims for improvement of conditions, it is essential that there should be a modification in the relations obtaining between employer and employed. Such modification should tend to permit the latter, through the agency of the trade unions, to be in a position to know the real state of their industry, to be acquainted with its technical and financial workings, and to be able, through the work of their factored delegations (being off-shoots of the trade unions), to co-operate in applying factory regulations, to control the appointment and dismissal of the employees, and thus to inspire the normal life of the factory with the necessary discipline.

In order to attain these aims, the General Confederation of Labour holds it essential to proceed immediately to the constitution of a Committee of delegates, with an equal number of representatives from either side, which Committee shall work out the details for applying in practice the principle of the control of factories.

At this point Signor Giolitti intervened with what was virtually an ultimatum to the employers calling upon them to accept the principle of workers' control. The Employers thereupon yielded under protest, and with mild reservations.

Following a meeting under the chairmanship of Signor Giolitti in Rome, a Government Decree was issued on September 21, embodying the following arrangement:—

A Commission shall be constituted of equal numbers from each side consisting of six members named by the General Federation of Employers, and six named by the General Federation of Labour, each of these panels include two members representing technical office work: such Commission to formulate proposals which shall serve the Government as the basis for a Bill embodying the organisation of industry on the principle of the worker's intervention in technical and financial management or in working administration.

The said Commission shall within one week formulate suggestions for solving the questions which may arise out of the application of factory rules and the appointment and dismissal of workers.

Workers of all classes shall resume their employment. Should it, however, prove impossible to reinstate workers or foremen in their former employment, a committee constituted of two members chosen by the employe

and two members chosen by the workers, shall decide on the measure to be adopted.

The statement issued subsequently by the General Confederation of Labour exulted over the "double victory," i.e., over the Employers and over the Government, explained the general principles of the Agreement, and outlined future policy.

Comrades ought to be in a position to understand that these changed relations amount to a real revolution in the factories, and imply the abandonment by the employer of what has hitherto been autocratic power. But it must be stated that the battle on this field is not yet over. The employer, the hostile party-man, the obstinate critic of trades unionism who conceals his want of power under a veneer of pseudo-revolutionary enthusiasm, will try to delay the full fruition of our victory. We are bound to urge the proletariat to keep watch and ward. Frequent meetings should be held to celebrate our victory. Still more frequent discussion conferences should be initiated all over Italy by comrades who have made a thorough study of the problem. Only by these means can we be secure of a final triumph.

On the other side, strong criticism was levelled against the Government for not having prevented the occupation of the factories, or for having failed to compel their evacuation. Signor Giolitti, defending his action, pointed out that in order to prevent the occupation it would have been necessary to place a garrison in each of the 600 factories, and that this course, even if it had been possible in the time at disposal, would have left no troops for dealing with the workers outside or safeguarding public security. As for the question of the workers' control, it had not now arisen for the first time. The principle was approved in 1915 at the meeting of masters' representatives; and during December, 1919, Signor Reina had proposed, in the Chamber of Deputies, an amendment to the Speech from the Throne (an amendment carried by a large majority) embracing this very point.

WHAT CAN WE DO WITH THE HOUSE OF LORDS?

As a member of the Select Committee of both Houses, which was appointed under the presidency of Lord Bryce, to suggest a scheme for reforming the House of Lords, Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, M.P., writes with inside knowledge, as well as with the enthusiasm of an eager student of constitutional history, in the *New World* (September). There is considerable truth in his personal opinion that if the members of the present House of Lords were reduced to about 300, of whom three-fourths should be Peers elected by Peers, and the other fourth nominated by the Crown, we should have a Second Chamber inferior to none in the world.

Mr. Marriott recalls the appointment in 1907—two years before Mr. Lloyd George's famous Budget which provoked the conflict that culminated in the Parliament Act of 1911—of a Select Committee of the House of Lords which, under Lord Rosebery's chairmanship, reported unanimously in favour of a radical reform of the Upper House. In 1911 Lord Lansdowne introduced a Bill, designed to limit the membership of the House of Lords to less than 350 members, of whom 100 were

to be Peers elected from the present 700 members of the Upper House, 120 members chosen by some form of indirect election, and 100 members nominated by the Prime Minister. But all the attempts that have been made at carrying out a reform of the Upper House have failed, and the Parliament Act of 1911 has virtually left the constitution without an effective Second Chamber.

Of Second Chambers designed primarily to exercise a counter-balancing influence to check the power of the Lower House, the French Senate is probably the most powerful and the most successful in its working.

The Senate consists of 314 members who are elected for the term of nine years, one third of the number retiring every three years. The election is indirect, being vested in an electoral college in each Department and Colony, and conducted by *scrutin de liste*. The college is composed of (1) the Deputies for the Department; (2) the Consul General of the Department; (3) the Arrondissement Councillors; and (4) Delegates elected from among the voters of the Commune by the municipal councils. The Senators are distributed among the Departments on a population basis: the Department of the Seine returning ten; the Nord eight,

others five, four, three, two, or one apiece. Senators receive the same salary (15,000 francs) as Deputies. Conjointly with the Chamber the Senate elects the President, who may be impeached, only on a charge of high treason, before the Senate by the Chamber. The Senate shares with the Chamber of Deputies the treaty-making power and with the President the right of dissolving the lower House before its legal term has expired. This latter prerogative is plainly one of great importance.

In England the Executive can appeal to the Electorate against the Legislature, and the House of Commons can, subject to that appeal, dismiss the Executive. In France neither the Executive nor the Chamber of Deputies can appeal to the Electorate. The Ministry of the day has this weapon at its command only if it possesses the confidence of the Senate. In a sense, therefore, the Executive is at the mercy of the Senate, and some of the most distinguished of French publicists have argued, with plausibility, that no Cabinet can continue to govern in opposition to the will of the Senate.

The American Senate, even more powerful than that of France, owes its great influence largely to the fact that it is a federal, as distinct from a unitary, second chamber.

It came into being, and it still remains, the embodiment of the federal principle and the security of the rights of the constituent States of the American Union. Many of the independent Republics of which the Union was compacted came into it reluctantly. But for the guarantees afforded by the fact that in the Senate the States, great and small, enjoy equal representation, they would never have come in at all. The American Senate, therefore, is more than a Second Chamber in the ordinary sense, and what is true of the American Senate may be affirmed with equal accuracy of the Senate of the Australian Commonwealth. Then also the constituent Colonies were reluctant to merge themselves in a federal State, though outside pressure upon them was considerable, and though the luxury of independence might have proved costly.

The time may come before long, as Mr. Marriott points out, when the federalisation of the United Kingdom, and the increasingly definite federalism of the British Empire, may necessitate the creation of a British Federal Senate. With or without a scheme of Imperial Federation, however, the British Constitution cannot safely be allowed to continue in its present lop-sided state. It was this consideration that led to the appointment early this year of the Select Committee of both Houses to try and find

a solution for the problem of the House of Lords. It secured a unanimous report but only at the expense of simplicity and force in its conclusions. It recommended that the new Chamber is to consist of between 350 and 400 members.

Excluding Peers of the blood royal and Lay Lords who were to remain as at present, the new House was to consist of two sections: (1) about 273 members elected by panels of members of the House of Commons distributed in fourteen or fifteen geographical groups; and (2) not more than ninety-one members chosen by a Joint Committee of both Houses. The latter were in the first instance to be selected from among the hereditary or spiritual Peers ultimately the choice was to be unrestricted provided that the number of Peers and Diocesan Bishops never fell below thirty. The Second Chamber was to have no power of amending or rejecting or initiating financial Bills, but otherwise was to have concurrent rights of legislation. Differences between the two houses were to be adjusted by the method of "Free Conference" the Conference to consist of a Joint Standing Committee of forty members appointed Sessionally in equal proportions by the Committee of election in each House, with the addition of two members from each House appointed *ad hoc* in respect of each Bill in dispute.

Three principal factors have to be considered in any reconstitution of the Upper House—its composition, its powers, and the means of adjusting differences between it and the Lower House.

As regards composition, it is essential that the Second Chamber should rest upon a basis which clearly differentiates it from the first. For the existing House of Lords such a basis is found in the hereditary principle. For a Federal Senate or Bundesrat an intelligible *differentio* is found in the idea of the representation of States distinct from the representation of the people. The French Senate finds it, less distinctive in the indirect as opposed to the direct method of election, and, like most other Second Chambers, in the longer tenure of its members. The plan recommended by the Bryce Committee was really the result of the exhaustion of alternatives. Some members favoured direct election; others inclined to indirect election by local bodies but were fearful of the effect such a device might have upon local government; so they would have powerful nomination. Against the last method the history of the Canadian Senate seems to supply a strong if not a conclusive argument; direct election would almost infallibly result in the setting up of a rival House of Commons; if indirect election is to be adopted the French system would seem to offer the most promising model, though the danger of infusing into County Councils with the party spirit from which they have hitherto been to a considerable extent immune is one which cannot be slighted.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION POLICY. A MODERATE INDIAN VIEW.

In the *Asiatic Review* (October) Mr. N. M. Samarth, a prominent leader of Moderate opinion in India, deals with Mr. Gandhi and his recent activities in an article entitled "Non-Co-operation and Mr. Gandhi." It will be recalled that a special session of the Indian National Congress decided to adopt Mr. Gandhi's "non-co-operation" programme. Mr. Samarth's article is a warning to British statesmen and Publicists not to disregard the significance of this decision, but at the same time not to over-estimate its importance.

To begin with, Mr. Gandhi is not an Extremist in the sense in which that term is generally used. "Indian Extremists, rightly viewed, are Indian patriots in an angry mood. . . . Mr. Gandhi is nothing if not cool-headed."

He is an idealist, pure and simple—an idealist with an unshakable faith in adamant "soul-force" as the only force opposed to physical force which can compel the most powerful Government, however stern and unbending, to yield to the dictates of justice, as he conceives it. His strength lies in his transparent sincerity and honesty of purpose and his unflinching determination to practise what he preaches at all risks

and at all hazards. His weakness lies in the fallacy of his supposition that the vast mass of the people can be trusted to imbibe his doctrines of peaceful aloofness from Government without transgressing the limits of law and order. Further, it lies in the inherent impracticableness of his concrete proposals, notably the boycotting of the Courts by lawyers and of foreign goods by the public generally, and the withdrawing of boys and girls from schools and colleges.

Mr. Gandhi's proposal that the reformed Legislative Councils should be boycotted may succeed for a while and in certain quarters. But the vast bulk of the thinking public realise that its adoption would mean throwing away the chance of controlling the administrative machine from within, and so securing, by Indian talent and capacity, complete responsible self-government as rapidly as possible; and they will not be guided by him in this matter.

The fact that he obtained a majority vote at the Congress does not mean that the people at large are going to carry out his programme. He himself has declared that a resolution of the Congress is not binding upon anyone whose conscience dictates that he should not abide by it. There is a further important point. The programme is opposed to the constitution of the Congress itself.

Article I. of that constitution lays down that "the objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members." "These objects are to be achieved," says that Article, "by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration." A resolution, therefore, which says in effect, "Don't participate in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire," "Have nothing to do with the administration," "Don't strive for its steady reform at all, but boycott it altogether," drives a coach and four through the constitution of the Congress itself. Article II. of that constitution explicitly lays down that "every delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I. of this constitution." It follows that it was not *intra vires* of the special session of the Congress to pass a resolution in terms of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme. Any such resolution passed by the Congress is, therefore, a mere *brutum fulmen*, not binding upon any delegate to the Congress.



Looker-on]

[Calcutta

The Extremist and the Reactionist.

Prospective Rider: "Um! One of them's frisky and the other's too deadly slow for words."

In addition, the programme is at variance with that of Mr. Tilak. As for the Moderate Party (the National Liberal Federation of India), its views were fully expressed in an open letter to Mr. Gandhi published in the *Times of India*, pointing out the impracticability of his policy. The writer of this letter points out that in order to follow the non-co-operation policy to its logical conclusion, Mr. Gandhi would have to "cease to take advantage of post and telegraph services, law courts, and Government protection . . . have nothing to do with the Government officers . . . avoid Government coins and currency notes, and so on . . . Then it (the policy) will be a blessing to many a man, because debtors of such creditors can die in peace."

Why, then, has Mr. Gandhi succeeded to the extent that he has? Mr. Samarth finds three main reasons: the Rowlatt Act, the Khilafat agitation, and the Punjab affair. Of these, he seems to regard the second as the least important, since there is a large body of Indian opinion, both Moslem and non-Moslem, "which is fully alive to the fact that the Government of India and the Secretary of State pressed the Indian Moslem point of view with vigour and emphasis"; and if the result has not been altogether satisfactory to them, they do not see any justification "for carrying on a campaign of hatred against the Government of India and inflaming popular opinion against it." But the Punjab shootings, the Hunter Report, the pro-Dyer vote in the House of Lords, the attacks on Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, the Dyer "fund," the official eulogy of Sir M. O'Dwyer, the failure to punish guilty Punjab officials—"all these have produced a general feeling of resentment among all sections of the Indian public. Add to these the grievances of Indians in South Africa and East Africa, and the perpetuation of their unfair treatment based on racial grounds," and the unfavourable impression produced by

the events in Egypt and Ireland, and you have a soil in which both Gandhism and other forms of Extremism flourish.

The writer ends by urging the recall of Lord Chelmsford and the giving of a fre hand to Mr. Montagu.



Hindi Punch)

(Bombay

The Sword of Damocles.

Hon. M. Khaparde—I will not stand under it come what may!

The Sword—Ah! Faithless! Disloyal! I do not expect this from you!

(The Hon. Mr. Khaparde has announced that he will not follow the Non-Co-operation Resolution, but will go his own way and seek election in the New Council.)

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MUNICIPAL FINANCE.

A PLEA FOR THE EXTENSION OF MUNICIPAL CONTROL.

Public concern has been aroused of late by the rise, phenomenal in some instances, in local rates. Everybody knows that this is due to the high prices of everything else; but it is also realised that rising rates help to inflate prices still further, and a widespread demand for a panacea against high rates has arisen in consequence. A Socialist view of the matter is embodied in an article on "Municipal Finance," contributed by Mr. William Leach, of the Bradford City Council, to the *Socialist Review* (Oct.-Dec.).

Mr. Leach starts with the hypothesis that the spendings of Parliament are mostly unproductive and wasteful, whilst those of the municipalities are "entirely productive and useful." But "the municipality which spends wisely is restricted to a narrow and hopelessly out-of-date plan in order to get its money. Outside the narrow rut of levying a tax on occupied buildings and the land which holds them, the municipality cannot go." His first plea, therefore, is for "self-determination for the municipalities."

On several occasions bills have been introduced in Parliament to give to municipalities the free right to mind their own business. They have always been more or less still-born. Parliament knows that if the power to draw upon all the resources of the citizens, mostly created by facilities put there by municipal effort, were given to local authorities it would mean goodbye to the huge taxable resources it can now draw upon. It would mean good bye to costly armies and navies and extravagant imperialism in all parts of the world. The money would all be promptly earmarked for houses, and schools, and parks, and hospitals, and clinics, and slum clearances, and great highways, and a host of other things. The average citizen doesn't know that this is the issue. It is our business to tell him.

Secondly, banking should be nationalised, and the local authorities put in charge of the branches. Banking, the writer maintains, is not the highly involved and difficult business it is supposed to be; on the contrary, it is comparatively simple, and enjoys a remarkable freedom from risk. Therefore "its transference to public ownership would be a great national advantage."

In order to show how simple banking is,

he gives a hypothetical case of a corporation, "Birmchester," that borrows a million from the bank and invests the money in war loans, i.e. lends it to the Government. The Government, say, spends this money on guns from Vickers Maxim. The Corporation sends the Government a cheque for a million pounds, which cheque is promptly handed into the Bank. Then the Government sends a cheque for the amount to Vickers Maxim, who in turn pay the cheque back into the Bank. The Bank itself does not find a penny of actual money; but its entries show that "Birmchester" owes the Bank a million pounds, that the Government has cleared its own account, and that Vickers Maxim have a balance of a million pounds due to them. The Bank's gross profit on this transaction is the difference between the 5 per cent. interest paid to it by the Corporation, and the lesser amount, probably 2½ per cent., which it pays to Vickers Maxim on the sum standing to that firm's credit. Its net profit is that difference less expenses.

Suppose banking were a public monopoly, with municipalities conducting the branches. Suppose every municipality proceeded at once to pay off all its borrowed money by the simple method of making out a cheque to every bondholder. Every one of those cheques would be paid back into the municipal banks the following day, with a resultant saving to the municipalities on ruling rates of interest to two per cent. or thereabouts. Money would at once become cheap and also plentiful.

The vexed problem of interest would be solved by this method, because the money-lending or, rather, credit-lending business would be carried on by the whole people and the rate of interest properly chargeable would become a matter of less importance.

Once the whole of it is receivable by the people through a public banking monopoly, the evil now attendant on it would, automatically, disappear. If you charged your clients ten per cent. and gave it them back in relief of taxation through corresponding vast bank profits, you would deprive the offence of much of its enormity.

Another problem arising out of the present method of rating is that of rateable value. Property has probably doubled in

Some readers may be inclined to ask why the distribution of electricity is so unsuccessful for power while being a failure for heat. The crux of this question is the big loss, already explained, which takes place when heat is converted into power. If heat is wanted by the consumer there is no need to incur this loss by producing electricity, as the gas or coke can be distributed direct without any wastage at all. On the other hand, when power is required, the loss in conversion must be incurred either by the consumer or in the central station. The loss is, however, very much less when the conversion of heat into power is carried out on a large scale, while the capital charges and the cost of labour are greatly reduced.

The writer explores other fields for economy. One of these is in connection with export coal.

If this coal was retorted and the by-products recovered, as is advocated for all coal consumed in this country, the by-products would go towards increasing our home supplies of oils, dyes, sulphate of ammonia, and other useful substances, while the coke would be as acceptable to our foreign customers as the coal, supposing that they could get it at a proportionately lower price. Although more coal would have to be used in order to export an equivalent tonnage of coke, this feature should be far more than counterbalanced by the enhanced value obtained.

If these economics gradually materialised, so as to avoid undue disturbance to industry, we should, Mr. Horsnail believes, make far more money out of the coal we burn and export.

TAMPERING WITH THE LUNACY ACT.

Dr. Sara E. White, who has for many years been working unceasingly to bring about a reform in the treatment of mental patients under the administration of the Lunacy Commissioners, is contributing an important series of articles to *The Englishwoman* (October and November) in which she makes a necessary protest against the introduction of an unobtrusive clause in the Health Ministry (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill which is now before Parliament.

The principle of Clause 10 is to invite anyone who may feel himself or herself slightly unstrung owing to the stress of circumstances confidingly to place himself as a "Voluntary Boarder" in the hands of mental experts in a mental institution approved by the Health Minister.

She then deals at length with the danger which "voluntary boarders" incur of being certified as insane without their knowledge, after they have consented to enter an asylum of their own accord, and shows how hopeless are the efforts of those who have been wrongfully incarcerated when they seek to obtain redress after release.

If such things can be done while the safeguards of the Lunacy Act are (nominally) in force, what will happen when one of its most important safeguards (Section 315) is annulled by the passing of this Clause 10, and when the unfortunate voluntary boarder will be left,

under the new conditions, practically defenceless?

Up to the present the Lunacy Commissioners, as such, have had no jurisdiction over any but the certified, i.e., the imprisoned. Their elementary duty is to look after the rights of those who have been deprived of rights; and we have seen how this duty is performed. When called upon to right an injustice suffered in the past, their answer is invariably: 'It is all over now; don't distress yourself. We are quite satisfied; you will find it best to let bygones be bygones.' They trade even upon the stigma thereto attaching, and insinuate that it will be an advantage to the plaintiff to keep silent.

Is this the kind of adjudication that we require?

The appearance of this clause in the new Health Bill is the first-fruits of the transfer effected, by which the Lunacy Board is to be brought under the Health Ministry. Such a transfer bodes no good. We need no legislation by which the safeguards of liberty are infringed.

The only form of public mental Homes which come legitimately within the sphere of the Health Ministry are such as can be run (by Clause 11) under the management of the Health Committees of the Local Councils, and are free from any association with lunacy administration. Voluntary mental hostels of various kinds, free from detention and from claim to profit, might be affiliated to these, later, under the Ministry, and would be of the greatest use for ex-service men.

No legislation of the nature of Clause 10 is needed for this most desirable reform

The nearest definition to be found in the Lunacy Act of what is meant by a "lunatic" is a person who is "dangerous, unfit to be at large, or unfit to manage himself and his affairs." But this definition, says Dr. White, has been unwarrantably extended to a very large variety of cases which cannot justifiably be included under it.

Hundreds, for instance, are incarcerated for trouble of mind due to quite natural causes; hundreds for harmless delusions or even for transient delirium; hundreds, because their presence has proved inconvenient to their relatives, or because some other ulterior motive has come into play; while thousands find their way into asylums simply because no other Sanatoria exist to which they might have gone of their own free will to recruit, in the earliest stages of threatened loss of balance.

The only people who are likely to benefit by this obnoxious clause of the Bill are those who "are anxious to receive and take charge of 'the incipient mental case' for profit"; for they are to be relieved by it of any liability for infringing Section 315 of the Lunacy Act, which imposes penalties for detention carried out without proper compliance with the conditions prescribed by the Act. Clause 10, Dr. White declares, "will meet with a chorus of approval from all those who run licensed houses and every variety of Private Asylum."

But what about protection for the patients?

During the war, says Dr. White, shell-shocked soldiers were placed in asylums (re-named "War Hospitals") without any formality of certification, and therefore without judicial investigation or right of appeal. They were consequently deprived of the protection afforded by the Lunacy Act; for the process of certification is, properly regarded, not an injury—as the Ministry of Health would have the public believe—but a guarantee of some sort that unjust detention will not take place. Since these shell-shock patients were never formally certified it became impossible to secure their release by having them uncertified.

The "stigma" which attaches to anyone who has been in a lunatic asylum does not, Dr. White argues, originate with the legal process of certification.

There is no disgrace attaching to the overwrought condition of a much-tried nervous system, or the heart-breaking anguish brought about by horror or despair, resulting in a loss of balance, or impairment of our highest faculties. Nothing requires more delicate, intelligent and tender handling. No other ill that flesh is heir to is treated in a manner more irrational and unnatural, more calculated (possibly inadvertently, but surely) to increase a hundredfold the sense of bitter loneliness, helplessness and disgrace. These early cases are, of all others, the most acutely sensitive to their position.

Instead of being treated with real understanding, with a kindly interest in their present and past history, and with encouragement to look forward to a happier future, they are herded together like a crowd of inferior beings, denied all but the slightest intercourse with those most dear to them, bewildered as to the meaning of it all, placed under lock and key like culprits (whether restraint be or be not, in their case, necessary).

It is the iniquity with which they are treated which is the cause of stigma, and no wiping away of this stigma can be looked for, till the entire method of mental treatment is revolutionised, and light let in upon these stagnant pools of misery. What is required is the exact opposite of the environment in which early and uncertifiable patients will find themselves entombed in Mental Institutions if Clause 10 is carried into effect.

As long as the necessity for certification exists, so long will it be necessary to see that those deprived of freedom are protected, and that those who are not insane shall be safeguarded from risk of committal.

Now that an audacious attempt is being made to sweep away its safeguards, the Lunacy Act must be reinforced by a fundamental provision securing for the certifiably insane (in common with all other subjects of the realm) access to legal advice and aid; and for those in danger of committal, a clear statement of the allegations made against them, so that, with the help of legal defence, they may refute them (if refutation is possible).

Finally, Dr. White urges the Minister of Health to take the path of true statesmanship by initiating, under Clause 11 of the present Bill, hospitals free from detention and without claim to profit, for the benefit of nerve-strained ex-service men, and for the speedy recovery of thousands of early cases occurring among civilians, who would then be intercepted upon the downward track, and saved from ever becoming inmates of our "costly and worse than unproductive asylums."

the credit of being the motive power which was putting the screw on, in order to force the Dutch trader to share his produce equally with both parties.

Then came the galling shipping regulations under which the Dutch could only put to sea with British consent and after their ship's manifests had been examined. It is true that these regulations were in no way applied to Dutch shipping exclusively, but that all neutral shipping had to submit to them, and that it was generally conceded that the restrictions were both legal and justifiable. All the same the Dutch are peculiarly sensitive where their shipping is concerned, and given the old feeling of naval rivalry between the two peoples, it would not have been surprising if still more ill feeling had been exhibited.

Before the war the greater part of Dutch trade was carried on with the peoples of Central Europe, of which the Germans were the largest buyers.

On the other hand, it was from Germany that Holland got the largest part of her essential requirements, such as coal, salt and potash. The export trade to Germany was largely in vegetables, butter, milk, eggs, chickens and cattle, all valuable commodities for feeding the German armies. If Holland discontinued the despatch of these much needed food-stuffs, she would inevitably see herself deprived of the above-mentioned articles of export from Germany, of which she stood in daily need, in order to keep her industrial life alive.

In restricting the Dutch export of home produce to Germany, the worst difficulty was that the very important small man's industry of market-gardening was thereby involved.

After considerable negotiation an arrangement, which was on the whole very well observed, although it led to constant friction and controversy in its execution, was reached, under which a specified proportion of the agricultural produce of Holland should go to the Allies and Germany respectively.

Holland soon afterwards found her supplies of coal diminishing, as much the greater part of them came normally from Germany, and the Germans withheld their coal, to force Holland into compliance with their demands for other supplies. Cereals also became seriously short before long, and the attempts of the Dutch Government to import both coal and corn by sea were generally made fruitless by the ruthless submarine campaign. British and

American control of Dutch shipping, combined with the destruction wrought by the German submarines, reduced the country to conditions approaching those of famine.

The privations were very real; coal was distributed in infinitesimal quantities, gas could only be used during a very small part of the day, electric light was closely rationed, not more than 200 . . . of bread per person per diem were . . . meat was barely obtainable, and at extortionate prices, whilst tea and coffee almost disappeared from the market, which caused the closing of many grocers' shops.

But while Holland had many good grounds for irritation against the Allies, they had ample reasons for complaint against her. Apart from the natural desire of Dutch traders to profit as far as possible by supplying the eager demand from Germany for their goods, the most serious cause of friction with the Allies was the large traffic of sand and gravel through Holland into Germany in the most critical phase of the final campaign on the western front. The rapid creation of innumerable "pill-boxes" which formed the most effective part of the Hindenburg line of defences would not have been possible had it not been for the facilities given by the Dutch Government for the transport of the materials of which they were made.

But when all causes of friction between the two countries have been allowed for, it has to be remembered that many Dutch men and women did much to make the life of the interned British prisoner more bearable, and magnificent assistance was rendered to the British prisoners of war who streamed over into Holland from Germany after the Armistice was signed. Moreover, new trade connections, with their powerful influence for international friendship, have been formed between the two countries.

Sir Walter Townley adds a final word in reference to the refusal of Holland to release the Kaiser at the request of the Allies.

I would merely remark that history blamed the Dutch authorities who surrendered Charles the First's murderers to his son, whilst no blame has ever been attached to those Dutchmen who honoured Charles the Second when he was a refugee in Holland.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

As was foreshadowed in last month's *German Opinion*, the most important development in German domestic politics was that which has been taking place in the Independent Social Democratic Party. It may be recalled that the return of the delegates of this Party from Moscow, with arrogant conditions from Lenin concerning their adherence to the Third or Moscow *Internationale*, was the signal for a breach in the party-ranks which had been threatening for some time. On the side of the anti-Moscow faction was Crispian, whom everyone a few months ago would have declared an extremist. He was naturally supported by several members of the party still further to the Right than he. Opposed to him was Däumig, a violent exponent of Bolshevik principles and one of the most persistent intriguers of the Extreme Left.

The quarrel between the two sections came to a head at the party-congress, which was held at Halle. It was attended by the well-known Russian Bolshevik leader, Zinoviev, and one or two other "comrades" from Moscow, who were allowed to enter Germany, but were promptly expelled after the Congress for having engaged in subversive intrigue in defiance of their undertakings. The outcry at this firm step of the German Government was considerable, but nothing serious in the way of protest was attempted. As for the Halle Congress itself, it had a rather unexpected conclusion. It was realised beforehand that the forces Däumig would be able to muster would be large, but there appeared to be an impression that matters would not be pushed as far as a complete division between the factions. This proved to be a wrong assumption. A heated discussion, to which Zinoviev contributed, was followed by voting in which the majority of the delegates declared for adherence to the Third International. The minority thereupon left the Congress hall and the rift in the ranks of the party, growing

for some months, was at last open and avowed.

To what was the success of the extremists due? An article by the well-known Social Democratic writer, Heinrich Ströbel, in *Die Weltbühne* for October 21st, entitled "Zinoviev's Allies," constitutes an attempt at an explanation. After explaining that Zinoviev had come from the Bolshevik propaganda conference at Baku with the object of throwing all his weight in the scale of decision, the writer goes on to explain that his success and the success of the other advocates of adherence to Moscow was not only due to their extraordinary eloquence, but also to the weakness of their opponents, the so-called "Rechtsunabhängigen" (Right Independents), whose "halfness" (*Halbheit*) was incapable of counteracting the really formidable influence of Bolshevism. It has been enabled to obtain over the rank and file of the Independents by the present desperate economic state of Germany. Zinoviev's allies, in short, are economic discontent, industrial unrest, unemployment and high prices.

Ströbel goes on to explain, however, that the vote has far less significance than might be imagined. Even with this success the extreme Left has less than a quarter of German Social Democracy behind it. He might also have added that it has split a really influential party, tampered with its funds and finally undermined the unity of the press at its command. Immediately after the congress there were efforts on the part of both rival parties to obtain control over the party finances and the party press. This struggle was not finally decided at the end of the month. One thing seems certain, however, that the Independent Party must either allow itself to be transformed into a communist party, a branch of Moscow, committed to a struggle against the parliamentary régime and against the state in general, or sink into complete

insignificance, foregoing all the gains of the last elections.

The third possibility, that the anti-Bolshevik remnant of the Independents may now be driven to enter the Majority Party, is not yet very widely discussed. No doubt it is felt that the breach will take time to heal; if the aim of re-uniting the German Social Democratic Party, on a more or less moderate basis and as an outcome of Bolshevik aggression upon the Independent organisation—if this aim is pursued too quickly, fresh complications might ensue, fresh disunion be caused. The word therefore appears to have been—explore the possibilities, but take no precipitate action. It is noteworthy that Scheidemann, in a speech delivered at the Majority Congress held at Cassel during the month, made no very direct approach to the subject. Perhaps the first step must be from the side of the Independents, who are quite likely, in view of the insults heaped on their heads by the Majority, both during the war and afterwards, and in view, too, of the manifest difficulties of reconciling certain points in their respective programmes, to be slow in taking the initiative.

In foreign affairs the principal matters of interest to Germany were the Financial Conference in Brussels, the Austrian General Elections and the general question of reparations and coal deliveries to the Entente. On the first there was a note in *Die Hilfe* for October 5th, which expressed disappointment with the Conference, but took comfort, regarding the matter purely from a German point of view, in the speeches of the American and Dutch delegates respectively—Mr. Boyden and Mr. ter Meulen. The declaration of the former to the effect that an effective *modus vivendi* must be established between conquerors and conquered before America would come to the assistance of Europe—this was especially approved. As for the Austrian General Elections, it may be recalled that it was proposed that simultaneously with these there should be held a plebiscite as to whether the population wished to attach themselves to the German Republic. Eventually this suggestion was dropped, and substituted for it was a proposal that it should be held in six months. The

elections resulted in giving a majority to the Christian Socialists who are reputed less enthusiastic for the *Anschluss*, as it is called, than their Social Democratic opponents. The result was nevertheless not interpreted as any indication of a lessening of enthusiasm on the part of Austria, and some of the German reviews, notably *Die Hilfe*, which had lately been inclined to neglect the whole question, reverted to it and acknowledged the Austrian desire in glowing terms. The question may at any time become one of practical politics.

The announcement that the British Government had decided to renounce certain of its rights over German private property under the Peace Treaty came too late to be discussed in the October reviews. But the tone of the daily Press was gleeful, although it was recognised in responsible quarters that the decision was prompted by regard for British financial and maritime interests, and that, moreover, it left Great Britain free to compel the execution of the Treaty by other means. The tendency to exploit the affair as a definite rift in the Entente was not so marked as might have been expected—informed opinion in Germany probably realising the uncertainties and dangers of a break between France and England. Criticism of France, however, continued to be bitter, with particular reference to the coal question, with which is bound up the question of Upper Silesia. The victory of the Austrians in the Carinthia plebiscite was enthusiastically greeted, and the hope expressed that this might be of happy augury for the Silesia plebiscite. Reference may be made to an article well supported by statistics on "The question of France's Coal" in *Deutsche Politik* for September 24th last.

The chief articles on foreign affairs or personalities in the German October reviews were: Professor Bergsträsser's on the "Peace of Riga," in *Das demokratische Deutschland* for October 17th, on the whole an impartial account, calling attention to the fact that by this treaty between the Poles and Russians, Germany's access to Russia was rendered difficult but not impossible—a plain indication of German interest in Lithuania; an account, in *Deutsche Politik* for

October 8th, from the pen of Dr. Deissmann, the eminent theologian, on "England's Religious Situation," based on Dr. David Cairns's book, "The Army and Religion"; the same number of the same review also contained an enthusiastic review by Professor Valentin, of Mr. G. P. Gooch's "Life of Lord Courtney"; the *Neue Zeit* for October 15th gave a review of Sir George Arthur's "Life of Lord Kitchener."

The two most important German political books reviewed during the month were Herr Erzberger's "Erebnisse in Weltkrieg" (Experiences in the world war), which in particular gave an account of the negotiations which led up to the famous July Reichstag Peace Resolution; and Noske's "Von Kiel bis Kapp," a history, as its title indicates, of Germany from the Revolution to the Kapp coup d'état. Both volumes are of considerable historical importance and attention may be drawn to a review of the first—accompanied by extracts—in *Die neue Zeit* for October 8th, and of the second in *Die Weltbühne* for September 30th.

During October there died Caesar Flaischlen, a prominent German poet, and Rudolf Mosse, head of the Berlin publishing firm of that name and proprietor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*.

FRANCE.

The reviews of the month dealing with foreign and home politics contain no very sensational pronouncements, but the consolidation of authoritative opinion in the face of the German and other bogeys, which was hinted at in a previous issue, appears to have received some impetus from the election of M. Millerand. For example, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (October 15th) we have the pleasant spectacle of M. Poincaré extending a more than conciliatory hand to M. Clemenceau. He admits past differences of opinion with the "Tiger"; but had it not been for the latter's war services, his steadfastness in the face of *Désaffirmisme*, "France would no longer be France." This fact alone brings the ex-premier nearer to M. Poincaré than many of his "friends" are. M. Poincaré applauds M. Millerand's promptitude in forming a

Cabinet, virtually but of its former members, and warmly approves the selection of M. Georges Leygues as new foreign minister and President of the Council. Clearly he looks to M. Leygues to uphold the "French solution" of existing and future problems in regard to other countries.

In this article M. Poincaré is mild to the point of perfunctoriness while dealing with home affairs, but warms up when he comes to foreign policy. He makes a promising start by hailing the Russo-Polish armistice at Riga as being in accordance with French desires, if not the direct result of French policy. There follows, in his most eloquent vein, a denunciation of the German attempt to influence the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, and of their introduction of an "autonomy" proposal outside the alternatives offered by the Treaty of Versailles—the proposal, in fact, that Upper Silesia should be given neither to Germany nor to Poland, but should form an autonomous state. Brooding angrily over this recent instance of Teutonic impertinence, he passes to the subject of Austria. His view is that, in spite of the proved distress of her population, Austria is not so badly off as people think, and what is worse, she is making little or no effort to improve her condition.

The Austrian Government has decreed some taxes on capital and on income, but it has not thought of initiating the smallest economy. The Reparations Commission asked it to diminish the number of its officials, which is unreasonably large and involves an expense of five and a half milliards. As these officials are election agents, the minister replied: "All I can do is to restrict the new appointments to a minimum." And he keeps his parasites in the hope that the Allies will pay for them. At Vienna as at Berlin, it is the same idea: leave the costs of the war to the conquerors and represent the vanquished, who are the aggressors, as victims more deserving of compassion.

But Austria's graver offence, in M. Poincaré's eyes, was the resolution of the National Assembly to take a plebiscite on re-union with Germany. Such a re-union would not only be contrary to the Peace conditions, but the economic grounds on which it has been urged are fallacious. He briefly sums up Austria's natural resources and the extent of her remaining territory, and concludes that

there are many smaller and less fortunately situated states that continue to be happy though independent! German machinations in this matter are on a line with that country's continued efforts to evade her obligations in respect of the coal deliveries. She has boasted of having fulfilled her contract, but seeing that the terms have been so much reduced, she has really nothing to boast about, and the fact remains that the promised coal is still short. And since the Allies have thus assisted her to go outside the Treaty, it is not for them to reproach France for having declined to meet the Germans at the proposed Geneva Conference—even though France had promised to go there.

Austria, again, is M. Bernard de Lacombe's principal theme in his survey of foreign politics in the *Correspondant* (October 10th). Unlike Mr. Poincaré, he takes the view that Austria cannot be self-supporting, politically or economically; but she should lean towards the new Central European States rather than Germany. The Allies have been remiss in not propelling her in this direction. Passing to financial matters, it is clear that he does not expect a great deal from the Brussels Conference. He holds that no great Power will consent to a general liquidation of debts, and intimates that France at any rate intends to have her due. But the advice to economise at home should be followed by France; only, there must be no higher taxation. As for the Russo-Polish question, his ideal solution is the disarmament of the Red Army. The disbandment of the Soviet forces is as important for Poland as that of the German army was for the Allies. Thus and thus only could Poland get that security which is denied her in the form of greatly enlarged frontiers. Since this was written, the Armistice has been signed with the Bolsheviks, and the terms, though falling short of the drastic character advocated by M. de Lacombe, have afforded enough "security" to enable Poland to direct her military attentions elsewhere. Vilna and Kovno are perhaps the best comment on the one-sidedness of M. de Lacombe's view.

In the following issue of the *Correspondant* (October 25th), M. de Lacombe is

chiefly concerned with home affairs, particularly finance, and once more reiterates the opinion that the limit of taxation has been reached. Accordingly the only course is to reduce expenditure. Here he finds an opening for an attack on the extravagances of ministerial establishments, and calls to the State to set the example in economising. His survey of foreign affairs does not include any new fact or unfamiliar opinion. The month closed with an outburst in the general French press against what was described as the "desertion" policy of the British Government in deciding not to enforce the "reprisals" claims of the Treaty against the property of German nationals in this country or her ships.

In the *Revue Mondiale* (Oct. 15) "Ande" contrasts the telephone system in the United States with that in France, and concludes that the French state monopoly is very inferior. The literary articles in the *Mercury* (October 15th) are, as usual, of high standard. M. René Rousseau writes on "The Poetic Thought of Albert Samain"; M. Léon Deffoux reviews a little known work of J. K. Huysmans: "L'Esquisse Biographique sur Don Bosco"; and the fortnightly review of current literature covers a wide and interesting field. The *Revue de Paris* of October 1st gave the first instalment of a translation of Mr. Arnold Bennett's "Clayhanger," and continued this in subsequent issues. In the same journal for October 15th M. Albert Thibaudet begins a critical and biographical notice of Eugène Fromentin, whose centenary occurs this year.

ITALY.

In Italy during the past few weeks there appears to have grown up a certain reaction against the extremism which manifested itself during September. Not only have the pro-Bolsheviks among the trade unionists failed to carry any but a very small faction in their agitation for the total rejection of the compromise which was arrived at in the matter of the metallurgical factories, but there has been an unmistakable stiffening in the Government's attitude, which, so far from provoking the violence of the extremists, seems rather to have sobered them and,

in any case, to have received the whole-hearted approval of the great mass of the Italian people. Thus the decision to round up a gang of Anarchists, headed by the famous Malatesta, was carried into effect with nothing but a number of violently worded protests, unsupported by action. Finally the increased expression given to moderate and reasonable sentiments by leaders of the Italian working-class movement should be noted. During October there was such a pronouncement at Turin, hitherto regarded as the hotbed of pro-Bolshevism. A conference of textile workers was addressed by one of their organisers, who called attention to the injury being done to Italy abroad by the agitation and wild speeches of extremists. This line of argument was taken up by other speakers at other centres—a fact which may be set against the impossible two hours' strike in sympathy with Russia which was attempted throughout the greater part of Italy earlier in the month.

Signor Pietro Lanino, in *La Vita Italiana* for October 15th, finds the most serious danger in the uncertainties to which the directors of great Italian industries are henceforward to be exposed. They have, it is true, returned to their factories and entered once more into possession, but how far are the factories now really their own property? The workman, for his part, goes into the factory with the feeling that perhaps he has lost, at any rate has not gained, a complete victory. On both sides the mood is hardly one making for increased production and wholehearted work. Signor Lanino does not consider progress can be made without a return to before-the-war conditions. There must be a collaboration between the classes, not an assertion of the rights of only one class—in his opinion the "more numerous and violent, but less efficient." One may surmise that it required a good deal of courage to write like this, but the whole article is typical of the exasperation which the present uncertainties of the Italian industrial situation are arousing in certain minds.

In the *Nuova Antologia* for October 16th the Senator Benedetto Cirmeni deals with a question which is at the moment

exciting a great deal of interest in Italy and Europe generally—the question of the "Little Entente." The writer traces the growth of solidarity between the so-called "Succession States" of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the strengthening of the ties between them, particularly between Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania, during the discussion of the peace-terms with Hungary. The actual foundation of the "Little Entente" is dated from a speech of Dr. Benes, the Czech Foreign Minister, made at Prague to the Parliamentary Commission. In this the union of Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia only was contemplated. But the Roumanian statesman, M. Take Jonescu, later took up the matter and in several speeches and interviews explained that he wished also to include Poland and Greece—"all the victorious states from the Baltic to the Aegean." This declaration, Signor Cirmeni considers, throws rather a sinister light on some of the humanitarian sentiments with which the "Little Entente" has elsewhere been defended.

Among recent literary articles in the Italian reviews special attention should be called to the *Nuova Antologia* for September 16th last, in which appeared a study of Italy's foremost poet—next to D'Annunzio—Giovanni Papini, from the pen of Giuseppe Prezzolini, and an article on the German novelist Gustav Meyrink, by Alberto Spaini. In *La Vita Internazionale* for September 5th there was an interesting essay on French influences on Mazzini.

FINLAND.

THE TREATY OF DORPAT.

Representatives of the Governments of Finland and Russia signed at Dorpat, October 14th, a treaty of peace which terminates the state of war that has existed between the two countries since the winter of 1918, when the Bolsheviks attempted to overthrow by force of arms the Finnish Constitutional Republic, whose independence had but a short time before been recognised by the Soviet Government.

The treaty has had a mixed reception from Finland's public and press. It has

been violently attacked by some journals, and been defended with certain reservations by the more responsible organs of public opinion, including *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Uusi Suomi* and *Hufvudstadsbladet*. The opponents of the treaty hold that the treaty is worthless on the ground that it will be repudiated by the Bolsheviks whenever convenient, and that it sacrifices the Karelians, to whom illusory promises of autonomy are being held out. On the other hand it is argued by the upholders of the treaty that the conclusion of peace could not have been long postponed, that the moment of making it was opportune, that, while not giving all that Finland desired, the Treaty secured certain important advantages, and that its very moderation would render it acceptable to future governments of Russia.

The main points in the treaty may be briefly summarized as follows:

Petschenga.

Finland gets a strip of coast at Petschenga and half of Piskarivö; Finnish fishermen will have fishing rights on the Russian coast as far as the peninsula of Scharapoff, and Russian fishermen reciprocal privileges on the coast strip ceded to Finland. These concessions give Finland an outlet on the Arctic.

East Karelia.

Finnish troops will evacuate the occupied districts of Repola and Porajärvi. The inhabitants of these districts are granted a full amnesty and the parts of East Karelia inhabited by Finns, including Arkangel and Olonetz, are promised local self-determination and self-government within the Federation of Russian Republics.

Neutralization of Gulf of Finland.

The two Governments agree in principle to a proposal that the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland should be neutralized. The fortifications at Ino, Paumala and Björkö must be demolished, and Finland engages not to construct fortifications in these districts within twenty miles of the coast.

Lodega.

Finnish merchant vessels will be granted a free passage down the Neva to the Finnish Gulf on the same conditions as Russian vessels.

Trade, etc.

The Treaty contemplates a commercial agreement and the resumption of Diplomatic, Consular, Postal, Telegraphic and Trade relations between the two countries.

Provision is made for an authority for political offences, committed by subjects of the contracting states in pursuit of political ideas as, for instance, the national right of self-determination.

Economics.

The financial claims of the respective states upon one another will be settled on the basis of the *status quo ante*.

Suomen Sosialidemokratit, the organ of the Finnish Socialists, regards the peace as in all respects satisfactory and just. "The workers," it says, "are fully content with the peace, since they have never aspired to a peace of annexation, but to a righteous peace—and of such a kind is the peace that has now been concluded. It involves, moreover, a definitive and ultimate recognition of Finland's independence."

Helsingin Sanomat is of opinion that the Treaty may in general be considered satisfactory and in certain respects favourable to Finland. *Helsingin Sanomat* particularly lays stress upon the significance of the fact that the Russians will henceforth be unable to make claims upon the Aland Islands.

In regard to the East Karelian question *Helsingin Sanomat* is in substantial agreement with *Uusi Suomi*.

"Our retreat," says the latter journal "in the question of Karelia is certain regrettable, but we may nevertheless not with satisfaction the guarantees for the future of Karelia, which we have secured and whose execution we are entitled to supervise." *Uusi Suomi* notes further that Russia's recognition of Finnish independence and of the old frontiers of Finland involves a renunciation of all claim upon Aland.

Hufvudstadsbladet, while generally approving the Peace, says that there can be no question of any resumption of "friendly and normal" relations with Soviet Russia. It gives many arguments in support of the view that the peace was inevitable, and insists that precautions should be taken lest it should bring grave disasters upon Finland. *Hufvudstadsbladet* concludes:

However the situation may alter in Russia Finland must insist that the principles of peace which have been made with those who now in power in that country should be unconditionally recognized by any future Russian Government.

Government. We can do so with the more reason as the conditions that have been accepted do not contain anything which is humiliating or disadvantageous to Russia, inasmuch as we have merely vindicated our self-evident rights and protected our vital interests.

Apart from criticism directed against any peace with the Bolsheviks, the most vulnerable point in the treaty from the Finnish standpoint is its omission to obtain for the East Karelians, who are of the same racial stock as the Finns, the right to unite with Finland in virtue of the principle of self-determination.

Many journals, as, for instance, *U Suomi*, emphatically assert that it would be a misconception to suppose "that the conclusion of peace implies any kind of compromise with Russian Bolshevism or that we are placing ourselves in hostility to those in Russia who are in conflict with Bolshevism. We will continue to be sympathetic as before to the so-called White Russia, if only it on its part will loyally respect our independence and will recognise the administration we have established."



[Amsterdam]

Hurting International Feelings.

[London]

"The war is over, is it? Why, that instrument has been playing 'Deutschland über alles!'"

THREE PLAYS OF THE MONTH.

The Autumn Season has already produced at least three plays of more than ordinary interest, and it is becoming obvious that with the theatrical slump of which we were hearing a good deal lately, a boom in quality is in progress. It is indeed doubtful whether London at any time could show a better range of really well made and intelligent plays than it can at present.

Undoubtedly the best of the three new plays that we have chosen to notice is "The White Headed Boy," by Lennox Robinson, at "The Ambassador's Theatre." This is a genuine human Comedy, not immensely profound perhaps, or meaning to be, but at least strong in characters, in situations that are themselves naturally humorous without any forcing, and in humorous rather than witty dialogue. And it is extraordinarily well acted too. The story is rather an ingeniously complicated one, and even if it were not, it is too intimately bound up with the humour of it all to give away gratuitously. Very roughly it is concerned, as the title of the play suggests, with a "white headed boy," or mother's darling, against whom his family arise at last in exasperation at being forced to take second place where considerations of family finance are concerned, only to be defeated in the long last. It is an opportunity for some glorious character-acting. Sara Allgood as the mother, Mrs. Geoghegan, and Maire O'Neill as Aunt Ellen are very richly contrasted types of the prosperous and practical farming class, dashed in the former case with the mother's weakness for the apple of her eye, and in the latter with the spinster's "superior" interests in what they are saying in the papers. In Mrs. Geoghegan, everything, even her desire to cut a prosperous figure in the eye of the world, even her still stronger desire to keep on putting money into the bank, is sacrificed to the comfort and happiness of the youngest son whom she has determined to bring up to be a gentleman. Aunt Ellen on the other hand, with her farm of her own, on which she is continually trying fresh experiments, likes

the position which her wealth gives her of being a power in the family councils. She will play, doubtless, with co-operation and all the other new-fangled schemes that have been invented to save the poor old country, but in spite of the assertions of her family, we doubt if she will lose very much over her experiments. She loves her independence, and the respect her power gives her, too much to give it away so easily. In addition to these two there is George, Mrs. Geoghegan's eldest son, who is tired of providing money to keep Denis, "the white-headed boy," at Trinity College any longer, and vows it is time that some other members of the large family are given a chance; and there is John Duffy, chairman of the Rural District Council, and father of the girl that Denis is going to marry. Most of the humour is concerned with the subject of money, and arises from the efforts of all these characters in turn to get the better of each other in the most good-tempered and gentlemanly manner in the world. Further than this we can hardly go without revealing a plot, the ignorance of which is more than usually necessary to the proper enjoyment of one of the most humorous plays we have seen in London for a long time.

Of the acting we had naturally expected, and would have been disappointed if we had not received, the best. It may sound too mild, praise to say that we were not disappointed. But considering that most of the actors are the old Abbey Theatre favourites, we can think of no higher tribute than this; the balance was as near perfect as one could desire, and the individual performances of the two great actresses we have mentioned, and of Mr. Sidney Morgan and Mr. Arthur Sinclair as George Geoghegan and John Duffy, were of that kind of humorous naturalness that one remembers with pleasure for years afterwards.

"The Romantic Young Lady" at the Royalty Theatre is also an amusing comedy, very well produced and charmingly acted. It is a translation from the Spanish of Martinez Sierra by Mr. and

Mrs. Granville Barker, who have also "overseen" its production. The play is frankly and delightfully romantic. The people concerned in it have about as much relation to real life as the people in a play by Marivaux. They are in fact romantic in the sense that the eighteenth century French stage was Romantic rather than that in which the Romantics proper were Romantic. They are concerned not with passions but with whims, not with the necessities of life, but with its graces, not with ideas but pleasant fancies.

There was a young girl longing for romance. She saw her brothers go out into the world and envied what she considered their freedom. And one evening after the family had gone to bed, while she was luxuriating in one of the pretty novels of her favourite author, a hat was blown surprisingly into her room and followed almost immediately afterwards by its owner. The owner in good time turns out to be the favourite author, who laughs in private over his novels, and the young girl falls in love with him and he with her, and everything is pretty and rose-coloured and we are glad. Of course there are some other amusing characters as well. There is the mother who has been married three times and knows how to manage men to her own convenience. And there is a charming old servant, outspoken and practical with a fine contempt for silly nonsense. And woven through the play there is the plot of the novelist's new book, for the author had at one time considered an unromantic turning, which shocks the young girl so much that in marrying the author and converting him she can feel an artistic satisfaction also. That, as the vulgarity goes, is about all that there is in it. And it is very good.

The acting was exactly in the right tone, light and easy and pleasantly sentimental. A first-rate artificial comedy is so rare, that a production of this kind is something on which one can congratulate oneself.

"The Right to Strike" at the Lyric Theatre is heavier metal altogether, at times almost leaden. Still in spite of certain crying faults it is interesting.

The difficulty of keeping the subject within bounds is ingeniously attempted by the selection of a Lancashire industrial town, whose only connection with the outside world is a single railway line. The problem here is the right to strike on the part of the Doctors. A strike has been declared in the pits and on the railway, and all supplies to the town are held up. A young doctor takes a lorry to try and get medical supplies that way and is killed in the attempt. Then under the leadership of a young man who is the leading surgeon of the town the doctors declare a strike against the men. There are meetings between the men's leaders, the owners and the doctors, and no progress is made. Then the local leader's wife is taken ill in child-birth, and he appeals for help. The doctors refuse, all except one—the father of the young doctor who has been killed. He has felt everything very deeply, and can no longer go against his convictions that whatever the rights and wrongs of the dispute may be, his duty lies in saving the lives of his fellow-creatures. After that there is a dramatic scene in the leader's cottage where it is announced that only the skill of the leader of the doctors can save the unfortunate woman. The doctor comes at last and consents to undertake the operation.

The problem is an interesting one of course, and to some extent well worked out. A very fair balance is kept between the two sides of the dispute. But here as in all problem plays the old objection stands that the author has been forced to state a given case and to try and typify other cases in doing so; while in reality such typification is impossible. You can prove no case by selecting examples, and in drama you must select examples.

The acting on the whole was on a curiously low level, and the production not of the best. There was a staginess, an unreality, an amateurishness about most of the characters that hardly gave the play an opportunity of showing what merits beyond those of its topical subject it possessed. One actor alone stood out, Mr. Holman Clark as the father. And his instinctive naturalness only served to show up the woodenness of the other actors.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

MARGOT'S FIRST BOOK.

"The Autobiography of Margot Asquith."
(Thornton Butterworth, 25/- nett).

Indiscretion is the better part of autobiography. Mrs. Asquith's book has been heralded by a pleasurable expectation that she would extenuate nothing and set down a great deal in malice. So ran our hope, and it is no doubt a reflection on all of us. But there is no reason why we should not array this attitude of ours in its most becoming dress. Viewed from one side, it is, as Mrs. Asquith would say, "catty"; seen in a more favourable aspect, it is a stern desire for what she calls "unmodelled truth." Whether what Mrs. Asquith has to say about other people is evidence, is a question which had already been somewhat feverishly canvassed before the book appeared; what she says explicitly about herself, certainly is not. Cheek by jowl with the claim to "strict regard to unmodelled truth" we find our authoress accusing herself of reticence. "I shrink then, as I do now, from exposing the secrets and sensations of life. Reticence should guard the soul, and only those who have compassion should be admitted to the shrine." The reticence that should guard the soul does not protect "the Souls." But Mrs. Asquith has neither reticence nor candour. It is probably quite true that she has not revealed her soul, but she has displayed her temperament, and displayed it with a fierce and unholo joy.

No more important book than this has appeared in our times. Reviewers—not all of them compassionate, we fear—will search it for "revelations" and miss the fact that it is a Revelation. It is the authentic voice of the Victorian era, speaking for the study and the judgment of its successors. The problem of Margot is the problem of that era. Let us take the Souls. Their name is a challenge to inquiry. How did they get it? By being unconventional. There was an atmosphere of naughtiness about them. Mrs. Asquith assures us that there was nothing really

naughty, and hopes we will not believe her. The things we did! We were in each other's bedrooms at midnight—but nothing wrong, mind you! We were deeply religious, from which nobody is to infer that we were good. This of the Tennant household. There is something pathetic about a society in which a mixture of temperaments could be dubbed "the Souls." It was the tribute of ordinary people to the fact that they were burying their souls. If something escaped which was normally restrained, it was convicted on circumstantial evidence of being the Soul.

It is the tritest of remarks that there are some personalities that are incommunicable by any artistic medium. Margot Tennant impressed every person of sensibility with whom she came in touch. Lord Morley tells her to be herself, and not to worry about critics. Henry James credits her with "felicity of divination." Gladstone salutes her in bad verse. Jowett thinks she ought to write a book—which is just what Jowett would think. And the reader falls back on the trite observation already given; there are some personalities that are incommunicable by any artistic medium. In saying this, we do not challenge for a moment the judgment of these contemporaries. We think it probable that Henry James, with his "felicity of divination" has got the *not just*. Mrs. Asquith may be questionable as a witness of fact—dates, it appears, are not her strong point—but she is, which is vastly more important, a witness of truth.

Reticent, she is not. Here is an instance which we commend without comment to students of the new psychology.

One day in 1901, my husband and I were staying at Chisworth. There was a huge house party, including Arthur Balfour and Chamberlain. Before going down to dinner, Henry came into my bedroom and told me he had had a telegram to say that Queen Victoria was very ill, and he feared the worst. He added that it was a profound secret, and that I was to tell no one. After dinner, I was asked by the Duchess's granddaughters, Lady Alice and Lady Mary

Acheson, to join them at planchette, so, to please them, I put my hand upon the board. I was listening to what the Duchess was saying, and my mind was a blank. After the girls and I had scratched about for a little time, one of them took the paper off the board and read out aloud: "The Queen is dying."

She added: "What queen can that be?"

We gathered around her, and all looked at the writing, and there I read distinctly out of a lot of hieroglyphics: "The Queen is dying."

Immediately after her claim to shrink from exposing secrets and sensations we are introduced to Mr. Asquith indulging his private grief over a fire at Eton and the wreck of the Titanic. Once, indeed, Margot, sternly claims "private property in thought," and all that is unregenerate in us is disappointed in the withholding of her personal opinion of Mr. Lloyd George. But there are more volumes coming. "Courage mon camarade, le diable n'est pas mort."

Inevitably, being as we have said a Revelation, the book is in parts in deplorably bad taste. Margot's conquering career of "proposals," disappointed suitors whose hair turned grey, blasé statesmen who succumbed between fish and soup at dinner parties, and the rest of it, is banal enough. In one place, the text simply becomes Margot's advice to engaged couples. ("If he is that sort of man, my-dear, you had better have nothing to do with him.") But Margot of the matrimonial advice column is also Margot, whose literary judgment John Addington Symonds valued.

Of the many figures that pass across her stage, one can hardly say that Mrs. Asquith has thrown any new light on any of them. Like she clearly does not like. Unwittingly, she will help to prick the bubble of Jewett's reputation. The chapter devoted to his letters reveals him principally anxious that Margot shall give her mind to better things. ("Oh! teach the orphan boy to read" presumably.) It includes also a *sanguine* judgment on Newman, and the sapient remarks that Arthur Balfour is "too aggressive."

When Margot means to wound, she wounds. The late Lady Londonderry comes badly out of an incident related with real malice. In other instances—as Lord Salisbury's alleged question: Does anybody love Chamberlain?—we feel that

Mrs. Asquith's temperament, the juxtaposition of hyperaesthetic and anaesthetic patches in her mind, is to blame for a remark that had been better omitted. In appreciation, she can be generous, and the tribute to Lord Middleton (who may or may not like to have the world informed that his mother-in-law never understood him) is as well expressed for the most part as it is well deserved.

But the dominant impression that will remain in the mind of any reader in touch with the political and social life of our own day is that he is reading the records of a past age. Mrs. Asquith looks back regretfully to the Souls.

At our house in Grosvenor Square, and later in those of the Souls, everyone met—Randolph Churchill, Gladstone, Asquith, Morley, Chamberlain, Balfour, Rosebery, Salisbury, Hartington, Harcourt, and I might add, jockeys, actors, and the Prince of Wales, and every ambassador in London. We never cut anybody—not even our friends—or thought it amusing or distinguished to make people feel uncomfortable, and our decision not to sacrifice private friendship to public politics was envied in Europe. It made London the most interesting society in the world, and gave men of different tempers and opposite beliefs an opportunity of discussing them without heat and without reporters. There is no individual or group among us powerful enough to succeed in forming a salon of this sort to-day.

What she appears not to realise is that it is not the lack of an individual or a group that makes the impossibility; it is the whole social background. The problems of our age are new ones, tackled in a new spirit by new men. What Mr. Chesterton has called the Victorian compromise made it possible to establish a cheap claim to the possession of a soul by challenging that compromise. How could one be unconventional to-day? You cannot challenge the standards of an age which has no standards. There is nobody left to be shocked, and if we have not yet gained the whole world, we have certainly lost our Souls. Of the insistent industrial problems of the twentieth century, there is no echo in these "mémoires d'outre tombe." There were no Bob Smillies and Bob Williamses. The slums were a mere condiment in Victorian literature, and Margot dutifully goes slumming in a public house. It is an interesting historical record.

An Economic History of Ireland. By D. A. Chart, M.A. (Talbot Press, Dublin 5s, net).

Mr. Chart has put all students of Irish history in debt to him by his earlier and more specialised volumes, and this concise but lucid and fairly written history of Irish economics, although it judiciously disclaims any more ambitious intention, provides an excellent popular text-book to cover an important field of Irish research which has hitherto been neglected. In less than two hundred pages Mr. Chart manages to present a comprehensive view of the principal phases of Irish economic development during the past thousand years, and enables the most casual reader to form a clear idea of the exceptionally simple economic life of an agricultural and almost entirely self-contained island, with a more or less evenly distributed population of little more than four million people.

In a book which succeeds so well in accomplishing the modest but eminently useful purpose which the author has set before himself, the only complaint we have to make is that he could have made it much more valuable by taking a little more trouble. It is extremely annoying to find that Mr. Chart stops short, quite unnecessarily, in all the later and most interesting chapters of his book, at the year before the war, presenting us with pre-war statistics in almost every case. There is no excuse, in a book of so small a compass, published in the present year, for presenting the imports and exports statistics for 1913 as representative of the present state of Irish trade, and for the omission of any statistics whatever to show the phenomenal growth in the deposits at the Irish banks.

But, incomplete as the book is in this important respect, it deals lucidly and in the main accurately with the past. Mr. Chart writes Irish history from the standpoint of an Irish Unionist who finds himself in the same difficulty as Lecky, in that his task as a historian consists in a continual exposure of a destruction that successive English sovereigns and Governments have wrought upon a country that showed an amazing recuperative power in spite of conquest after conquest.

It was the enforced cultivation of the

potato crop (introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1585), combined with an unmitigated insecurity of tenure on the land, which kept the Irish population poverty-ridden for two centuries, and by making them entirely dependent upon one crop for their whole sustenance, left them at the mercy of the potato-blight, which produced universal famine between the years 1845-8 and reduced the population of Ireland from over 8 millions in 1815 to less than 4½ millions at the beginning of this century, whereas the population of Great Britain increased during the same period from 19 to 37 millions.

Within the past fifty years alone has there been any rapid or apparently permanent improvement in Irish economics. Based upon the newly formed security in land tenure, an amazing advance in agriculture, industry, trade and finance has taken place within the life-time of men whose hair is not yet altogether grey. The standard of living in food, clothes, and housing of the mass of the Irish people has improved almost out of recognition, while the old industrial towns of the south and west have entered upon a new era of prosperity, which, although backward and provincial in comparison with the industrial centres of Great Britain, gives ample employment and a reasonable standard of comfort to a people who desire little in the way of material wealth.

Mr. Chart shows also how recent is the growth even of the manufacturing prosperity of Belfast, which eighty years ago was still a small country town. He draws a contrast between the "exotic" industries of North-East Ulster, which depend on imported raw materials for their linen, cotton, and shipbuilding, and the brewing, distilling, bacon and butter industries of the south which obtain their raw materials in Ireland. But the essential character of Irish economics is that of a self-contained country, able to provide comfortably for its own population, and in recent years contributing an ever larger surplus of agricultural and industrial products to an export trade which has hitherto been confined almost exclusively to Great Britain, apart from the Belfast linen industry, which has many connections in other countries.

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Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

Political and Social.

The Revival of Marxism. By Professor Shield Nicholson. (John Murray, 6/- net).

Professor Nicholson has a mind so trenchant and so well-equipped for economic controversy that his opinions must always carry weight, even when, as in this vigorously written monograph, he devotes himself to what is best described as pamphleteering. His incisive criticisms of Capitalism continued in his volume on War Finance showed him to be a candid as well as an effective critic. He declares in this little book that he re-read Karl Marx and his disciples closely in the confident expectation of "finding some ideas that might be of service under present conditions. But the more I read of Marx and his methods the more hopeless and depressing was the effect. Marx is the Mad Mullah of the socialists. Marxism in practice on a national scale becomes Leninism." In his study of Bolshevism he goes direct to the teachings of Lenin himself and his principal associates who are the avowed exponents of revolutionary socialism in Russia. Prof. Nicholson analyses their teaching in detail and with a frank desire to interpret their views fairly. But he fastens mercilessly upon Lenin's own new preface to his book "The State and Revolution," in which he claims that "the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the Labour movement are co-operating in this work of adulterating Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul, and push to the foreground and extol what is, or seems, acceptable to the bourgeoisie. In these circumstances, when the distortion of Marxism is so widespread, our first task is to resuscitate the real nature of Marx's teaching on the subject of the State." Professor Nicholson comments tersely that "what Lenin understands by the real teaching of Marx has been written in blood all over Russia."

Philosophy and Religion.

The A.B.C. of Evolution. By Joseph McCabe. (Watts, 2/- net.)

A new text-book on Evolution was called for. During the past two or three years Science has quickened its pace, and the new discoveries are not yet understood, even in the most general way, by the average man. Take the Einstein Theory, for example. Nobody has yet succeeded in explaining it in popular language. False notions have therefore arisen regarding it, including the idea that it conflicts with the theory of Ether. As a matter of fact, as Mr. McCabe informs us, Einstein's theory does admit Ether, though Ether of a different kind. But Mr. McCabe does not

merely give us a bird's-eye view of the Evolution theory; he also impresses its outlines upon us by an excellent kind of pictorial writing. He is vivid as well as informative. Ordinary people who want to be clear as to the difference between the modern scientific theory of Evolution and Darwinism, Mendelism and the rest cannot do better than study this little manual.

The Science of the Sacraments. By Charles W. Leadbeater. (Kegan, Paul, 15/- net.)

Mr. Leadbeater is Regionary Bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church in Australasia, and this book is largely an exposition of the doctrines and spiritual aims of that church. The "scientific" basis upon which much that would appear to be pure mysticism rests is explained in an appendix; and the celebration of the Eucharist is interpreted as a medium for the construction and emission of a collective thought wave—"a plan for helping on the evolution of the world by the frequent outpouring of floods of spiritual force." The author appears to accept the cardinal principles of Theosophy, more especially Clairvoyance, as an established scientific truth, and it is on the connection between this and the Sacraments that his "plan" rests. The book is highly controversial and very diffuse.

William Henryman Gillespie of Torbanehill. Prepared on behalf of the Trustees of Mrs. Henryman Gillespie of Torbanehill, by James Urquhart, F.S.A. (Scot.) (T. and T. Clark, 5/-).

Students of metaphysical theism will be well acquainted with the name and work of W. H. Gillespie, the Scottish author of "The Argument, a priori, for the being and the attributes of the Lord God, the Absolute One, and First Cause." In the present volume that long and to some extent difficult Argument has been abridged into a moderate length, and elucidated carefully for the general public; and some account is given of Gillespie's career (he died in 1875) and his important literary labours. Gillespie was extraordinarily well equipped for meeting the scientists and atheistic philosophers on their own ground and with their own weapons. "He started his Argument from the propositions acknowledged alike by atheists and theists, that there is infinity of extension and infinity of duration, and throughout maintained that the ideas of the being and attributes of God are deductions from these two necessary existences. . . . Thus the foundation of his great Argument was truly laid." In the present fluid state of religion, the man and the Argument were well worth recalling to seekers after truth,

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Fiction.

The Summoners. By A. E. W. Mason (Hodder and Stoughton, 8/6 net.)

Mr. Mason, as we suppose a fair percentage of Englishmen know, is a novelist from whom one has every right to expect a novel on the same level as his last. The compliment is an ambiguous one—it can be phrased in another way by saying that if one likes the sort of novels that Mr. Mason writes one is invariably sure to like his latest. In the present case the book is called "The Summoners." It is a book about the great war. There is a certain amount of anti-spy work in Spain; there is a modern young heroine who is up-to-date in this at least that she is childishly highbrow, an expert dancer, and addicted to playing with the fire of a scandalous situation while retaining, in some mysterious way known only to novelists, her youthful charm of extreme and harmless innocence. But these, of course, are trimmings. The Masonite is interested in something else. For him we have a young officer hesitating between the calls of love and duty and choosing, as we know he must, the nobler and the sterner call. For him also exists the regiment which goes out to the war to redeem its lost reputation in 1914, and redeems it gloriously on the Somme some two years later. Mr. Mason, while remaining the same, has brought himself up-to-date with considerable skill. Those who like him, we repeat, will do so again on reading "The Summoners."

Inishenny. By George A. Birmingham (Methuen, 8/6 net).

George Birmingham has sometimes disappointed, and the measure of our disappointment is a flattering measure of what we expect from him. This time he has succeeded to the full. And the extraordinary part of it is that he has succeeded at a time when success in his own brand of humour would appear on the face of it to be about the most difficult thing in the world. He has drawn Ireland as a subject for laughter once again, and he still pulls it off at a time when Ireland is more obviously than ever the most overwhelming tragedy in our history. And he has done all this without the least lapse of taste in the best good-humour imaginable. The secret, we suppose, is that Mr. George Birmingham is entirely free from that moral unpleasantness and literary crime which, as Mr. St. John'sbury loves to remind us, is called "bad bloodedness." "Inishenny" is a really delightful book, and no one Ulsterman or Sinn Féiner, unless he is himself "bad blooded," will object to being laughed at in it. The final imbroglio, where the police inspector, the parson, and the village poucher find themselves breaking the laws of England, which the Sinn Féiners are trying to maintain, is one of the happiest situations which even George Birmingham has invented.

They Went. By Norman Douglas (Chapman and Hall, 7/6 net).

Beauty and goodness are the same, say some.

Mr. Norman Douglas has probably written this book to say that they are not, that beauty is just beauty. But he has written a most delightful story in prose that it is a pleasure to read, and what he means by it exactly does not very greatly matter. He has a king who had been a warrior and now drinks too much, a Queen who has been unfaithful and is now sentimental and a lover of peace, and a Princess who loves beauty. The latter's chief interest lay in beautifying her father's capital, a seaport; but between whiles she allowed herself lovers for her sport; only, poor fellows, after serving their purpose, like the lovers of another famous lady, "they went." But the beauty of the city was her main concern. Craftsmen from all over the civilised world she sought to help her, only to find herself continually unsatisfied until a mysterious Greek stranger lent his aid. He perhaps is supposed to be the devil, but a gentleman and an artist first of all. Then there are an old Druidess and a Christian Missionary, the former a philosopher and a very shrewd woman, the latter a pathetic victim of the Princess. And there is of course a plot of a kind. But the delight of the book lies partly in the pictures of concrete beauty it contains partly in its gentle and rather sensuous irony partly in some really humorous situations, and chiefly perhaps in the fact that it has a philosophic background. And as we have said, the book is beautifully written. If it were translated into French we believe it could be passed as an unknown work of M. Anatole France in quite good company.

Science.

"A New Activity?" By Frank A. Hotblaw. With a Preface by Alfred W. Oke (Jarrold 10/6 net).

The "New Activity" is the radio-active substance discovered by Mrs. M. Dickinson in 1911. It is not radium, although it apparently possesses many of the properties of that substance; as it holds out, according to the results detailed in this volume, encouraging prospects of a commercial and medical future. The story of how Mrs. Dickinson made the discovery while engaged a search for a perfect antiseptic compounded various odds does not lack romantic interest. One may note with satisfaction that she pursued her researches in the direction of a cure for cancer by means of the new rays—a line of great importance now that radium has definitely failed as a cure for that scourge. The author devotes a chapter to radium itself which is useful for purposes of comparison with the "New Activity" to readers unacquainted with either.

Education.

Educational Experiments in England. By Ali Woods (Methuen, 7/6 net).

This volume gives a very clear account of the educational darkness that existed in this country prior to 1870, and of the experiments, based on the theories of Froebel, Mme. Montessori, Frey

of Youth out knew!

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British and Colonial Postage Stamps. By Douglas B. Armstrong. (Methuen, 7/6 net.)

This book should stimulate the philatelist in the pursuit of his hobby. It embodies a comprehensive survey of British and Colonial postage stamps from 1840 to date, and contains much curious and interesting information. The designs of stamps are a study in themselves, and the origin and significance of these are traced very carefully in Mr. Armstrong's volume, which is as free from technicalities as one could desire. The outline history of a country may often be read in its stamps; and this fact adds a zest to the labours of the plodding philatelist as he arranges his scraps of gummed paper in their album. Here the Colonies are dealt with one by one, and a straightforward history of the stamps of each is given, not omitting such romantic incidents as have at times attended the birth of a particular issue. Mr. Armstrong, as editor of the "Stamps Collectors' Monthly Circular," writes with full authority.

The Bairnsfather Case. Defence by Bruce Bairnsfather. Prosecution by W. A. Mutch. (Putnam's, 7/6 net.)

Captain Bruce Bairnsfather, as everybody knows, was the humorous artist who "made the Empire laugh" during the gloomy days of the war, and has since risen to fame and fortune as author, playwright and what not. This volume, in spite of a somewhat over-elaborate design that results in a good deal of overlapping of the parts of "Defender" and "Prosecutor," gives a more or less coherent account of how he did it. It is interesting to note that Captain Bairnsfather was once an electrical mechanic; and that several years of struggle, failure, and poverty were his before he discovered "The Better 'Ole" for himself in life. The record is light-hearted and jerky, but one senses the tragedy of early ambitions and long-deferred realisation of hopes in the camouflage. It is bound to have many appreciative readers.

Spiritualism.

God's Smile. By Julius Magnussen. (Appleton, 7/6 net.)

The translation of a book written by a Danish playwright and revealing a remarkable psychic experience. The author tells how he was converted against his will from scepticism, and how, through automatic writing, he was brought into close communication with his dead father's spirit. A merciless analysis of his own character, education and temperament at the summit of his worldly success as an author provides an effective foil for the moving and dramatic "message" that follows. One gathers that the revelation caused a complete break-away from his previous literary

career; that under the father's influence he developed amazing powers as a musical executant. The letters he penned under the same influence show power of expression and beauty of thought—whether, as the publishers proclaim, the book "rings true on every page," or doesn't.

New Editions.

Industrial Democracy. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. New Edition. (Longmans, 21/- net.)

This monumental piece of research work was originally published more than twenty years ago, some years after Mr. and Mrs. Webb completed their "History of Trade Unionism." In a specially written preface to this new edition of a volume which has long been recognised as an indispensable text book for all who desire to study the internal organisation of trade unionism at first-hand, the authors explain that they "have made no alteration in the text itself, which must stand as an analytic description of British Trade Unionism as it was in the last decade of the nineteenth century." They point out that "although the details of social organisation are constantly changing, the problems presented to the student remain for long periods essentially the same. It is more instructive to study these problems at a particular phase than to blur the picture by any vain attempt to bring its thousand items down to date." Consequently, they have left their work as it was written, to serve as an elaborate commentary on their own revised and enlarged History of the trade union movement. In their brief preface they note the most important recent phases of internal development in the theories and the practice of trade unionism, but conclude with what amounts to an emphatic repudiation of the crude Syndicalist doctrine which talks of merely replacing the Capitalist by the Trade Union in the control of industry. "What will be called for," they argue, "in order to secure for the whole community the maximum of effective individual Freedom, will be a more elaborate organisation in which, not the producers only, but also the consumers, together with the community as a whole (which has its future to safeguard) will all have a place."

Words in Pain. Letters by a Woman in the Thirties who is definitely aware that she is approaching Death. Second Edition (Swarthmore Press, 6/6 net.)

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[DECEMBER, 1920]

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

LONDON, December 6th, 1920.

Signs of Industrial Peace.

There are signs that, after the prolonged agitation and unrest which has kept the mining industry dislocated and demoralised, a new feeling of peace has arisen. The Board of Trade's weekly returns of coal output since the settlement of the strike, show an improvement that exceeds the most sanguine expectations of most observers. For the week ending on November 20th, the output of coal increased from 4,775,000 tons to 5,210,000 tons which is much the highest figure reached during the past year. The best previous record in 1920 was in the week ending April 24th, when the output totalled 4,990,000 tons. It is, of course, impossible to base any forecast of the average output in future upon the result of one week, in which the miners would naturally work harder to make up by increased earnings for their loss of income during the strike. Nevertheless, the return is most promising. It can reasonably be interpreted as an indication that the miners intend to make the utmost use of the agreement which concluded the recent strike, under which they receive increases of wages proportionate to the additional output. If the present figures can be maintained, they will receive in January a further 1s. 6d. per day in addition to the two shillings advance which was granted temporarily in the hope that the miners would justify it by increasing output. Nor is there any reason why the present rate of output

should not be even increased. In 1913, the annual production of coal was 287 million tons. This latest weekly return is still only at the rate of 260 million tons a year. During the interval, the miners' working day has been reduced to seven hours, but there are at present 100,000 more persons employed in mines than there were before the war. We hope sincerely that the figures show that the miners really intend to co-operate with the coal-owners in increasing production. They wisely refused, before accepting the agreement which concluded the strike, to commit themselves to the principle of a sliding scale of wages until the mine-owners gave guarantees that they would do all in their power to improve the mechanical side of production. The demand for nationalisation, which made it impossible for the Miners' Federation to co-operate with the employers in any whole-hearted way, has fortunately died down.

If this new spirit of co-operation between Unemployment Labour and Capital in the mines is really going to become active, we may reasonably hope for such an increase in the production of coal as will benefit every industry. For coal is one of the most important factors in all industry, and the coal strike has done incalculable harm to the recovery of trade and industry which was making good progress, but had reached a critical stage owing to the world-wide falling off in consumption. The effects of this set-

back are shown with terrible clearness in the statistics issued by the Ministry of Labour, which show a really alarming increase in the number of ex-Service men unemployed in November. At the beginning of this year, there were 388,000 ex-Service men unemployed, and this total showed a thoroughly satisfactory and continuous decline until it fell to 139,000 in August. There was a very slight increase in the number in September, and by October, it had risen to 162,000. Then came the coal strike, and in November, there are 217,000 ex-Service men unemployed. Unemployment was already growing with a disconcerting progress before the coal strike took place, and that progress has now been dangerously accentuated. Processions of unemployed workers have begun to parade most of the important towns, and a significant development at the beginning of this month was the seizure of public buildings by bodies of unemployed workers. The Government has been considering the situation anxiously, and a Cabinet committee has reported in favour of certain proposals for providing work on a large scale. Its two principal recommendations are that the building trade should be reinforced by the addition of unskilled labour, and that the local authorities in the chief cities should undertake extensive schemes of road construction and repair. The Trade Unions of the building trades have hitherto refused to entertain the Government's proposals for diluting their membership, even for a stated period, for they are genuinely afraid that when the present shortage of houses has been made good, they may themselves be faced with a serious problem of unemployment if they are now inundated with unskilled labour from outside.

Construction of Main Roads.

Various proposals for road construction on a great scale have recently been put forward. The most characteristic scheme had its origin in a deputation of unemployed to Downing Street who were received by the Prime Minister in rather sensational circumstances. While the deputation was being received, the crowd in Whitehall got out of hand, and a fierce riot took

place. Mr. Lloyd George realised the necessity of making an immediate offer of a practical kind, and after a telephone message had been sent to the London County Council, he sent the deputation on to be received there. He himself promised that a large scheme of opening up new districts east of London by laying down main roads would be put in hand at once, the Government lending half the money required. It became evident soon afterwards that the Government had simply adopted one of the numerous schemes that have been thought out by the Ministry of Transport, which appears to provide the Government with plans of colossal undertakings in every direction regardless of expense. The London County Council was justifiably indignant at being asked in this peremptory way to assume financial responsibility for a scheme of which it had not heard before. It decided to comply with the Government's request, but very soon found that it had not the necessary Parliamentary powers to acquire land on which the roads were to be made. Here also, the Government immediately promised to make whatever legislative enactments might be needed.

The Severn Barrage.

A much more promising, but still more expensive scheme originating from the Ministry of Transport was recently confided to the public. It consists in the construction of immense concrete dams across the River Severn, with the object of harnessing the tidal waters to generate electricity for industrial production. Probably no more fascinating proposals have ever been laid before any country. They are all the more tantalising because in ordinary circumstances the Government would be justified in embarking upon them almost regardless of expense within reasonable limits. The plans have been drawn up by some of the most eminent engineers in the country who are employed by the Transport Ministry, and there would seem to be no reason why the undertaking should not be completely feasible. It is pointed out that the River Severn, by its geological formation, affords unique opportunities for supplying water power to produce electricity. Although it is a wide river,

the tide rises in it to a height between thirty and forty feet. At low tide, the greater part of the river is either uncovered or very shallow, while a deep channel runs down the centre of its stream. It would be impossible to find a more suitable formation for constructing dams to contain the tidal waters after they have risen. Within the dams immense turbines would be constructed through which the escaping waters would generate a power which is estimated to be treble the power that is at present drawn from the Niagara Falls. It is calculated that these turbines operated simply by water power would generate electricity to the extent of a million horsepower a day. Such an immense addition to the industrial power of the country would not only stimulate a rapid industrial development throughout South Wales and the neighbouring districts on all sides as far as Birmingham, and perhaps even to London, but would also release at least four million tons of coal each year for export. The plans suggested would also provide for a great viaduct to carry double railway lines, and a roadway, thereby saving fifty miles of the present journey by road from Bristol to Newport, and quadrupling the present inadequate railway communications with South Wales, which must all pass through the bottleneck of the Severn Tunnel. Yet another immense field of development connected with the scheme is the provision of deep water docks behind the dams across the Severn. The main channel could easily be deepened sufficiently to admit the largest ocean-going liner right up the river, and an area of some twenty-eight square miles could be available for docks and shipping behind the barrage.

Borrowing to Pay Taxes. Unfortunately, such proposals cannot be carried into effect without borrowing on a large scale, and business men throughout the country have set their faces resolutely against all proposals by the Government which involve further borrowing. The business community is becoming genuinely alarmed at the financial situation. Recent returns show that the expenditure anticipated by Mr. Chamberlain in his

Budget has already been seriously exceeded, by supplementary estimates amounting to nearly £28,000,000, while the revenue expected from taxation has shown a very serious falling off in respect of several taxes. The Excess Profits Tax in particular will show a yield far less than what had been expected, since many firms which at the time when the Budget was framed were earning very large profits, are now confronted with a heavy loss from week to week. Several conferences of leading industrial men have been held within the past few weeks. The Federation of British industry and the Association of Chambers of Commerce have both met, and represented very strongly to the Government that the present rate of expenditure must be cut down ruthlessly. The Budget provided for an expenditure of nearly £1,300 millions, and that figure has already been exceeded. Business men are now declaring vehemently that expenditure must be cut down, no matter by what means, to £900 millions. That is the figure taken by Mr. Reginald McKenna, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, and now chairman of the Joint City and Midland Bank who delivered a few weeks ago one of the most illuminating criticisms of public finance that has been heard since the war. Speaking from a unique experience, both as a former Chancellor and as the head of one of the greatest banks of the world, he declared that the limits of taxation had been so far exceeded that many business firms already find it impossible to pay their taxes, and are obliged to borrow from the bank to meet the demands of the tax collector. The result, as Mr. McKenna insists is precisely the same as though the Government borrowed direct from the banks itself instead of forcing private traders to do so. Such a situation obviously cannot continue. Business men are not only unable to save any part of their profits for the maintenance and improvement of their business; they are even mortgaging their assets to pay the ordinary demands of the Treasury. It is quite obvious that a further increase in taxation would defeat its own objects and drive many businesses into bankruptcy. The only way to make ends meet is, therefore, to cut down expenditure.

Where to Economise?

The urgent question is, where economies in expenditure can be made. It is not a matter of saving even a few millions here and there, but of cutting down expenditure involving scores of millions. There must, of course, be a drastic overhauling of the bureaucracy, but that is a comparatively insignificant item. The main heads of expenditure must be carefully examined. Out of roughly 1,200 millions of estimated expenditure, 500 millions fall under the Civil Service estimates, 350 millions are required for paying the interest on the National debt, and 230 millions were allotted to the Army, Navy and Air Force. This last estimate has been considerably exceeded, and the total under this head is still uncertain. Fifty millions more are accounted for by the Post Office estimates, which are balanced by Post Office receipts on the other side of the account, and the balance of expenditure consists of minor miscellaneous items. If retrenchment is to be effected on a large scale, it must evidently come from a reduction in the cost of the military and naval services, and from overhauling the Civil Service Estimates. They include a total of over 100 million for Pensions, which obviously cannot be reduced, and all the vast expenditure upon education and local government as well as other public services. No one has yet formulated any programme by which this enormous burden of expenditure can be cut down to anything like 900 millions. Business men have generally concentrated upon the necessity of abolishing subsidies of every kind, and this is the form of economy which alone appears to have commended itself to the Government. Lord Rothermere has been almost alone in advocating a ruthless reduction of expenditure upon education, and his persistent pleading for retrenchment in this direction has undoubtedly won considerable support. There is a growing possibility that the Government will see its way to postpone indefinitely the operation of the recent Education Act, which is likely to cost something in the neighbourhood of 100 millions. But here, also, any attempt at retrenchment will meet with fierce opposition from the Trade Unions.

Squandermania.

In Parliament, the Labour Party has been more ready than any other Parliamentary group to vote in favour of extravagant experiments organised by the new ministries. It has consistently supported all the unbridled proposals involving fresh expenditure which have been initiated by Dr. Addison as Minister of Health. It has been no less eager to support Sir Eric Geddes in the series of immensely expensive proposals that have emanated from the megalomania of the Transport Ministry. No ministry has been so reckless in wasting public money upon devising fanciful schemes, and giving them publicity, while it can be doubted whether it has yet performed any function whatever that could not have been adequately fulfilled by the Board of Trade. Even the scheme of generating electricity from the River Severn originated not in the Ministry of Transport, but in a private memorandum from one of the engineers employed by the Great Western Railway, who forwarded his proposals to the committee appointed by the railway directors to consider schemes put forward by its employees. Dr. Addison has been no less incorrigible than Sir Eric Geddes in multiplying the activities of his Ministry and extending bureaucratic control and increasing the number of persons drawing large public salaries. Within the past month, he has appointed no less than thirty doctors at a salary of £1,000 a year each to supervise the medical service in each district which he has allotted to them. And the most disquieting feature of this insane riot of extravagance with public money is the determination of the Government to support any such proposals, no matter how reckless, that may be proposed by any minister. Not only does the Government support and attempt to justify every sort of fad that its ministers ask it to endorse, but it whips up an unflinching majority of its supporters to vote against any opposition to the proposals. Fortunately there are signs that the personal interests of the majority of Coalitionists in the present Parliament are forcing them to revolt against this continued extravagance. The closing stages of this session will be dominated by the

agitation to reduce expenditure, and there is no doubt that next year the Government will have to devote its attention seriously to putting its finances upon a sound basis.

At the outset, it is **The Naval Programme.** question of our naval strength in relation to that of other powers. Elsewhere in this number we publish an analysis by Mr. Archibald Hurd of the relative naval strength of America, Japan, and ourselves. No other country counts any longer as a first rate naval power. During the war, the Japanese and the American Governments have made such strides in naval construction that they have already far outdistanced all other powers. Without any further building of battleships, and only by completing those which are actually laid down, the United States will, within three years have completely surpassed the strength of our own fleet, both in total tonnage and in the number of first class ships, while Japan, which is building yet more new battleships, will, by that time possess a fleet almost equal to our own in strength, and distinctly better equipped from the point of view of fighting efficiency. We are faced with the loss of British supremacy upon the seas, and in view of the immeasurably superior resources of the United States, it is useless for us to enter into any competition in naval construction with them. But while there is no question of competing with America in naval armaments, we are undoubtedly obliged to consider the whole question of maintaining our position on the seas. Without attributing any aggressive intentions to either Japan or America, we cannot afford to allow our own fleet to become obsolete while theirs become yearly more and more efficient. And it is literally true that our fleet is becoming obsolete. We possess no single battleship that embodies all the improvements in construction and in armament, which were proved by the Battle of Jutland to be essential for modern naval warfare. We have already allowed the American and Japanese fleets to get far ahead of us in modern construction. Their 1st class ships are faster, better

protected, and more powerfully armed than are our own. If we are to have battleships at all, we must see that they are fully equipped for battle, and in comparison with the battleships of America or Japan, ours are at a disadvantage which we cannot allow to continue.

Japan's Naval Policy.

It is an intensely serious question. The cost of a single battleship in these days is 8 million pounds. Japan is prepared to lay down ships at this price, and to increase her naval expenditure if necessary. If we do not do the same, we cannot expect to hold our own against Japan upon the seas. And there is no doubt as to why Japan is building these battleships. America is so vast a country that her people have never been troubled, and are never likely to be troubled with the problems of racial expansion. Japan, on the other hand, holds a position very similar to our own. Her natural resources are limited by the comparatively small extent of the Islands themselves. Her people have multiplied in recent years at a rate comparable to the increase of our own population, and their industrial progress leads them to seek new outlets overseas. The Japanese Government has already used its military and naval strength to annex territory near to it in the Korea. But its natural ambitions find a more promising outlet in the undeveloped provinces of Australia, and the refusal of the Australian Commonwealth to permit any Japanese emigration into Australia is regarded, not unnaturally, as a challenge which the Japanese are not prepared to let pass. No inference could be more obvious than that the Japanese are building a navy designed to challenge our own, with the express object of enforcing their demand for admission to Australia as colonists on equal terms with other races. Sooner or later, that challenge will have to be met and settled, either by peaceful means or by war. But it is not only against our own supremacy that the Japanese are creating a first class navy. The conflict of vested interests between America and Japan is even more acute than that between the Japanese and the Australian Commonwealth. Americans have watched with alarm the growth of

Japanese supremacy in the shipping trade along the Pacific coast of the United States, and they are determined to prevent that ascendancy from obtaining the sanction of supreme naval strength. The result of this deep seated rivalry between Japan and America and ourselves is, therefore, the institution of a new competition in naval construction. We have to decide, in face of the challenge from the Japanese, who are undoubtedly setting the pace in this competition, whether we are to maintain our own position or shelter behind the navy of the United States. There never was a clearer issue for the intervention of an international tribunal which would call a halt to this mad race in profitless expenditure, and enforce a cessation of naval construction.

**Battleships or
Submarines?**

We cannot here argue the relative advantages or defects of battleships or submarines. There is an influential school of naval critics, of whom Sir Percy Scott is the chief exponent, who hold that expenditure on battleships is money thrown away. They argue that the sole object of battleships is to convey a certain amount of high explosive from our fleet to the enemy's defences, and they point out that the modern battleship carries relatively little ammunition, moves slowly, and is enormously expensive in fuel and in labour. Sir Percy Scott records his own opinion—which at least deserves respect since he is himself one of the creators of modern battleships, and might reasonably be excused for attempting to justify their existence—that first class ships are about to become obsolete in view of the rapid development of submarine and aerial warfare. That theory is not borne out by the experience of the war, but as both submarine construction and the air services began to develop comparatively late in the war, it would be extremely rash to assume that their powers of destruction in a future war would not be vastly greater than anything we have known. If it could be proved that battleships are in fact obsolete—as various critics tried to prove before the last war—the problem of naval construction would, of course, be less formidable from a

financial point of view. But whether the future of naval construction is to lie with battleships or with submarines, we have to accept the fact that Japan is willing to pay almost any price in order to gain a position strong enough to confront us as an equal on the seas. The technical questions of naval construction are comparatively irrelevant. It is universally admitted that we are already spending far in excess of taxation which is itself excessive, although we are not spending anything at all upon building new battleships. Yet we must secure our position on the seas. We cannot afford to enter upon a competition in naval construction with Japan, nor can we merely screen ourselves behind the naval supremacy of America. If we are to maintain our position in world politics, we must arrive at some working agreement with America which will put an end to the necessity for naval armaments, just as we must negotiate an agreement with France which will secure Europe from a similar competition in military armaments.

**The Cost of
Armaments.**

Mr. Reginald McKenna summarised the situation completely in urging that the governments of Europe must, in their own interests, arrive at some sort of understanding which will reduce the vast expenditure upon warlike preparations which is not only crippling the economic recovery of the Continent, but is actually killing industry in every country. In Mr. Chamberlain's own Budget, the expenditure on the Army, Navy and Air Force amounts to practically 20 per cent. of the total. Almost every country in Europe is spending that proportion of its income upon what is known as national defence. In our own case, there is room for immediate retrenchment in our military policy, both in Mesopotamia and in Ireland. In both countries we are still squandering our resources upon a military occupation which not only is unjustifiable and could easily be replaced by conciliatory measures of political settlement, but is actually destroying property and human life on a scale which, before the war, would have surpassed the bloodstained record of Abdul Hamid. It is to pursue this policy

of military repression, employed to enforce political coercion, that industry is being throttled in this country, and that business men find themselves compelled to borrow from the banks to meet the taxes imposed by the Government. Moreover, so long as we allow the Government to pursue its barbarous methods of coercion, we make it impossible for our friends in the United States or on the Continent to obtain popular support for a real alliance with the British Government. Our interests on the Continent are fortunately so closely parallel to those of France that a formal alliance is not urgently needed. But no one can deny the truth of the plea made by Lord Derby on his return from Paris after relinquishing the ambassadorship in favour of Lord Hardinge. Lord Derby pleads strongly for a definite alliance with France, and announces his intention of working for it through thick and thin. He points out with justice that if we had had a formal alliance with France in 1914, it would have prevented the war, and declares his own belief that such an alliance would now constitute the most effective guarantee against another world war. While France has learned in the school of adversity the necessity for a close co-operation with her neighbours to avert the probability of war, the United States are less ready to identify themselves with the policy of any other Government. We cannot regard Senator Harding's election to the American Presidency otherwise than as a rebuff to the policy of a close entente with the British Government. It is at least encouraging that Senator Harding is making it clear that the Republican Party intends to press for the creation of some form of international organisation with a view to preventing future wars. He has, however, expressly described the League of Nations as founded at Versailles, as being deceased. Whatever new association of the peoples is to take its place has still to be formed.

Anarchy in Ireland.

In the meantime it is for us to facilitate and not to impede the entry of America into some such international partnership. If one part of our policy more than any other

stands in the way of such an achievement, it is our present administration of Ireland. The régime of Sir Hamar Greenwood has done more to destroy the moral prestige of this country in the eyes of the world than any blunder that has been committed by our government for generations past. It is all the more unfortunate that the Government's administration in Ireland has become far more callous of its effects, both in Ireland and upon opinion abroad, since the Presidential elections in America were held. The situation which has arisen in Ireland during the past month is simply indescribable. Anarchy has been let loose all over the country, and while armed and masked men are able to go from place to place with impunity, the number of murders and outrages on both sides has increased in number at an appalling rate. Sir Hamar Greenwood talks eloquently about the outrages of the murder gang, without knowing who are its members, nor whether their number is increasing or decreasing. While he asserts defiantly in the House of Commons that the situation in Ireland is steadily improving, the number of attacks upon the armed forces of the Crown increases from week to week. The most horrible murders that have yet been committed against the military took place in Dublin on the morning of Sunday, November 21st. Simultaneous raids were made upon the houses of many officers who were living out of barracks in Dublin and their rooms were forcibly entered, while many of them were still in bed, and they were murdered with the utmost brutality, in some cases in the presence of their wives. Twelve officers and two cadets, or ex-officers, belonging to the Auxiliary police, were murdered in this way, while a number of others barely escaped a similar fate. A wave of fierce resentment against these assassinations has swept through this country, and they have produced a somewhat similar effect in Ireland also. Cardinal Logue, in his advent pastoral, denounced the murders vehemently, and appealed to all classes of Irishmen to try and co-operate to bring the murder campaign to an end and to restore political peace. Similar pronouncements have been made by most of the leading members of the Irish Hierarchy, and moderate opinion

throughout the country has been profoundly shocked.

Why the Murder Gang Flourishes.

We are convinced that the great mass of opinion in Ireland is as anxious to break up the murder gang and to defeat its activities as the Government itself could possibly be. The murders have not only destroyed all sense of security of property and established a reign of terror throughout the country, but have provoked reprisals on such a scale that whole towns have been destroyed, houses are habitually fired into, and thousands of families are compelled to escape from their homes into the mountains for fear of being attacked in the night. People in Ireland already realise that until the gunmen are brought under control, the terror of the Black and Tans will continue indefinitely. They realise also, what the Government refuses to admit, that the Black and Tan policy which it is now pursuing will never rid the country of the gunmen. It is essential to visualise the conditions that now prevail in Ireland. The Royal Irish Constabulary, which used to be a highly trained and magnificently disciplined force, with an intimate knowledge of the people among whom they lived, has now been literally swamped with recruits from the unemployed in England, who are sent armed among a people whom they are taught by the official police organ issued from Dublin Castle to regard as a hostile population. They have no means of learning anything at first hand of the people among whom they are sent. Everyone flees from them in terror, and they have no way of knowing who are the ordinary residents in any particular district. The gunmen can come and go disguised from place to place without their being able to identify them. The Government can only rid the country of them, by doing all in its power to enlist the sympathy of the population on the side of its police. Actually it has arrested so many people on groundless charges and has made the liberty of every Irishman so insecure, that if a stranger arrives in a different district as a fugitive, the people are naturally inclined to shelter him. They have now learned that to shelter fugitives is to pro-

voke the wrath of the Black and Tans, and the fugitives are consequently compelled to keep to the open country. But even if they do not receive shelter or protection, they can at least be sure that in any district the population would regard it as an act of unpardonable disgrace to hand over any stranger or to give information against him, to the armed and hostile police who have been burning down their villages and breaking into and looting their homes.

Withdraw the Black and Tans.

Until the Government revises its whole policy towards the popular movement in Ireland, the murder gang will flourish more than ever. The Black and Tans have wrought incalculable damage and destruction throughout the country, while they have done nothing whatever to rid it of the secret societies which always thrive in a state of anarchy. There can be no hope of a settlement until they are withdrawn. But the Government, instead of withdrawing them, increases their number from day to day by fresh recruits. We do not say that they are not brave men for the most part nor that they are not conscientious in discharging the duties entrusted to them by the Government. But what are those duties? They are precisely the same as the duties of the German army of occupation in Belgium during the war. They represent to the Irish people the policy of military coercion applied with the most thorough frightfulness. They are in the country for the express purpose of frustrating the ordinary political activities of the popularly elected Irish representatives, and the methods which they are ordered to employ consist in raiding private houses, arresting any man, woman, or child on the merest suspicion of hostility towards the Government which employs them, in silencing the Press, and generally in trying to cow the people into abandoning their political aspirations. It is useless, in such conditions to discuss the relative value of any political proposals. People cannot discuss politics calmly when they live in daily terror of being shot by indiscriminate firing, or of having their houses burned down. The Government's policy has

merely succeeded in making any settlement impossible. It has now resulted in a situation which threatens to paralyse the entire economic life of the country.

Irish Transport Paralysed.

More than six months ago, the Irish railwaymen decided to refuse to handle munitions or to transport armed troops or members of the Constabulary. The Government persisted for a time in attempting to use the railways for its military purposes, and it compelled the railway directors to dismiss one man after another for refusing to drive the trains. Then it gave up the attempt and perfected a complete system of motor transport which enabled it to dispense with the railways altogether. Within the past month there has been a return to the attempt to use the railways, which was evidently inspired by Sir Eric Geddes on his visit to Dublin at the end of October. After his departure, the Government deliberately set itself to produce a crisis. Munitions were dispatched to stations in different parts of the country, and day after day fresh cases of dismissals were reported as the railwaymen persisted in their refusal to assist the Government. Several of the main railway lines announced that they would be obliged to close down altogether within a few weeks, as so many of their drivers and guards had been dismissed. A special conference of the Irish Labour organisations was called to consider the situation, and decided to support the railwaymen to the utmost in their protest against the military coercion of the country. The attitude of Labour had hardened as a direct result of the reprisals, which had been unknown when the railwaymen first decided against assisting in the transport of munitions, and at the Labour Conference, one delegate summed up the situation by saying that they would sooner walk barefoot and carry their food on their backs than give way to the Government. In despair at the prospect of all the Irish railways closing down, the Irish mayors and chairmen of representative bodies held a mass meeting to discover some other means of providing for transport. The Government, evidently determined to bring on a crisis from which it might hope for a swift and

decisive success, replied to the plans of the Conference for organising an emergency road transport scheme, by issuing an order prohibiting, after December 1st, the use of any motor vehicle at a distance of more than twenty miles from the owner's residence, or between the hours of 8 p.m. or 6 a.m. That order is now in force, the main lines connecting Dublin with Galway and the whole of Connaught, and Limerick with Waterford and Tralee, have already been closed down, and it is only a matter of weeks before the other main lines must close down also. Ireland is, therefore, faced as a direct result of the Government's present policy, with the complete economic disorganisation that would be caused in this country by a general strike of the Triple Alliance.

The Movement for a Truce.

Public resentment against the policy of reprisals has been growing rapidly in volume, and while Mr. Asquith and Lord Henry Bentinck have given a lead to the popular protest in this country, the Labour Party have appointed a deputation to go to Ireland with Mr. Arthur Henderson as chairman to investigate the proof about reprisals at first hand. Moderate men in Ireland have turned in despair to the Labour Party as messengers of hope. Mr. Henderson very wisely announced that he and his colleagues would lose no opportunity of acting as negotiators with the Government. The Labour mission has, in fact, produced startling results. It coincides with a determined attempt by the Irish Catholic Hierarchy to bring about "A Truce of God" and to organise public opinion in resistance to the murders of policemen and soldiers. The initiative in this very welcome campaign was taken by the Archbishop of Tuam, who declared in an interview with the London Catholic journal "The Universe" that he was convinced that a truce could soon be established on condition that the Government made a more generous offer which would enable the leaders of Sinn Féin to appeal to the electorate. His pronouncement was soon followed by similar statements by the Bishop of Cork. Cardinal Logue seized the opportunity offered by his Lenten Pastoral to issue a vehe-

ment denunciation of the assassination of officers in Dublin, and to appeal for an immediate truce. Dr. Harty, the Archbishop of Cashel, who is generally regarded as a political extremist, announced a week later that a continuance of violence must plunge Ireland in ruin, and called for a peace with justice and with honour. At no time since before the war has there been so strong and overwhelming a demand for a peaceful settlement. It remains to be seen whether the Government will face the hostility of its supporters among the Ulster Unionists who have persistently prevented any settlement on the broad lines of real self-government. There is no doubt that if the present negotiations between the Labour Party and the Irish Hierarchy are encouraged, they will produce a settlement.

The Gunmen will do their worst.

On the Government's side, the first guarantees of good faith must consist in a withdrawal of the Black and Tans and an immediate cessation of recruiting for them. We do not minimise the difficulty of restoring order so long as the murder gang remain at large in the country. They can only be defeated by the organised force of Irish public opinion. We fully expect that they will do everything possible to discredit any settlement which the uncompromising extremists would not endorse. They will almost certainly redouble their outrages. For a time their terror will remain, but it will be at least a lesser terror than the combined intimidation by the gunmen and the Black and Tans which is now in force indiscriminately throughout Ireland. The Government must face the situation with courage. It already has the actual promise of the fullest assistance of the Irish Hierarchy on condition that it makes a genuine attempt to enlist the sympathy of moderate opinion. If it gives effect and scope to that mass of opinion which at present refuses to assist the Government, it will have mobilised the elementary forces of civilisation in self defence against the gunmen. In the meantime, they have begun to extend their activities to this country. Incendiary outrages have been perpetrated in Liverpool, and barely prevented in

Manchester and London. They have naturally been attributed to Sinn Fein, but their anarchical character suggests much more the traditional violence of the revolutionary fanatics who have from time to time startled public opinion in this country by outrages such as the celebrated affair in Sidney Street, in which Mr. Winston Churchill first employed the tactics of reprisals before the war.

Prospects of the New Year.

The year ends with an outlook far more hopeful than seemed likely a few months ago. Labour unrest has subsided, and there is evidence on all sides of a general reaction against the revolutionary agitations which have retarded industrial reconstruction and are now producing unemployment which might have been avoided. The continual upward movement of prices, followed invariably by corresponding rises in wages which produced only further rises in the cost of living, would seem to have reached its climax. Wholesale prices have been falling steadily for the past six months, and of late have shown a tendency to collapse completely. The public realising that a break in prices must come before long, has wisely refrained from buying anything that was not absolutely necessary. As a result, traders and manufacturers have been extremely hard hit, and are likely to pass through a very critical period before the Spring. Their most pressing difficulty is to unload the large stocks which they bought at top prices, and which they must now sell off at a loss. A great many undertakings are actually running at a heavy loss, and have not yet reduced their prices low enough to attract buyers. It seems probable that there must be a considerable number of failures before conditions stabilise. But the process is undoubtedly a healthy one, and is more and more quickly leading back to a return to conditions approximating to those of pre-war days. The banks are restricting credit on all sides, and will need all their resources to assist even large and long established firms to tide over the impending crisis. But there is no longer any doubt that prices will fall quickly as the New Year progresses.

Diary of Current Events

FOR NOVEMBER.

Nov. 1.—In the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George announced that the Government had no objection to publishing all the reports and dispatches on the Battle of Jutland.

It became known that Lord Robert Innes-Ker, brother of the Duke of Roxburghe, had married Miss José Collins, the actress.

Nov. 2.—Lord Burnham, President of the Second Imperial Press Conference, recently held in Canada, was welcomed home by the Empire Press Union.

In the House of Commons a statement by Sir Percy Cox on Mesopotamia was read.

Four more Irish policemen have been murdered, and R.I.C. men threatened Tralce with reprisals "not yet heard of in Ireland."

Over 31,000,000 persons voted in Presidential elections in the United States.

Nov. 3.—In view of the ballot the miners' delegates declared the strike at an end and advised the men to resume work. There was a majority of 8,450 against the Government offer compared with a majority of 453,670 against the datum line.

The Coalition decided not to contest Wrekin by-election, and the fight will be between Sir Chas. Townshend, Independent, and Mr. Duncan, Labour.

Mr. Harding was declared victor in the American presidential election.

Nov. 4.—In Scotland 19 areas have gone dry, and 150 have voted for "no change."

The Coal, Lighting, and Gas Emergency Orders were cancelled.

The out-of-work donation for ex-soldiers and sailors, women and merchant seamen was extended for another 15 weeks.

Speaking at a City luncheon, Mr. Churchill said that a world-wide Bolshevik plot was threatening against this country.

A French airman established a new speed record of 192 miles an hour.

Objections to various proposals in the draft agreement for the future government of Egypt have been raised by the Zaghlul delegates in London, who desired a formal renunciation of the British protectorate.

At a special congress of the South African Unionist Party Sir Thomas Smarrt and other leaders of the party spoke in favour of Gen. Smuts's proposal to form a new Constitutional Party to oppose secession.

Nov. 5.—The Prince of Wales inaugurated "Obligation Week," to provide work for ex-service men, at Mansion House.

Lord Knutsford announced that the London Hospital would close on Jan. 1, as it could not pay its debts.

A military officer was shot dead in Tipperary, and reprisals inflicted on Nenagh.

Nov. 6.—Sir Howard Frank, representing the Disposals Board of the Ministry of Munitions, stated that three offers had been received for the purchase of Richborough, and that within the next two or three weeks one of the offers would probably be accepted.

Lord R. Cecil, speaking at Kingsway Hall, said there was a universal desire that the League of Nations should be completed as soon as possible.

An agreement was reached between the French and British Governments on the method to be adopted in fixing the amounts to be paid by Germany for reparation.

The Council of Ambassadors approved a new Danzig Convention designed to meet the objections raised by the Poles to the previous Convention as not guaranteeing their free use of the port.

Paris announced that M. Paul Cambon would retire from the French Embassy on Jan. 20.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir Alexander Cobbe, V.C., was appointed to succeed Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Vaughan Cox as Military Secretary at the India Office.

The Electricity Commissioners provisionally defined the new areas for electrical supply into which they were empowered to map out the country.

It was reported that 58,000,000 people were affected by the famine in China, and 14,000,000 actually starving.

The Adriatic Conference between Italy and Jugo-Slavia opened at Santa Margherita Ligure.

The Government of India issued a statement explaining why it did not intervene in Mr. Ghandi's campaign.

Nov. 9.—Harold Greenwood, after seven days' trial at Carmarthen Assizes on the charge of murdering his wife, was found "Not guilty."

Speaking at the Guildhall banquet, the Prime Minister dealt with disarmament in Germany, anarchy in Russia, and terrorism in Ireland.

The Lord Mayor's Procession was deprived of the Pageant.

The L.C.C. approved capital expenditure of about £406,000 on arterial road schemes.

Mr. Balfour, on behalf of numerous subscribers, presented Mr. Edmund Gosse with a bronze bust of himself in celebration of his 70th birthday.

It was decided to present the "Vindictive" to Belgium.

- In the Federal House of Representatives Mr. Hughes called attention to a speech by Mr. Mahon, an ex Minister, made at an Irish demonstration, in which he referred to "this bloody and accursed Empire." Mr. Mahon told Mr. Hughes he could go to the devil, and left the House.
- Nov. 10.—In the House of Commons the Report Stage of the Government of Ireland Bill was completed.
- The coffin containing the French Unknown Warrior, selected by a private soldier of the garrison, was removed from Verdun to Paris.
- The Adriatic dispute was settled at Santa Margherita, where the Italian and Jugo-Slav delegates agreed upon a compromise, Italy to give up Dalmatia, and a number of islands, Fiume to become independent, and Zara autonomous, under Italian suzerainty. Bulgaria and Austria formally applied, for membership to the League of Nations.
- Nov. 11.—The body of an Unknown Warrior, brought from France, was buried in Westminster Abbey, with the King as chief mourner. At 11.0 o'clock the two minutes' silence was observed.
- Evidence was given before the House of Commons Committee on Telephone Charges by Sir Chas. Owens, on behalf of the London Advisory Committee, urging the retention of the unlimited or flat rate.
- In the House of Commons the Government of Ireland Bill was read a third time.
- In Paris the French Unknown Warrior was buried beneath the Arc de Triomphe, while the urn containing Gambetta's heart was placed in the Panthéon.
- The burning of British Flags in New York by Sinn Féiners caused riots in the city.
- Mr. Mahon, the Labour Deputy in the Australian House of Representatives, was suspended for seditious and disloyal speeches on Ireland.
- Nov. 12.—The Coalowners and the Miners' Federation established joint committees to deal with questions of output and the preparation of a permanent wages scheme.
- Dr. Addison decided to appoint a committee to investigate the causes of the present high cost of building.
- Mr. C. L. Malone, M.P., arrested in Dublin on the 10th inst., was charged at Bow Street Police Court with making statements likely to cause sedition or disaffection.
- The Government of Burma decided to establish a University at Rangoon.
- Nov. 13.—The King, acknowledging a pledge by the London Chamber of Commerce to redouble its efforts to find work for ex-Service men, said it confirmed his belief that the country was determined to discharge its debt alike to the living and the dead.
- At the annual meeting of the National Union of Scientific Workers, Prof. Soddy condemned the Government for handing over to private concerns the results of scientific research subsidized by public funds.
- The Wallace Collection was again thrown open to the public.
- Lord Selborne urged the restoration of the Lords' Veto as a protection against a possible Socialist Government.
- Gen. Wrangel was seriously defeated by the Bolsheviks in the Crimea.
- The anniversary of the presentation of the demand for Egyptian independence was celebrated in Egypt.
- Nov. 15.—Sebastopol fell to the Bolsheviks and Gen. Wrangel escaped in a French cruiser.
- The Assembly of the League of Nations held its first meeting at Geneva, when M. Hymans, former Belgian Minister for foreign affairs, was elected President.
- All British prisoners have been released from Baku.
- Nov. 16.—The L.C.C. opposed the granting of new powers to the Ministry of Health as proposed in the Public Health (Tuberculosis) Bill.
- At a joint conference on the care of crippled children it was stated that the provision for educating the 40,000 known cases in England was very inadequate.
- Dean Inge, lecturing on Eugenics, said the country was breeding from the worst stocks.
- In the House of Lords, Earl Curzon made a statement on the situation in Persia.
- At the sitting of the Assembly of the League of Nations it was decided that minutes of the discussions should be made public as soon as possible.
- The French Cabinet decided "on principle" in favour of a reduction of the period of military service from two years to eighteen months.
- Nov. 17.—Ex-King Constantine stated that he has always been pro-British, and was only waiting the result of a plebiscite to return as King to Greece.
- At the League of Nations Assembly, Lord Robert Cecil made an appeal for the reconciliation of nations, his argument with the case of Africa.
- Prince Arthur of Connaught, the new Governor General of South Africa, together with Princess Arthur, landed at Cape Town and were accorded a civic welcome.
- The first elections for the New Indian Councils began in Bombay City. No great interest was displayed by the public.
- Nov. 18.—The tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey was sealed.
- Reunion, church finance, and the training of clergy were discussed at the meeting of the National Assembly of the Church of England.
- Bosch magnetos are being "dumped" in this country, and British makers are alarmed.
- Mr. Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons that the Cabinet would draft an agreement on trade with Russia, to be forwarded to Moscow for approval within a few days.
- Mr. Austen Chamberlain, speaking to Essex Unionists, said that separation from the Coalition now would be a crime and would

serve no one except those who desired to overthrow all our institutions.
 Queen Olga became Regent of Greece in succession to Admiral Condouriotis, who resigned on Nov. 17, as soon as M. Rallis had taken office as Prime Minister.
 The Assembly of the League of Nations elected its Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The Convention between Poland and Danzig was signed by M. Paderewski in Paris.
 Anti-Jewish disorders occurred in Prague.

Nov. 19.—The King appointed the Prince of Wales to be President of the British School at Rome.

Mr. C. L. Malone, M.P., was sentenced at Bow Street Police Court to six months imprisonment in the second division for making statements likely to cause sedition. He was released on bail pending appeal.

Mr. Asquith at the National Liberal Club condemned reprisals.

The latest returns of the Staffs of Government Departments showed a total of 368,026, compared with 288,422 in August, 1914.

Mr. Barnes urged the admittance of enemy states to the League at the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva.

Nov. 20.—In fighting between soldiers and civilians at a football match at Croke Park, Dublin, nine persons were killed, and between 50 and 60 injured.

An American syndicate concluded a bargain with the Soviet Government which included a concession of 400,000 square miles of Silesia in return for goods to the value of £6,000,000.

Prince Arthur of Connaught, Governor-General of South Africa, was sworn in at Pretoria.

Nov. 21.—Fourteen officers and ex-officers were killed, and five others wounded in an attack on their lodgings in Dublin.

Lord Derby was given a splendid send-off at the Gare du Nord on leaving Paris.

Nov. 22.—German and Austrian delegates attended the International Trade Union Congress in London. America abstained owing to "revolutionary tendencies" in the Congress.

Mr. Vernon Clay, Chairman of the Colour Users' Association, issued a memorandum advocating a scheme for the prohibition of dye imports, with licences for the import of dyes not satisfactorily made in this country.

In the House of Commons Sir Hamar Greenwood read an account of the murders which took place in Ireland on Sunday. It was followed by a struggle between Major Molson and Mr. Devlin. The Speaker suspended the sitting, and on his return to the chair, an apology was offered by Major Molson, and accepted.

The Wrexham by-election resulted in a victory for Major-General Sir Charles Townshend

by a majority of 3,965 votes over the Labour candidate.

New South Wales beat the M.C.C. at Sydney by six wickets.

The L.C.C. called for a Government enquiry into the financial condition of the London Hospital, before the clause of the Health Ministry Bill, dealing with contributions from the rates was proceeded with.

Sir Evelyn Murray, giving evidence before the Select Committee on Telephone Charges, said there was no evidence that any other system than the present was cheaper.

At the International Trade Union Congress in London the German delegate reported that the trade unions in his country had decided to oppose Bolshevik propaganda.

The Soviet Commercial delegate, Lomonosoff, who is in Sweden, announced that his Government is sending large consignments of gold to Stockholm, probably twenty tons (£3,000,000).

Nov. 24.—The Prime Minister dealt with schemes for relieving unemployment in his reply to the L.C.C. Financial relief for the unemployed, to which the Government is committed, involves a total outlay of £100,000,000.

The Christian Counter Communist Crusade, of which the Bishop of Birmingham is President, issued a manifesto denouncing Bolshevism.

In the House of Lords Viscount Grey spoke on the Second Reading of the Government of Ireland Bill.

Clauses of the Ministry of Health (Miscellaneous Provision Bill) were abandoned by the Government when considered by the Standing Committee.

A Sinn Féin memorandum, outlining plans of attack on the Liverpool Docks and a Manchester power-station, was captured.

Nov. 25.—Plans formulated by the Ministry of Transport for the Severn hydro-electric power-station promise half-a-million horsepower electrical current, costing one half-penny per unit, and years of work for an army of labour.

In the House of Lords the Government of Ireland Bill was read a second time.

A Conference of the National Liberal Federation was opened at Bradford. Anti-waste resolutions were passed.

M. Paul Cambon, speaking to a representative of the French Press, recalled some of the difficulties that had to be encountered in the making of the Entente and paid a tribute to the part played by King Edward. An Irish mob attacked the Union Club in Fifth Avenue, New York, an American institution, and smashed its windows because the British flag was flying on the premises, together with the American and French flags. The members had refused to remove it.

Returns showed that the number of arms still in the hands of the so-called "self-protection" organisations in Germany included 8,404 machine guns and 891,653 rifles.

Nov. 26.—In the House of Commons a select Committee was appointed to consider the salary allotted to members and the travelling expenses incurred by them in connection with their Parliamentary duties.

The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce attacked the Food Ministry's bacon transactions, in a statement, declaring that the country lost £300,000 in one week by excessive charges for imported hams.

The bodies of 13 officers and others murdered on Sunday in Dublin were brought to London, and memorial services were held in Westminster Abbey and Westminster Cathedral.

A tigress was killed by a lion as the result of a fight in one of the cages at the Zoological Gardens, London.

The staffs of Government Departments, as a whole, show a decrease of 1,783 in October, but the Pensions Ministry shows an increase of 195.

Sir John Simon's speech on Ireland at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Bradford led to lively interruptions from Coalition Liberals.

Gen. Smuts has had a Conference with the Unionist Party Committee, which has decided to unite with the South African Party.

Nov. 27.—Sinn Fein incendiaries caused nearly 20 fires in Liverpool and Bootle on Saturday night, and the damage to warehouses and timber-yards ran into millions of pounds.

Cardinal Logne issued a pastoral letter in which he denounced "competition in murder," between mis-called patriots and forces of the Crown.

Sir Robert Horne, speaking at Liverpool, said he could think of nothing so paralyzing to

trade as the hand of the Government upon it.

The League of Nations has decided to send an international force to Vilna to secure order during the plebiscite in that city.

M. Leygues had further conference with Mr. Lloyd George and some of his colleagues on the Greek question.

Count Sforza arrived in London.

Lord Hardinge, the new British Ambassador, arrived in Paris to take up his duties.

The Treaty of Rapallo has been ratified by the Italian Chamber.

The South African Parliament is to be dissolved on December 31st, and a general election, with secession as the main issue, will be held on February 8.

Nov. 28.—Two men were killed and much damage done to property by the explosion of a French mine which was washed ashore at Sandgate.

Nov. 29.—The International Advertising Exhibition was opened by Sir Robert Horne at the White City.

The Carnegie Trust has given £10,000 to the Westminster Abbey Fund.

An explosion occurred at Woolwich electricity generating station, one boy being killed and several people injured.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, speaking at an international conference of railwaymen, said he believed there would be a big fight in this country, in a few months, over a new stand that the railwaymen were going to make in regard to a share in the management.

Owing to Sinn Fein plots public access to Parliament and Downing Street was restricted.

The first day of Birmingham Race Meeting under National Hunt Rules was held to-day.

Nov. 30.—The railway companies decided to run an excursion service at Xmas.

The L.C.C. approved of a scheme for the establishment of a joint electricity authority for London.

The Freedom of Brighton was conferred upon Lord Haig.

The International Postal Congress at Madrid finished its labours with the signing of the Convention.

M. Leygues spoke in the debate in the French Chamber on the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The project was approved.

Mr. H. S. Montagu described the control of Mesopotamia by several departments as a bad system, and urged that the India Office should be released from the responsibility of financial administration.



George M. Adams Service

[New York

Some Job!

OBITUARY.

Nov. 1.—MR. W. B. WOODGATE, well-known Oxford oarsman.

LORD BELLHAVEN AND STENTON.

Nov. 4.—MR. WILLIAM SELBY-LOWNDES.

Nov. 28.—LORD GLENCONNER.

The Probable Future of Mankind

By H. G. WELLS.

III.

The Organization of a Common Consciousness in Man.

In framing an estimate of the human future two leading facts are dominant. The first is the plain necessity for a political reorganization of the world as a unity, to save our race from the social disintegration and complete physical destruction which war, under modern conditions, must ultimately entail, and the second is the manifest absence of any sufficient will in the general mass of mankind at the present time to make such a reorganization possible. There appear to be the factors of such a will in men, but they are for the most part unawakened, or they are unorganized and ineffective. And there is a very curious incapacity to grasp the reality of the human situation, a real resistance to seeing things as they are, for man is an effort-shirking animal, which greatly impedes the development of such a will. Failing the operation of such a sufficient will, human affairs are being directed by use and wont, by tradition and accidental deflections. Mankind, after the tragic concussion of the great war, seems now to be drifting again towards new and probably more disastrous concussions.

The catastrophe of the great war did more or less completely awaken a certain limited number of intelligent people to the need of some general control replacing this ancient traditional driftage of events. But they shrank from the great implications of such a world control. The only practicable way to achieve a general control in the face of existing governments, institutions and prejudices, interested obstruction and the common disregard, is by extending this awakening to great masses of people. This means an unprecedented educational effort, an appeal to men's intelligence and men's

imagination such as the world has never seen before. Is it possible to rationalize the at present chaotic will of mankind? That possibility, if it is a possibility, is the most important thing in contemporary human affairs.

We are asking here for an immense thing, for a change of ideas, a vast enlargement of ideas, and for something very like a change of heart in hundreds of millions of human beings. But then we are dealing with the fate of the entire species. We are discussing the prevention of wars, disorders, shortages, famines and miseries for centuries ahead. The initial capital we have to go upon is as yet no more than the aroused understanding and conscience of a few thousands, at most of a few score thousands of people. Can so little a leaven leaven so great a lump? Is a response to this appeal latent in the masses of mankind? Is there anything in history to justify hope for so gigantic a mental turnover in our race?

A consideration of the spread of Christianity in the first four centuries A.D. or of the spread of Islam in the seventh century will, we believe, support a reasonable hope that such a change in the minds of men, whatever else it may be, is a practicable change, that it can be done and that it may even probably be done. Consider our two instances. The propagandas of those two great religions changed and changed for ever the political and social outlook over vast areas of the world's surface. Yet while the stir for world unity begins now simultaneously in many countries and many groups of people, those two propagandas each radiated from one single centre and were in the first instance the teachings of single individuals; and while to-day we can deal with great read-

ing populations and can reach them by press and printed matter, by a universal distribution of books, by great lecturing organizations and the like, those earlier great changes in human thought were achieved mainly by word of mouth and by crabbed manuscripts, painfully copied and passed slowly from hand to hand. So far it is only the trader who has made any effectual use of the vast facilities the modern world has produced for conveying a statement simultaneously to great numbers of people at a distance. The world of thought still hesitates to use the means of power that now exist for it. History and political philosophy in the modern world are like bashful dons at a dinner party; they crumble their bread and talk in undertones and clever allusions to their nearest neighbour, abashed at the thought of addressing the whole table. But in a world where Mars can reach out in a single night and smite a city a thousand miles away, we cannot suffer wisdom to hesitate in an inaudible gentility. The knowledge and vision that is good enough for the best of us is good enough for all. This gospel of human brotherhood and a common law and rule for all mankind, the attempt to meet this urgent necessity of a common control of human affairs, which indeed is no new religion but only an attempt to realize practically the common teaching of all the established religions of the world, has to speak with dominating voice everywhere between the poles and round about the world.

And it must become part of the universal education. It must speak through the school and university. It is too often forgotten, in America, perhaps, even more than in Europe, that education exists for the community, and for the individual only so far as it makes him a sufficient member of the community. The chief end of education is to subjugate and sublimate for the collective purposes of our kind the savage egotism we inherit. Every school, every college, teaches directly and still more by implication, relationship to a community and devotion to a community. In too many cases that community we let our schools and colleges teach to our children is an extremely narrow one; it is the community of a

sect, of a class, or of an intolerant, greedy and unrighteous nationalism. Schools have increased greatly in numbers throughout the world during the last century, but there has been little or no growth in the conception of education in schools. Education has been extended, but it has not been developed. If man is to be saved from self-destruction by the organization of a world community, there must be a broadening of the reference of the teaching in the schools of all the world to that community of the world. World-wide educational development and reform are the necessary preparations for and the necessary accompaniments of a political reconstruction of the world. The two are the right and left hands of the same thing. Neither can effect much without the other.

Now it is manifest that this re-organization of the world's affairs and of the world's education which we hold to be imperatively dictated by the change in warfare, communications and other conditions of human life brought about by scientific discovery during the last hundred years, carries with it a practical repudiation of the claims of every existing sovereign government in the world to be final and sovereign, to be anything more than provisional and replaceable. There is the difficulty that has checked hundreds of men after their first step towards this work for a universal peace. It involves, it cannot but involve, a revision of their habitual allegiances. At best existing governments are to be regarded as local trustees and caretakers for the coming human commonweal. If they are not that, then they are necessarily obstructive and antagonistic. But few rulers, few governments, few officials, will have the greatness of mind to recognise and admit this plain reality. By a kind of necessity they force upon their subjects and publics a conflict of loyalties. The feeble driftage of human affairs from one base or greedy arrangement or cowardly evasion to another, since the Armistice of 1918, is very largely due to the obstinate determination of those who are in positions of authority and responsibility to ignore the plain teachings of the great war and its sequelae. They are resisting adjustments; their minds are fighting against the sacri-

ness of pride and authority that a full recognition of their subordination to the world commonweal will involve. They are prepared, it would seem, to fight against the work of human salvation basely and persistently, whenever their accustomed importance is threatened.

Even in the schools and in the world of thought the established thing will make its unrighteous fight for life. The dull and the dishonest in high places will suppress these greater ideas when they can, and ignore when they dare not suppress. It seems too much to hope for that there should be any willingness on the part of any established authority to admit its obsolescence and prepare the way for its merger in a world authority. It is not creative minds that produce revolutions, but the obstinate conservatism of established authority. It is the blank refusal to accept the idea of an orderly evolution towards new things that gives a revolutionary quality to every constructive proposal. The huge task of political and educational reconstruction which is needed to arrest the present drift of human affairs towards catastrophe, must be achieved, if it is to be achieved at all, mainly by voluntary and unofficial effort; and for the most part in the teeth of official opposition.

There are one or two existing states to which men have looked for some open recognition of their duty to mankind as a whole, and of the necessarily provisional nature of their contemporary constitutions. The United States of America constitute a political system, profoundly different in its origin and in its spirit, from any old-world state; it was felt that here at least might be an evolutionary state; and in the palmy days of President Wilson it did seem for a brief interval as if the New World was indeed coming to the rescue of the old, as if America was to play the role of a propagandist continent, bringing its ideas of equality and freedom, and extending the spirit of its union to all the nations of the earth. From that expectation, the world opinion is now in a state of excessive and unreasonable recoil. President Wilson fell away from his first intimations of that world-wide federal embrace; his mind and will were submerged by the clamour of contending

patriotisms and the subtle explanation of old-world diplomacy in Paris; but American accessibility to the idea of a federalised world neither began with him nor will it end with his failure. America is still a hopeful laboratory of world-unifying thought. A long string of arbitration, treaties stands to the credit of America and a series of developing Pan-American projects, pointing clearly to at least a continental synthesis within a measurable time. There has been, and there still is, a better understanding of, and a greater receptivity to, ideas of international synthesis in America than in any European state.

And the British Empire, which, according to many of its liberal apologists is already a league of nations, linked together in a mutually advantageous peace, to that too men have looked for some movement of adaptation to this greater synthesis which is the world's pre-eminent need. But so far the British Empire has failed to respond to such expectations. The war has left it strained and bruised and with its affairs very much in the grip of the military class, the most illiterate and dangerous class in the community. They have done, perhaps, irreparable mischief to the peace of the empire in Ireland, India, and Egypt, and they have made the claim of the British system to be an exemplary unification of dissimilar peoples seem now to many people incurably absurd. It is a great misfortune for mankind that the British Empire, which played so sturdy and central a part in the great war, could at its close achieve no splendid and helpful gesture towards a generous reconstruction.

Since the armistice there has been an extraordinary opportunity for the British monarchy to have displayed a sense of the new occasions before the world, and to have led the way towards the efforts and renunciations of an international renaissance. It could have taken up a lead that the President of the United States had taken up and relinquished; it could have used its peculiar position to make an unexampled appeal to the whole world. It could have created a new epoch in history. The Prince of Wales has been touring the world-wide dominions of which, some day, he is to be the crowned

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head. He has received addresses, visited sights, been entertained, shaken hands with scores of thousands of people and submitted himself to the eager, yet unpenetrating gaze of vast multitudes. His smallest acts have been observed with pre-meditated admiration, his lightest words recorded. He is not now a boy; he saw something of the great war, even if his exalted position denied him any large share of its severer hardships and dangers; he cannot be blind to the general posture of the world's affairs. Here, surely, was a chance of saying something that would be heard from end to end of the earth, something kingly and great-minded. Here was the occasion for a fine restatement of the obligations and duties of empire. But from first to last the prince has said nothing to quicken the imaginations of the multitude of his future subjects to the gigantic possibilities of these times, nothing to reassure the foreign observer that the British Empire embodies anything more than the colossal national egotism and impenetrable self-satisfaction of the British peoples. "Here we are," said the old order in those demonstrations, "and here we mean to stick. Just as we have been, so we remain. British!—we are Bourbons." These smiling tours of the Prince of Wales in these years of shortage, stress, and insecurity, constitute a propaganda of inanity unparalleled in the world's history.

Nor do we find in the nominal rulers and official representatives of other countries any clear admission of the necessity for a great and fundamental change in the scope and spirit of government. These official and ruling people, more than any other people, are under the sway of that life of use-and-wont which dominates us all. They are often trained to their positions, or they have won their way to their positions of authority through a career of political activities which amounts to a training. And that training is not a training in enterprise and change; it is a training in sticking tight and getting back to precedent. We can expect nothing from them. We shall be lucky if the resistance of the administrative side of existing states to the conception of a world commonweal is merely passive. There is

little or no prospect of any existing governing system, unless it be such a federal system as Switzerland or the United States, passing directly and without extensive internal changes into combination with other sovereign powers as part of a sovereign world system. At some point the independent states will as systems resist, and unless an overwhelming world conscience for the world state has been brought into being and surrounds them with an understanding watchfulness, and invades the consciences of their supporters and so weakens their resisting power, they will resist violently and disastrously. But it will be an incoherent resistance because the very nature of the sovereign states of to-day is incoherence. There can be no world-wide combination of sovereign states to resist the world state, because that would be to create the world state in the attempt to defeat it.



Wahre Jacob]

[Stuttgart

In the Republican Smithy.

A well-forged iron Jacobin cap is as strong as a golden Kaiser's crown.

Current History in Caricature

"O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us."—*Burns.*



[Munich]

Over-fed America or The Delayed Peace Signature.
"How gladly would I bury the War Hatchet—but cannot sleep in order to do it."



[Evening News]

[London]

What's to be done about it?

Members of Parks Committee: "Great Scott!
It's not the design we ordered!"



[Kladderadtsch]

[Berlin]

The Fight for the League of Nations.

The favourite, Harding, wins by more than "14 points" over his adversary Wilson, through his knowledge of the "knock-out."

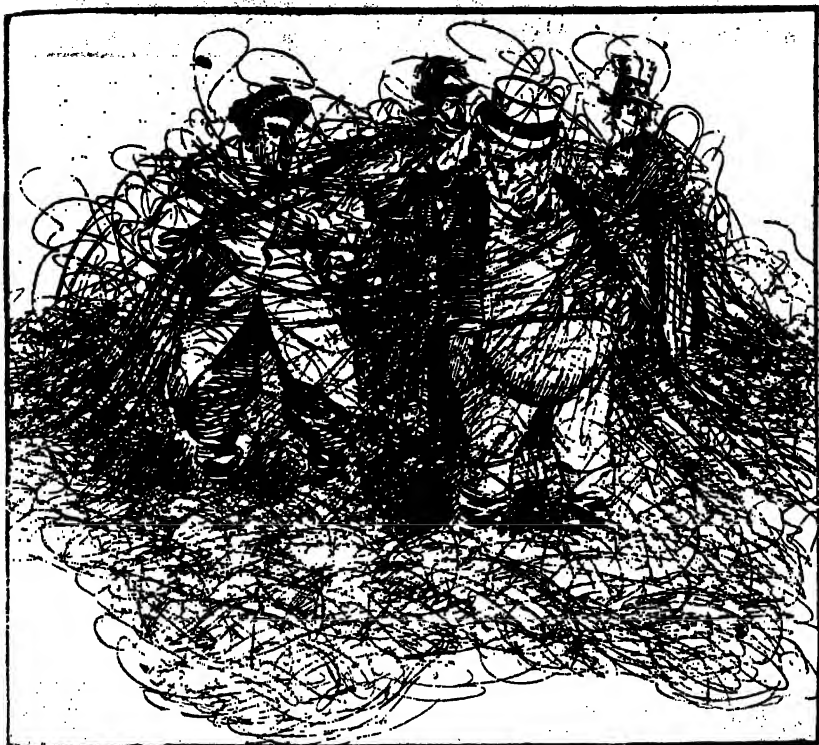


[De Notenvraher]

Enver Pasha and his new Partner.

[Amsterdam]

"Proletarians in every land, sh!"



The Bulletin

This Russian Business.

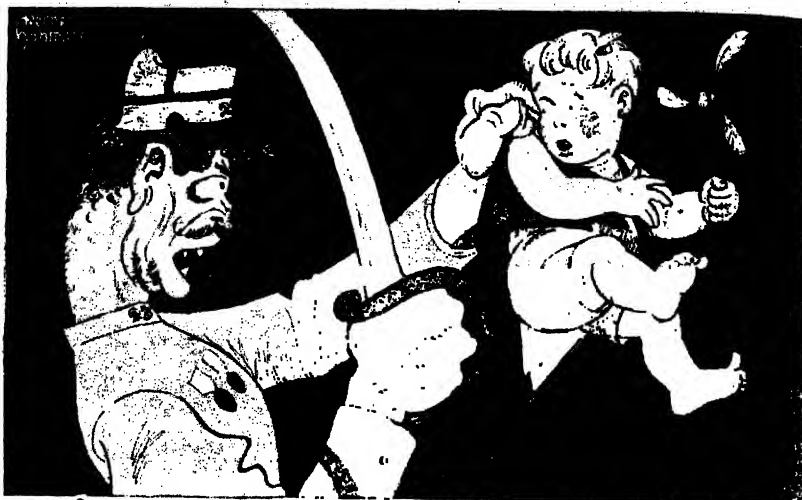
[Sydney]



Chicago Daily News

Nobody want it.

[Chicago, U.S.A.]



Kladderadatsch

[Berlin]

The Entente on the search for forbidden war material.

"Ha! A Diesel Motor!"



Kladderadatsch

[Berlin]

The Soviet Winter.

"My Bolshevism makes all men equal."



Wahre Jacob

[Stuttgart]

Soviet Land and Poland.

The transfer of Upper Silesia to Poland only means trouble with the trap... Russia has already experienced it.

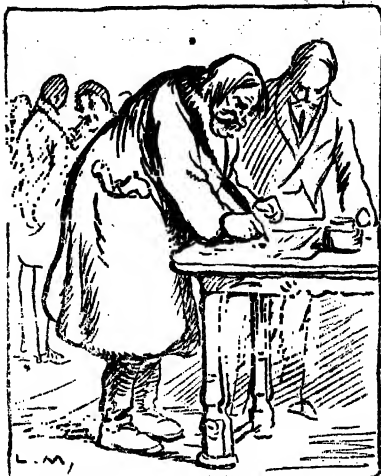


[L'Asino]

[Rome]

The Reactionaries.

- .. To combat the revolutionaries, reaction must rely on blockade, sentences, shootings, massacres."
- .. But whom shall we order to do murder in our defence? "
- .. Er....the murderers! "



[Le Figaro]

[Paris]

Conventions, Treaties, Armistices.

Bolshevik Plenipotentiary: "Let us sign in German. That does not bind us to anything important."



[The Looker-on]

[Calcutta]

"Out of it?"

India: "Some people have all the luck."



[Nebelspatter]

[Zurich]

The English in Egypt.

We can only give Home Rule to Ireland after having established there the same degree of civilisation as we have given to Egypt.



Westminster Gazette

How to Bear it.

[London]

John Bull (worried to death with Coal Strikes, Unemployment, Ireland and various other troubles): I say, old chap! I wish you'd give me a tip. How do you HIBERNATE?



Simplicissimus

[Munich]

The Hunger Strike.

"We allowed the Irish to make a national hero of their Lord Mayor of Cork. If every Irishman emulates his example, the Irish problem should at any rate be solved in 76 days."



The Bulletin

[Sydney]

"Hey, diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle,
The cow jumped over the moon;
The little dog laughed to see such sport,
And the dish ran away with the spoon."



Evening News]

[London]

Poor Hubby!

Breadwinner: "Heavens! She's spotted another."

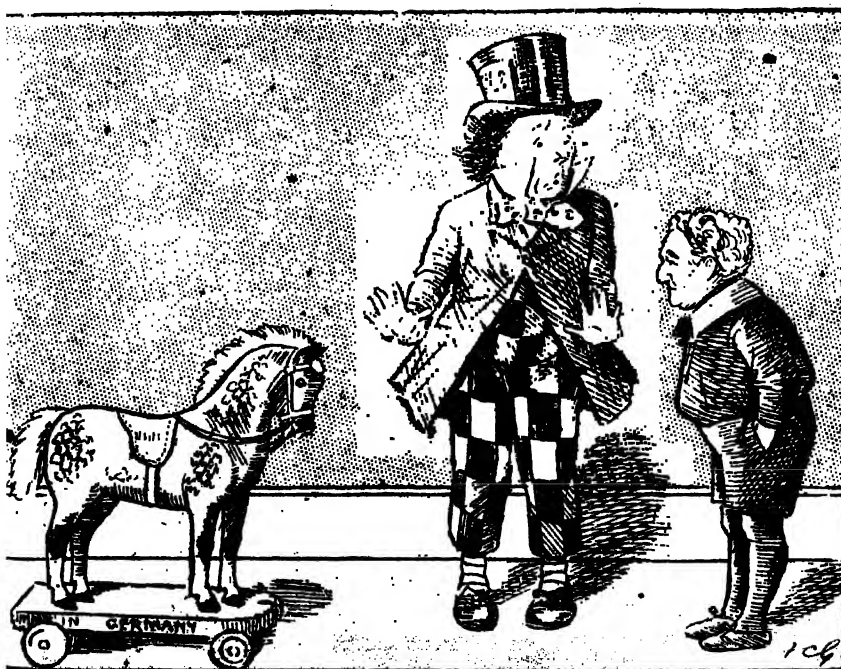


Simplicissimus]

[Munich]

French Generosity.

"You sell us our own coal again, but at ten times the price;"
 "That shows the kindness of our nation! We return it to you on terms that make it so much less easy for you to burn it away!"



Westminster Gazette]

The Wooden Horse.

[London]

The Mad Hatter: No—No, Yohannis! Not that one! Don't you know that that is how the Greeks conquered Troy?

(The Protectionists are much perturbed by the importation of German toys into this country).



Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin

The German Ark.

After two years the first olive branch (the release of German property in England).



Il Fischietto]

[Turin

Giolitti has nothing to do with it.

"Sir, the house is on fire!

"On fire? Put it out then! Do you take me for a fireman?"



La Victoire]

[Paris

The French Bulwark against Bolshevism.

Bolshevik—"Horrors! Millerand again!—and for seven years!"



[Kladderadatsch]

[Berlin]

**Always the same Thought!
In Cologne.**

She: "That diamond necklace must have cost 50,000 marks!"

He: "No matter, my dear! The Boche will pay."



[Le Rire]

[Paris]

**The Budget Saucepan hangs on
the Pot-hook.**

"How everything swells! The indemnity for defeat only cost me 5 milliards, once and for all....The cost of victory is 45 milliards a year!"



[The Step]

Ireland.

[London]

Through the Mist of Hate.



[Kladderatsch]

The French Relativity Theory.

[Berlin]

Millerand: I say, dear Prof. Einsrein, can you not get it into the head of this silly Boche that an *absolute* deficit of 67 milliards puts him *relatively* into a splendid position?"

The Fourth and Concluding Article by
Mr. H. G. WELLS

ON

"THE PROBABLE FUTURE OF MANKIND"

will be published in the January issue.

Has the League Failed?

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

I came back from Geneva with very mixed feelings. Is the League Alive? Will the League live? Should it be modified, recast in its whole constitution? Should Germany be allowed to enter? And if the League is a failure, if it is a mockery and a delusion, is there any hope for the world? These and a dozen similar questions sang in my head as the train carried me through the rich wine lands of France.

I pondered them carefully. I had heard endless oratory. I had talked interminably with men of all creeds and colours. I had had, as if were, my finger on the very pulse of the world; for at Geneva representatives of two score lands met in consultation. And yet I could not dogmatically answer any of these questions. I believe the League is alive. I believe the League will live. I think it should be reshaped very considerably. In my opinion Germany should be brought in at the earliest possible moment. If the League is a farce and a fiction, a mere device of cynical politicians, a new diplomatic instrument to be used by the predominant powers in their own interests, then, frankly, I do not see any hope of a return to sanity, a turning away from the path of self-destruction we have been treading for so long. I feel that so much good will cannot be in vain, that so many efforts cannot be fruitless. I cannot but be optimistic in spite of all. And yet when I think of the intrigues, of the dangerous manoeuvrings of interested persons, of the obvious intention of certain pro-consular persons to kill the League or to divert the League to base ends, then doubts crowd in upon me.

At any rate the League is only at its beginnings. We must remind ourselves of that fact. We must not judge it too harshly if we are for the League; nor must we jubilate over its undoubted defects, short-comings, failures, if we are against the League. Robert Louis Stevenson in his wise words to children might have been addressing the League:

"Children, you are very little,
And your bones are very brittle;
If you would grow great and stately,
You must learn to walk sedately."

That is the first thing which we must get into our heads about the League—that it cannot be expected to perform miracles in the twinkling of an eye. It is not a supernatural—it is not yet even a super-national—body. It is an institution that is in its swaddling clothes. It is a giant child, and in my view has already done remarkable things in the world. But a child it is. Whether it will become strong and active, whether it will one day impose its authority indisputably on the world, depends upon whether the peoples are wise enough to insist on its development. In the meantime we must refrain from blame because it has not done this and accomplished that. Have we given it the means? Have we listened to its counsels? Have we done all we can to enable it to operate effectively?

Remember that the League will not be built in a day nor for a day. It has plenty of time before it. True, the sooner it produces results the better will be its chances of existence. But the League is (happily) not the Supreme Council. The Supreme Council in the nature of things could only be ephemeral. Its work, for that matter, could only be ephemeral; and already we see the treaties it drew up crumbling and collapsing. Not one of them is soundly constructed. The Versailles treaty is clearly a grotesque and impossible document that will have to be revised by the statesmen, if the statesmen would not have it revised without them. The treaty of Trianon is being broken by Hungary, with the connivance of the powers, perpetually. The treaty of Neuilly will only be kept by Bulgaria until such moment, now rapidly approaching, when the revanche against Greece and the forging of a path to the sea will be opportunity. Poor Austria—it is impossible in spite of her misdeeds to refuse to sympathise with her—is placed in an im-

possible situation by the treaty of Saint Germain. But the greatest and most immediate crash is coming on the treaty of Sèvres.

II.

Now it is not fair to blame the League of Nations for the present condition of things or for the obvious impotence with which it faces the confusion of the world. It was to have taken over a going concern. Instead it is given a bankrupt world. All the problems that baffled the statesmen are simply turned over to the unfortunate League. What can the League do? If there was a tolerably organised universe the League, by the pressure of public opinion, would be an admirable body. It would be a sort of universal conscience. It would be a great moral authority. But it is clear that at present moral authority is not sufficient. Nobody will listen to appeals to reason or to righteousness. To make the nations obey, it is necessary to show them that there is a physical force ready to act. There are statesmen who are proud of their cynicism. There are countries which boast of their reactionary designs. They cannot be shamed into right-doing.

I used to talk last year to M. Bourgeois about this point. I confess that I had no enthusiasm for an international army. It seemed to me to be contrary to the spirit of the League. I had not counted upon the hopeless disorder of the world, after the peace-makers had done their worst. To-day I am whole-heartedly with M. Bourgeois. I think that in the present state of things there must be some force—call it an army, or call it, as does Lord Robert Cecil, a police organisation—to back up the decisions of the League.

I protest that the League must not be judged by Vilna. If Poland would not recall Zeligowski, who went out on a waulucking expedition, the League which was without men and money could not compel Zeligowski to leave Vilna to the Lithuanians. It seemed to me a promising thing that the proposal to construct a tiny army was made at Geneva, and that even Spain consented to send two regiments. The promise may not have been altogether fulfilled, but at least we can see how the League will one day be

able to act if in the meantime the world can keep its faith in the League. "

A much more serious proposition was the call to save Armenia. How could the League save Armenia? Why had not America saved Armenia? Why had England shirked the job? France had let down the Armenians badly; and it was all very well for M. Viviani to cry out for urgent measures when France had withdrawn from Cilicia the troops which she should have kept there until the Turkish business was settled. The Armenians had thrown in their lot unreservedly with the Allies. In particular, they had assisted the French. It was as plain as a pike-staff that when once they were left alone they would be beaten and massacred. But could the League do something that all its members had declined to do?

During the war we heard no end of fine humanitarian utterances. All the greater then is our disappointment in realising that only national egoisms count in the Chancelleries of the world. I see much that is wrong in the League itself, but I feel it is a duty to show that the League is not responsible for the conditions in which it is asked to work. It is precisely as if a doctor were called in to prescribe for someone who is dying, and were abused because he finds his patient in desperate case. Nay more, the doctor in question would have to be refused access to his medicines before he would present any kind of analogy to the League.

III.

It was not the League which made the Sèvres Treaty. It was not the League which allowed the Kemalists to repudiate the Constantinople Government, to flout the Allies, to grow in strength in Anatolia, and to proceed to the butchery of the Armenians. It was not the League which brought about the downfall of M. Venizelos, which is undoubtedly a calamity, nor had the League anything to do with the projected return of Constantine and the German crowd. An extraordinary state of affairs was suddenly presented to the League, and the Governments snugly washed their hands of the East, pretended it was none of their business, and shook their heads sadly about the impotence of the League to which they had denied all

power. Could there be a more amazing exhibition of disingenuousness? And yet there are, I suppose, plenty of people who are perfectly willing to condemn the League on the negative ground that it had not succeeded in wiping up this sorry mess.

Months ago my distinguished Armenian friend, Nubar Pasha, raised the cry of alarm. The Powers looked on idly. There was not enough wealth in Armenia to tempt them. They did not consider that it was even as good a speculation as Mesopotamia, and therefore as States do not waste money on international morality, as the crusading spirit is dead, as there is no profitable reason why our interests in Armenia should go beyond mere words, we allowed things to go from bad to worse. A few thousand League troops which, exactly as the policeman in Piccadilly represents the forces of the Empire, would have represented the combined forces of all the nations, would, I am convinced, have been sufficient even a few months ago. Our selfishness has led us to the present pass. If one does not do one's duty, the consequences are always disastrous. Now through our neglect, the whole Eastern situation is in jeopardy. Indeed, France immediately proposed negotiations with the Kemalists. Negotiations mean, of course, the complete revision of the Turkish Treaty. The dilemma was terrible: it was the triumph of Turkey or the annihilation of Armenia. The Greek collapse made confusion more confounded.

But all this has really nothing to do with the League. It never pretended to be a miracle-worker. It could not come in to put right the blunders of the peace-makers or rectify the miscalculations of the diplomatists. The League was never intended to be a diplomatic instrument. Unfortunately I found at Geneva that it is being used as the whipping boy of the diplomatists, and also as a manœuvring-ground in which diplomatic skirmishes can be engaged. The League must be democratic or it is nothing. The method of choosing representatives is at present all wrong. The Governments choose the delegates not because they are liberal-minded men who will take something more than a narrow nationalist viewpoint, and are in real

earnest about the League. The Governments choose only such delegates as will play an astute game, see that no point is scored against their country; men who will strive for tactical triumphs precisely as if the League Assembly were a Council of Ambassadors. For me there were two men who really were sincere and independent. They were M. Bourgeois and Lord Robert Cecil. They would not take instructions from their foreign offices, and they were, though obviously the only clearly indicated representatives of their country to the League, almost refused the opportunity of going to Geneva. The campaign against M. Bourgeois has been one of the most disgraceful things French diplomatists and publicists have ever perpetrated; while the attempt to keep out Lord Robert Cecil shows clearly that the Government distrusts the League. That is, if one looks at it in the right way, perhaps an encouraging sign. The League ought to be distrusted by the politicians. If they do not distrust it, then it must be hopelessly subservient. When one comes to think about it, the attempt to keep out M. Bourgeois and Lord Robert Cecil and men like them is a proof that the League may yet do things. M. Bourgeois, though refusing to take instructions from the Quai d'Orsay, nevertheless could not be dismissed, and Lord Robert Cecil obtained the mandate from General Smuts for the South African Republic that was refused him by his own country.

IV.

The League has to be saved from the Governments which certainly do not like it or are trying to use it as a fresh diplomatic weapon. I think it will be saved from them. I think it will escape from the diplomatists and the politicians. I think it will evolve into a democratic body which will pronounce moral judgments that no government will dare to defy. I think it will be, like the creature which Frankenstein made, and which afterwards he could not control, independent one day, and its influence will be for good and, not like Frankenstein's monster, for evil. At present, however, the truth must be confessed that the Governments largely control the League. It is not yet the Peoples' League.

There were two points particularly to note: First, that there was too much politics at Geneva; second, that the Great Powers are too much the masters of the League.

Examples of how the politicians have clogged the machinery crowd in upon my mind. First there was, as I have already said, the Armenian business. The French—through M. Viviani, who is a vehement orator—seized on the helplessness of the League to press the French point about the revision of the Turkish Treaty. The French believe that we, the British, have obtained control of Constantinople and of the Sultan; and that it is essentially the right of the French to make their influence felt in the Near East. Thus while we were content enough with the present arrangement—made so lately as at the San Remo Conference—the French wanted to become more friendly with Mustapha Kemal, the rebellious Turk of Anatolia. We consistently refused to deal with him. Now the Armenian situation provided M. Viviani with an excellent opportunity of which he was not slow to avail himself. If no one would crush Mustapha Kemal and protect the Armenians, then there was nothing left but to negotiate with Kemal, offer him all sorts of territorial bribes, give him complete recognition. The politician peeped out from the Leaguer. The Greek turnover of course also helped the French thesis. M. Viviani at Geneva was saying precisely what M. Leygues was, a little later, to say at London. Now, though I think it a disgrace to civilisation to neglect Armenia, yet I cannot but deplore this concession to a man who defies his own Government, and to whom we are to give way because he is in a position to blackmail us.

Again, when disarmament was spoken of there was at once an effort made to bury this unpleasant subject. None of the big nations want disarmament. Germany may be disarmed; she may only have 100,000 men; but the time is not yet ripe for France to disarm. Even though she cuts down her army from 800,000 to 600,000, she will not do so because the League thinks she ought to, but because the French people cry out for some measure of relief from the dreadful burden of such a great military force,

Do you suppose England is ready to discuss the cutting-down of the Navy? Not likely. The League may use fine phrases, but it comes up against a stone wall when it wants to do away with these dangerous playthings.

Thus it was with the mandatory system. The mandatory system is a farcical fiction. Neither England nor France mean to regard themselves as the mere trustees of the League. The German colonies will be held in perpetuity, and though doubtless they will be better managed, on more humane lines, yet England intends to live up to the old phrase—What we have we'll hold. So it is with France in respect of Syria. She does not think herself under any obligation to render a real account of her stewardship to any Commission of the League. Syria is a French colony or a French Protectorate—the name does not much matter—and France is not in fact a Mandatory Power.

As for the famous Court of International Justice, do you think that the Greater Powers can really agree to compulsory appearance before a tribunal, perhaps at the instance of a tiny nation, where they will run the risk of being condemned? And yet if the Court has no compulsory powers and cannot inflict sanctions, is it not rather useless? Not altogether useless—it may serve to settle many minor disputes—but whenever there is a grave issue, the jurisdiction of the Court will be simply declined.

Who said secret diplomacy was dead, and that secret treaties could no longer be drawn up? Has the League insisted upon the publication of the Franco-Belgian Treaty? Here is a flagrant breach of the Covenant; and it does not in the least matter what excuses there may be—the Covenant which was signed has been torn up by its signatories.

I could go on like this indefinitely, showing that whenever concrete questions come up the League is ineffective. The Governments of the Great Powers will not let the League operate as it should operate. The Smaller Powers are, therefore, suspicious. They feel that the whole show is bossed by the strong. Three or four nations sit in the seats of the mighty; and for them might is right. You can have the finest possible senti-

ments provided these nations are not directly affected by them in practice.

V.

What then is the good of the League? For in spite of all its faults, its defects, its weaknesses, I have still faith in the League. The League may not accomplish much; but it does exist, and it will gradually grow in strength. It will become bolder and it will make a more powerful appeal to the peoples. It will exercise an increasing influence upon public opinion. After all, in spite of Governments, it is in the long run public opinion which rules the world; and I believe public opinion will have to be reckoned with still more in the future than in the past. Now the League is an instrument, above all, for the direction and expression of public opinion. •

At present the instrument is not perfect. It will take some time before it can be perfected. First, we have to get America and Germany in. Russia will doubtless stay outside for a long time to come, but I believe America will come into some such association before very long, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the recent election. As for Germany, she cannot be left outside. The overwhelming feeling of the world as represented at Geneva was, I

found, in favour of her admission. Means were sought to prevent the subject being brought up in definite form; but the sentiments expressed were unmistakable. After conversations with men of all lands I have not the slightest hesitation in writing that the world wants Germany in. France opposes her entry at present, but I do not think she will continue to resist. Now, when you get practically all the countries which count in the League, and men are not afraid to speak their minds under the sounding-board of Geneva, no Government can afford to keep on disregarding the judgments of humanity.

Improvement will be slow. Any expectation of rapid progress is doomed to disappointment. But every step taken will be definitive. The world will not go back. Slowly but surely the Parliament of Peoples set up at Geneva will, I am persuaded, impose its will on the rulers, who are always behind their peoples. On the whole then, despite many disappointments, I return from Geneva comforted and hopeful; but it is necessary that we should have faith in the League, realise its shortcomings, but envisage its possibilities, and strive continually to strengthen its hands.



[Le Rire]

The League of Nations.

[Parle]

This disconcerting picture in the Autumn Salon would do for a portrait of a musical enthusiast, indulgent to all German, Italian or Russian, but severe when one plays a Polish dance in the Country of Chopin.

Leading Articles of the Month

WITH EXCERPT, COMMENT, AND CRITICISM

LORD CHALMERS ON THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE.

We note with deep regret the announcement in the December issue of *To-day and To-morrow*, the monthly organ of The League of Nations Union, that it will be obliged to discontinue publication at once, unless at least 5,000 subscribers will guarantee to take it for another year. We hope that the appeal which it issues will meet with prompt success. In its December number, Lord Chalmers, G.C.B., the former Secretary of the Treasury, who acted as principal representative of the British Government at the International Financial Conference at Brussels constitutes his impressions of the Conference and an appreciation of its conclusions:

"It is no small thing," writes Lord Chalmers, "that even within the bounds imposed by the terms of their reference, the unofficial spokesmen of thirty-nine peoples should, by good will and by learning each of the others, have reached so astonishing a unanimity on matters deemed so controversial." He points out that the conference, while deriving its immediate conception from our own Chancellor of the Exchequer, owes its origin ultimately to non-Governmental representation of a purely private character.

What we in England know as the "Brand memorial" expressed to our own Government the private views on the world's economic situation and prospects of a distinguished body of business men, bankers, and statesmen, wholly irrespective of party; and the same views were at the same time submitted by men of like distinction in other leading countries to their respective Governments. In his reply of last February to the British memorial, Mr. Austen Chamberlain intimated his readiness, if the League of Nations saw fit to summon a Conference to consider the weighty representations of the memorialists, to send British representatives to join with representatives of other nations in exploring and advising on the economic problems with which the world was confronted. The League of Nations, with a courage which at the time seemed to many foolhardy, undertook the task, and on its own authority convened the Conference which, after successive postponements

(due in no wise to the League), met at Brussels on September 24th last.

The eighty-six delegates from thirty-nine countries were no mere mouthpieces of their Governments. They came as experts to meet other experts.

While the plenary sessions of the Conference were open to the public, the Committees and their drafting Sub-Committees met in private to thresh out their recommendations. The four Committees dealt respectively with (1) public finance, (2) currency and exchange, (3) international trade and commerce, and (4) international action with special reference to credits. As will readily be seen, these four heads of inquiry are by no means rigidly marked off one from the other; but the overlapping which resulted from independent treatment of common matter by more than one Committee happily entailed, as events showed, no divergent conclusions of importance; and therefore the final effect on questions investigated by more than one Committee was to fortify, and not to weaken, the findings of the Conference as a whole.

What most impressed everyone in the public finance of the world was the appalling fact that three out of every four countries represented at the conference, and eleven out of twelve European countries, anticipate a Budget deficit in the present year.

Everyone saw that, until its Government paid its way and made both ends meet, a country was heading to general ruin; the first step was to "stop the hole" and to restore Governmental solvency as the prelude to any healing and ameliorating measures for carrying out those social reforms which the world demands to-day. To attain this first essential, it was necessary to cut down expenditure, to tax more (if necessary), to stop doles, and to refrain from borrowing. Elementary propositions, it may be said; yes, but yet none the less fundamental (though generally ignored hitherto), for every country as for every individual.

The Conference pointed out that "on an average some twenty per cent. of the national expenditure is still being devoted to the maintenance of armaments and the preparations for war." On this matter it passed the following resolution:

"The Conference desires to affirm with the utmost emphasis that the world cannot afford this expenditure. Only by a frank policy of mutual co-operation can the nations hope to

regain their old prosperity, and in order to secure that result, the whole resources of each country must be devoted to strictly reproductive purposes. The Conference accordingly recommends most earnestly to the Council of the League of Nations the desirability of conferring at once with the several Governments concerned, with a view to securing a general and agreed reduction of the crushing burden which, on their existing scale, armaments still impose on the impoverished peoples of the world, sapping their resources and imperilling their recovery from the ravages of war. The Conference hopes that the Assembly of the League which is about to meet will take energetic action to this end."

Dealing with the foreign exchanges, the Conference unanimously denounced all attempts to "peg" the exchanges as not only futile, but mischievous. Lord Chalmers cites this decision as proof of the educational value of free discussion among the delegates, some of whom certainly came with the hope that by some financial magic, the Conference could and would solve forthwith all exchange difficulties.

The most important resolution of the Conference declared that "the first condition for the resumption of international trade is the restoration of real peace, the conclusion of wars which are still being waged, and the assured maintenance of peace for the future." Regarding free trade, it passed the following resolution:

"The Conference moreover strongly endorses the declaration of the Supreme Council of March

8th last that 'the States which have been created or enlarged as the result of the war should at once re-establish full and friendly co-operation and arrange for the unrestricted interchange of commodities in order that the essential unity of European economic life may not be impaired by the erection of artificial economic barriers.' Each country should aim at the progressive restoration of that freedom of commerce which prevailed before the war, including the withdrawal of artificial restrictions on, and discriminations of price against, external trade."

Lord Chalmers interprets these last words as being aimed not only at certain countries which refuse to trade at all with their neighbours, but also at Great Britain's policy of coal exports, which excited undisguised resentment among the coalless peoples of Europe who are naturally impatient to restart their factories, and to see their transport once again in full swing.

The Committee on international credits finally disposed of the extravagant hopes which had been entertained in some quarters that loans on a heroic scale would somehow be forthcoming for everybody. The committee found that credits should be accorded not to Governments nor to exporters, but to importers. It required guarantees for ultimate repayment of imports in countries where sufficient security did not exist, but these guarantees should come from the Government, not of the exporter, but of the importer.

WILL THE MILNER PROPOSALS GO THROUGH?

The character and implications of the Milner proposals for the future government of Egypt are examined by the Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, M.P., in the *Nineteenth Century* (December). A brief summary of the Report was published in the *Times* of August 24th last, and the full document appeared in the same paper on November 10th. But up to date neither the British Government nor the Egyptian Delegation have accepted the terms embodied therein, and the reservations entered by the latter, including a demand for the formal abolition of the British Protectorate and the effective enjoyment by Egypt of sovereign rights in the Sudan, make further postponement of a settlement almost inevitable. The one definite step that has been taken is the opening of

negotiations with all the Powers enjoying rights in Egypt under the capitulations for the transfer of their rights to Great Britain.

After a brief glance at the past and present history of Egypt, Mr. Gore deals with the Nationalist reservations, particularly as regards the Sudan.

The Sudan to-day is a territory of nearly 1,000,000 square miles in extent with a scattered population of 4,000,000 governed by about 110 British officers and officials (excluding technical staff) distributed over fourteen provinces. The northern part of the Sudan is inhabited by Arab tribes generally nomad, and the southern by Negroid Central African tribes. The military garrison consists of about 15,000 men, of whom the bulk are black, Arab, and Egyptian units with a small British force consisting of one battalion of infantry and a detachment of artillery. The Sudanese, whether Arab or Negro, are racially distinct from the Egyptians, and there is probably no part of King George's

Dominions where the population are more loyal and contented with British rule.

Of this we can be fairly confident—that the Egyptians would not succeed in governing the Sudan if the British withdrew, and it is doubtful whether they would long be able to prevent the nomad Arabs of the northern Sudan from invading the southern provinces of Egypt. If as a result of the Milner proposals the Egyptian garrison is to be withdrawn from the Sudan it would be both advisable and wise if the present dual sovereignty were abolished in the Sudan and the Sudan finally proclaimed a British Colony—security being given to Egypt in the treaty regarding the water necessary for Egypt's maintenance and further development. It should not be placed in the power of Egypt to prevent the development of irrigation in the Sudan, and it should be borne in mind that in years to come the further provision of water for both the Sudan and Egypt lies in works that will have to be undertaken not in Egypt, or even Sudan, but in Uganda.

Another factor is the Suez Canal, of which the control and maintenance depends upon the small "Sweet Water" Canal that runs alongside the Ship Canal. Unless British troops are in a position to maintain this fresh water supply, they will not be able to control the ship canal; and the Sweet Water Canal takes off from the Nile about forty miles below Cairo.

Something must be said, too, regarding commerce and industry in Egypt. The Egyptians are good agriculturists and good stonemasons, but so far, with very few exceptions, they have not proved themselves capable of either industrial skill or modern commercial enterprise. The internal commerce of Egypt is mainly in the hands of Greeks, Italians, French, Jews and Syrians. The few industries of the country, such as cigarette making, cotton ginning, and sugar manufacturing, are the result of foreign enterprise, foreign capital, and foreign management.

The bulk of the Egyptians are illiterate and so easily oppressed. This should be borne in mind in settling the future conditions of the government.

The existing legislative Assembly, based as it is upon indirect election, really gives no guarantee of protection to the fellahs against the wealthy and educated classes, and it is to be hoped that in any new constitution for Egypt, real political power will be placed in the hands of the agricultural majority, and that they should be assured a position and a say in the government of Egypt which will enable them to protect their interests.

Next, as to the capitulations. Treaties will be required between Great Britain and all the Powers enjoying rights under the present arrangement, providing for the transfer of such right to Great Britain.

The proposals of the Mission do not contain any provision whereby Egypt is to become a party to such treaties with the capitulatory Powers and it would seem on the face of it that this was a serious omission if procedure by treaty is to be the governing consideration in the determination of the future status of Egypt in the world. Procedure by treaty, involving the recognition of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with representative institutions, cuts at the root of the "protectorate" which has been recognised by the Powers signatory to the Treaties of Versailles and Sévres and by the United States of America.

What will become of the British right to select the ruler in whose name the government of the country has been carried on? If this disappears, the protectorate automatically goes too, since with Egypt as a constitutional monarchy the succession to the rulership would be determined by the law of the constitution whatever that may be. In point of fact Egypt has hitherto been neither a Dominion nor a dependency of the British Crown; and its anomalous position as a mere "protectorate" has undoubtedly been a stumbling block to good relations between the two peoples.

This writer considers that even if the proposals go through, as between Great Britain and Egypt, they may break down over the capitulations, because Foreign Powers will hesitate to give up to Great Britain their rights unless they are satisfied that they are losing nothing substantial by so doing. But there are ways out of this and other difficulties.

Thus in the treaties between Great Britain and the capitulatory Powers there should be clause inserted wherein foreign Powers recognise the surrender by Great Britain of her "Protectorate," but at the same time recognise the special position and responsibilities of Great Britain in Egypt and give undertakings not to take any action through their representatives in Egypt or through Egyptian representatives accredited to their Governments, without in forming Great Britain in every case what is proposed.

Finally, it must be laid down in the treaty that if Great Britain obtains from the capitulatory Powers the transfer of their rights, the representative of Great Britain will have the effective power as well as the right to intervene where the rights conferred upon Great Britain are threatened. Just as the United States of America retained the right of military intervention in Cuba in the event of grave disorder or breach of treaty, so a similar right of intervention must be embodied in the Egyptian treaty. The treaty must be made "water-tight" in this as in other respects.

OUR FAR EASTERN POLICY.

Three great changes, in the opinion of the writer in the current number of *The Round Table*, have come about in the conditions which produced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1911, and these changes should be taken into consideration in deciding whether the Alliance should now be renewed. They are (1) that the military and naval power of Germany has disappeared, so that the British Empire is free to diminish its wollen expenditure on armaments, and to distribute its military and naval forces more or less without regard to the European situation; (2) the Russian Empire has disappeared, and Japan is therefore confronted with no great military power which could possibly threaten her independence or development; (3) the Treaty of Versailles and the constitution of the League of Nations have introduced a new principle into the conduct of international affairs, quite different from that on which the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was based. Can the fundamental interests of the British Empire in the Far East—peace and security for British territory, good relations with all Far Eastern powers, the "open door" for trade with China, and the establishment of a capable and progressive Government in China itself—be best achieved by the renewal of the treaty?

Before an answer can be given in the affirmative, there appear to be two conditions which must be fulfilled. In the first place there must be a clear understanding between the British Empire and Japan, that Japan really wishes to establish a stable and independent Government in China, and is willing to live up to the principle of the "open door" for the trade and commerce of all nations within it. That Japan will always have a predominant position in China is certain. Her geographical position ensures this, provided that her policy towards China is benevolent and not rapacious. Nobody grudges her a position of exceptional authority and influence in China, but other nations could not acquiesce in her claiming for herself any exclusive privileges and still less in her attempting to establish any direct or indirect authority over Chinese affairs. An essential condition of the renewal of the Alliance, therefore, must be that Japan accepts completely the policy of loyally endeavouring to set China on its legs, trusting to the advantages of her natural position to secure for herself the great economic benefits which will accrue to her from the development of China, and the legitimate influence in China which a benevolent Japan is bound to possess.

The second condition necessary to the renewal

of the Alliance is that it should not lead to misunderstandings or disputes with other powers. The real danger of renewal is that it may lead to a counter-balancing combination between China and the United States. Nothing could be worse for the British Empire or Japan than that they should drift into a position in which they were placed in opposition to the United States and China. So long as both Great Britain and Japan loyally live up to the principles which originally underlay the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the Government of Japan sets its face resolutely against the policy represented by the twenty-one demands, there is nothing in the Alliance which is hostile either to the interests of the United States or of China. But the negotiation of an alliance between two powers which cannot fail to affect the interests and the future of its neighbours, is bound to arouse suspicion and possibly hostility, unless it is done with their knowledge and consent.

In order to ensure this knowledge and consent the whole Far Eastern question should be frankly and openly discussed, and for this purpose the best course would be to summon a conference at which Great Britain, the United States, Japan, China, Australia and New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, India, and, if possible, France and Russia, should be represented. It might be possible, by means of such a conference, to extend the scope of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in such a way as to reach an all-round agreement in complete consonance with the Covenant of the League of Nations, which would have the effect of securing both to Japan and to the British Empire the advantages of the 1911 Alliance, with none of the disadvantages to which a precipitate renewal of this Alliance at the present time might lead.

The question of the renewal cannot be finally settled for at least another six months. It must be discussed at the next Imperial Conference, and the League of Nations has also to report on the question submitted to it. "The decision," concludes *The Round Table*, "will carry with it far-reaching results for the future of all the nations concerned, and it is, therefore, important that people in every part of the British Empire should begin to consider the matter in order that when their representatives assemble next year with the object of arriving at a conclusion, they may have before them the considered judgment of the people of the Empire."

WHO SHALL RULE THE SEAS?

In the *Fortnightly Review* (December) Mr. Archibald Hurd discusses with the insight of an experienced naval critic the problem of how we are to maintain the traditional British supremacy of the seas which is being challenged by the extensive naval construction undertaken by America and by Japan. There now remain only three navies of the first class, the British, the American, and the Japanese. In the following table, which disregards vessels projecting, but assumes that those now under construction will be completed within the next four years, the relative strength of the three navies in 1924 is shown:—

Battleships and Battle-cruisers :—	<i>Great Britain.</i>		<i>United States.</i>		<i>Japan.</i>	
	No.	Displacement. Tons.	No.	Displacement. Tons.	No.	Displacement. Tons.
First class : 14in. Guns and over	18	487,450	27	983,000	14	438,000
Second class : smaller Guns	18	395,840	8	167,050	3	59,950
Totals	36	883,290	35	1,150,650	17	497,950

These extremely startling figures show that within three years from now the British fleet will have ceased to occupy pride of place on the seas which it has held for over three hundred years. Moreover, it shows that even if we ignore the new programme of eight capital ships which Japan is about to put in hand, Japan will, in 1924, have a fleet of first class battleships and cruisers scarcely inferior in number, and distinctly superior in equipment, to our own. As first class naval powers, France and Italy have already disappeared below the horizon.

Mr. Hurd declares that the hope that the acceptance of the principles embodied in the League of Nations covenant would lead to a general limitation of naval armaments must be abandoned, since neither the United States nor Japan is prepared to acquiesce in any such policy. Both these countries are pressing forward programmes of naval construction which will change radically the balance of power by sea.

Mr. Hurd deals at length with the relative efficiency of the armaments of the three fleets. There is no battleship or battle cruiser whatever under construction

in this country. Three of the four vessels, sisters of the "Hood" which were under construction at the time of the armistice, were promptly scrapped by the Admiralty.

These four vessels were designed before the Battle of Jutland was fought, and that titanic struggle, of much artificial controversy, rendered obsolescent every capital ship under the British flag, as well as under the flags of other European nations. The Board of Admiralty determined to pause to see what action would be taken by other naval Powers in the direction of the limitation of armaments, and in the meantime it abandoned not only these three capital ships and 608 other vessels then under construction, but either scrapped, sold, or placed on the ineffective list a large number of ships which had been rendered obsolete or obsolescent.

Consequently, there are no new men-of-war on hand in this country.

The result is that year by year the strength of the British Fleet in relation to the fleet in the United States must steadily decline, since no heavily gunned and adequately protected capital ship has been down on this side of the Atlantic during the past six years. On the other hand not only did the Navy Department at Washington continue to lay the keels of battleships during the years 1914 and 1915, when we were fighting for our life, but in the succeeding year it adopted a great ship-building programme which included ten battleships, four of them displacing 32,600 tons each, as compared with 25,700 tons of our *Royal Sovereign* class, and six with a displacement of 43,200 tons, as well as six battle-cruisers larger and more powerful than any vessel hitherto built in this country, except the solitary *Hood*; they displace 35,300 tons each. As a consequence of the activity in American shipyards during the last six years, when we have been fighting or attempting to alleviate the wounds of war of ourselves and other nations, the United States will possess in 1924, at latest, twenty-one battleships of the first class, in contrast with fourteen under the British flag, and six battle-cruisers to our four vessels. It is admitted that, as a general principle, the displacement of contemporary ships constitutes a fair indication of their fighting value.

The naval conditions which are now rapidly coming into view are calculated to deal a blow at the prestige of the British people, for the United States will soon have the strongest battle

fleet under any flag, and Japan will, if she pursues her considered plans, possess a battle fleet at least comparable with, and, all things considered, probably superior to, the British fleet.

The inhabitants of the British Empire must now ask themselves two questions. First, is it true, as the naval authorities all agree, that the battle of Jutland has shed such fresh light upon the problems of naval construction that no battleship or battle cruiser built before that battle can be regarded as fully efficient? Secondly, are we content that the men who hazard

their lives in protecting British interests should serve in ships inferior in power and endurance to the vessels under other flags?

Whether the expectation that the United States will co-operate with us in limiting naval armaments will be fulfilled must in the light of later events be a matter of some doubt. Mr. Hurd recalls a recent speech by Lord Beatty which reminded his audience that history shows no instance of sea supremacy once yielded being regained.



Simplexsimus

Quite Simple.

Munich

"What is Capitalism really?"

"It is the money that the other fellow gets hold of!"

HIGH WAGES, THEIR EFFECTS AND THEIR CURES.

Sir Hugh Bell is so well known as a progressive and generous employer that his views on the present crisis that high wages have brought about are all the more important, quite apart from his leading position in the iron and coal industries. In the *Contemporary Review* (December) he contributes a close analysis of the rise of wages during the war, and deals frankly with the difficulties that confront industry while they remain at their present level. He quotes figures from a railway company with which he is connected, and from his own collieries and quarries, which show that before the war the average earnings of the railwaymen were £73 a year, while that of the colliers was £71. This year the railwaymen's average wage has risen to £257, while those of the colliers employed by Bell Bros. are less than £220. He points out the remarkable difference between these earnings as compared with the almost exact level before the war, and attributes the success of the railwaymen in gaining such substantial advance to the fact that the railways were reinforced by the whole credit of the Government. He examines the financial position of this particular railway, and shows that it cannot possibly continue on the present basis. He even asserts that the Government had recourse to issuing paper money in order to find the means of paying some of the wage advances which it sanctioned during the war.

From the experience of his own industries, he shows how the increase of miners' wages will affect other industries.

The coal used in the enterprises with which I am associated is in the main the produce of our own collieries. It is of little moment to us what we call the price of our fuel. What we pay is the cost of getting it. For the purposes of account, it may be called a penny a ton, or a hundred pounds a ton, it would make no difference. The collieries would show a huge loss in the one case and a huge gain in the other, but the blast furnaces and steel works would be affected just as much in the other direction, and the net result in the profit and loss account would be the same. For our own guidance, we used before the war to charge our fuel at what we thought was about market price. Since 1914 the incidence of war taxation with all its strange vagaries has made it the object of the taxing authorities to show a profit at one place rather

than at another, for our rulers have decided that one commodity should pay more in taxes and another less, and so the revenue officers seek to adjust prices and profits accordingly.

The new wage will have to be paid in his case not by the ton of coal, but by the ton of steel, and since it is no longer possible to go to the Government and ask it to pay, on its war contracts, the additional pound a ton on the price of a ton of steel, it seems certain that the price of steel must fall. The only result in that case will be unemployment in his industry.

We have got the whole industry of the country on a false basis, Sir Hugh Bell declares.

Insensibly we have abandoned more and more the proposition that each sound commercial enterprise must find the whole cost out of the proceeds of the undertaking. That the unit of production, ton or yard, must pay every charge was accepted as a true proposition. There has been a growing tendency on the part of the legislature to place burdens on industry, apparently in the belief that these would be met from some other source than the gross product or that there were surpluses which could be used without injuring the business. The charges were imposed sometimes directly on the undertaking, sometimes indirectly by additions to the rates or the taxes to which it was subject. Workmen's compensation may stand as an example of the first description, education of the second. It is no part of the present paper to say whether these burdens are wise, or the reverse. All that is urged is that the charge must come against the proceeds of the unit of production. It cannot be met from any other source.

He quotes the remarkable statistics published by Mr. Geoffrey Drage in *The Times*, which showed that the amount of money involved in State subsidies of one kind or another had increased from £25 millions in 1891 to £312 millions in 1920. This sum, as Sir Hugh Bell points out, must come from the total product of the nation.

We must learn by bitter experience that free education costs money, that housing schemes depending on Government subsidies do not give us cheap cottages, that the promise of ninepence for fourpence is a delusion, which is bad enough, and a snare, which is still worse. We live in a fool's paradise if we think this state of things can continue. We must as quickly as may be get down to hard facts. We can neither afford to spend on "Public Assistance" such sums as have been named, nor to continue to pay such wages as are now current. The sum of the

production of the nation will not provide the funds needed. A mere raising of all the wages paid in this country will not materially improve the position of the inhabitants. Since wages form so large a part of all costs, it is clear that to raise wages means to raise costs. On these increased costs a fresh claim will be based, and so on round and round the vicious circle. The only way in which improvement is possible is by increasing production.

He quotes Professor Bowley's statement that the "wealth of the country, however divided, was insufficient before the war for a general high standard; there is nothing as yet to show that it will be greater in the future." Sir Hugh Bell declares himself to be comparatively indifferent as to how capital shall be held, or in what masses. "The capital of the country as a whole may be owned by the State or held in common by all the inhabitants, or by certain groups or guilds without in any way altering the conclusions to which I have come."

The one important matter is that it should increase, that each year the nation should have produced more than it has spent. In this way alone we can hope to retrieve the position. As we are now going, we are heading straightway to bankruptcy. The more people who share this surplus the better. Savings beget savings and add to the possibilities of increasing that leisure and those amenities which I join with Professor Bowley in desiring to preserve and increase.

There is but one cure, he concludes. We must produce more, and we must spend less, or better still, we must do both. It is essential we should produce more, for only by that means will there be more to divide. He ends by declaring that employers and employed must alike go to school.

I have long felt that those engaged in directing industry should afford to the persons they employ fuller information on the subject of their joint enterprise. For reasons which it would be easy to assign, it is impossible to share the responsibility, but it is not difficult to give information which would convince all who were willing to learn what are the problems to be dealt with and the obstacles to be overcome. In doing this they would learn more of the troubles with which their co-workers are oppressed. Out of these conferences might be hoped to come mutual understanding and confidence. For it cannot be doubted that the common good brings also the individual benefit. We need not pretend that it is an easy lesson the parties to the question have to learn. It presents great difficulties, for it deals with many complicated circumstances, and with problems which, though always present, have not long been at all clearly stated.

Let all concerned bring good-will and a desire to understand the problems and to find their solution. If we fail, we may be forced to learn in the hard school of compelling need, perhaps even in the clash of civil strife.

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN FRANCE.

France is fast returning to the Faith, writes Mgr. Charles Gibier, Bishop of Versailles. The excess of scepticism has ended in a reaction, and the Roman Catholic Church is rapidly gaining lost territory in what Joseph de Maistre called "this impetuous nation which cannot return to the truth till it has exhausted error."

In a striking article in *The Constructive Quarterly* (September), Mgr. Gibier gives his reasons for believing in a great Catholic Revival in France. The phenomenon has two aspects, the psychological and the historical. For a century, Europe and France underwent the experience of living without God, and the result was confusion, mediocrity, and decadence. Chamfort,

an eighteenth-century witness to materialism, expressed an attitude of mind common to many people when he said of the sceptics, "they talk so much that they will end in making me go to Mass." A sick, declining France, torn by social unrest, was brought face to face with Death and Eternal Verities by the war.

Under the stress of patriotism, wounded and bleeding, the powerful breath of a higher life has been felt in our land, and France has suddenly returned to the oldest and most indispensable of its traditions—Catholic tradition. The godlessness which characterised recent years from 1880 to 1914 was but a superficial weakness, an aberration which did not spring from the deep soul of the nation and could, therefore, not last. By virtue of its suffering during the war France has been torn from unbelief and plunged into belief.

The change was profound and noticeable to anyone. Paris and the provinces fell upon their knees in prayer. The national conscience "returned to its normal orientation, which is Catholic orientation." Family and public prayers again became a familiar sight. "It seemed as if France itself could not keep alive without Catholicism."

Twenty-one thousand priests lived in the French army, and they were unanimous in declaring that nine-tenths of the soldiers were without religious knowledge of the most elementary kind. University men could not reply to questions that a Catholic child of ten could answer. The great majority of people in France are still ignorant of the simplest doctrines of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, the requisite atmosphere is there.

We thank God that even though France after the war has not suddenly and as by a miracle become entirely Catholic, *it is nevertheless more ready to be converted.* Although our working people, our peasants and our middle classes may not be really better, they are, however, receptive to improvement. In our towns and villages there are two or three million prophets of duty, with the habit and the desire to serve, capable of understanding the language of the true and good. The priests, the heralds of the Gospel, gain a more ready hearing. They no longer preach in the desert, they find not only among the leaders but in the very hearts of our remotest villages ears ready to hear. The mission of the clergy is as laborious as it ever was, but it is more acceptable and more fruitful than before.

The historical cause of the revival, writes M. Gibier, is that Catholicism is the natural tradition of France, and that in a period of suffering it was almost inevitable that she should return to it. Again, during the war, everyone has seen the useful and benevolent work of the Church, and the last sacrifice paid often by priests for their country. The Bishops used their influence to raise national loans, and assisted the Government in many ways. A third reason is that the programme of the Church appealed to many people who deplored the lack of moral fibre. The Church would have no compromise with decadence. It preserved the family, gave a sane view of evil and pain, was a steady influence against impetuous social unrest. M. Hanotaux speaks somewhere of "this great King—Catholicism."

The fire of the revival was expressed by Pierre L'Ermite, in the *Croix* of October 21st, 1917, when he said:

"Our enemies to-day, much less intelligent than the arch-heretics of old, have abandoned *all the ideals of life.* Their programme is based on immediate reward, on the intrigues of politics, on absolute scepticism, that is to say, on all that is fleeting, all that is dishonouring, all that perishes."

Mgr. Gibier is optimistic about the future, which he believes is with the church. The keynote of the article is a quotation, again from Joseph de Maistre: "The Frenchman more than any other man needs religion; without it he is not only weakened, he is maimed."



De Nolenkraker

[Amsterdam]

The Plight of Germany.

The Grip of the Peace Terms.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH BRITISH FILMS?

The cinema was born in Great Britain and migrated to France and America. In spite of American rivalry, London has become the centre of the industry, and nearly all the selling and buying of films is done in London. Why is it that British films are so bad?

Mr. Frederick A. Talbot discusses the question "Is there a British Picture Play industry?" in *The World's Work* (December), and criticizes the production of films in this country in detail. He regards the common view that "the British race is essentially creative but does not develop," as inadequate. A sound salesman, he writes, will tell you that they could easily sell British films but for one defect. They are below the standard. They are weak in plot and execution, lack novelty, are deficient in drawing power, otherwise emotional strength, and while possibly appealing to the privileged few, are minus all the essentials appealing to the masses. These are the facts on analysis.

If we take the factor of photographic excellence we cannot admit any advance upon the efforts of "Daddy" Paul or his contemporary, Colin Williamson, and they retired from the field many, many years ago. In fact, some of the British films of recent manufacture are so deficient in technical quality that they ought never to have seen the light of public exhibition. It is such indifferent work which inflicts such far-reaching injury upon the industry as a whole, because an indifferent film is remembered for a far longer time by the member of the average audience than one of unassailable excellence.

In point of histrionic ability we are likewise far behind our rivals. We have not yet reached the stage of catching the actor or actress while young and training him or her to the peculiar ways of the cinema. We do not appear to grasp the fact that acting for the screen and the legitimate stage are two vastly different undertakings.

The technique is deficient, but there is another important item. The mechanical side of the industry is one of the most perfect examples of standardisation in the world. Out of the 60,000 picture palaces that exist, not a single one does not observe the Edison-Paul standard perforation gauge.

The perforation gauge to-day is precisely the same concerning the number of holes per foot, dimensions of holes, and width of film as when first introduced to the market. Defects are admitted and have been discussed from time

to time with a view to their elimination, but the 64 holes per foot in either margin of the film still prevails, for the simple reason that it would be impossible to alter them. Were the slightest change made it would throw out of service thousands of miles of pictures which have been made up to date, and the financial loss thus incurred would be so tremendous as to condemn any such movement to failure.

France and America have recognised the need for unification and three of the machines, the perforator, camera, and printer, are of identical construction. But it is not so in this country.

For the most part there has been no attempt at unification. The film is perforated upon a Smith perforator, the play recorded by means of a Robinson camera, and the positive printed on a Jones' printer, to be thrown upon the screen finally by a Brown projector. As there does not happen to be a standards committee in the cinema industry comparable with that observed in connection with engineering, there arises a slight difference between the mechanisms of the three instruments. The camera may vary from the perforator only by the thousandth part of an inch, but that discrepancy is adequate to set up a disturbance which becomes accentuated upon the film passing through the printer, which may have mechanism differing from the other two by a thousandth part of an inch. The projector, although invested with the capacity of correcting slight divergencies, cannot make a complete rectification, with the result that the pictures refuse to stand steadily upon the screen.

Another force in the cinema industry is the "efficiency man," who is concerned only with output, and restricts the excesses of the producer. He has justified his existence in America, and made the production of a film conform to a system, with specified limits as to time and cost. The British industry has so far refused to entertain the efficiency man, and that in defiance of the fact that he is a stimulating factor, no matter from what angle he may be considered.

Faced with the incontrovertible fact that picture-play production in these islands is five years behind the practice of our most successful rivals, it is obvious we must put forth a herculean effort to be considered as being in the front rank for the world's trade. In these islands there are barely half-a-dozen firms capable of being considered upon the same plane as those of America and France. They are toiling hard to recover the lost ground, but it is an uphill struggle. What is required is a bold acknowledgment of all the virtues pertaining to American and French methods and their adoption and adaptation to British conditions.

Mr. Talbot has no doubt about the coming American invasion. In the United States to-day, the production of film plays is about eight times greater than the consumption. But there is time and opportunity to meet the danger. The public are tired of American plots, players, and atmosphere, and British films, with British plots, taken amid British surroundings are demanded. Unless capital is made out of the present position a comprehensive invasion from America will

extinguish all but the best established British firms.

Some attention is paid to the question of filming popular novels and plays. The writer points out that it is difficult to make the characterisation in the film coincide with what the reader has visualised. Dickens is an obvious example, for who could take the part of the immortal Pickwick? The French were the first to adapt novels to the screen, and the idea was enthusiastically taken up in America.

THE SUCCESS OF AIR TRANSPORT.

Mr. Harry Harper, the Technical Secretary of the Civil Aerial Transport Committee contributes to *The Fortnightly Review* (December) an interesting survey of the progress made in commercial aviation since the war. The problem for the organisers of air transport, he declares, is not so much the aircraft or its speed or reliability, as the provision of sufficient loads to be carried regularly by air. We are ready now, he says, for the routine of commercial flying.

Air transport has been proved to be rapid; it has been proved to be reliable; it has been proved reasonably safe; and it has been shown, also, that it can be provided at rates which, when one remembers the time saved, are perfectly commercial. In more than a year's daily flying between London and the Continent, a route on which wind attains an average velocity of nearly thirty miles an hour, and blows often at gale strength, the "air expresses" have maintained a steady average speed which has never fallen below 100 miles an hour.

As to reliability, all one need say is that on its first twelve months' flying between London and Paris the pioneer express service was able to attain—even though a number of aids to bad-weather flying were lacking—a percentage of dependability as high as 94; while in regard to safety—though here again there were special risks which science and organisation will now remove—the Continental airways registered more than 700,000 miles of their first experimental flying, in all weathers, with the loss of the life of only one passenger and the injury of none. Mishaps there have been. Accidents we must still be prepared for. We cannot expect to establish a new mode of transport like this without paying some sort of toll for the immense benefits we shall gain.

This whole question of risk is, of course, one of averages and of reliable statistics. There are

elements of risk still which should not exist when air routes are better equipped; and so long as there are such possibilities of danger, lying in wait, so to say, for some abnormal weather conditions or circumstances, one cannot rest content in one's mind. At the same time, and when viewed in their proper relation to existing conditions, the figures I have been able to quote are certainly most encouraging.

It should before long, he says, be as safe to travel by air as by land and sea, and when high speeds are entailed, air navigation should in some respects be even safer than very fast travel on the earth. Moreover, with reasonably large loads of passengers, mails and goods forthcoming regularly, an air way operation, with such improved machines as now exist, should have no difficulty at all in making progress.

Already we can carry half a dozen passengers for the same engine-power we required last year to carry two. The designer of commercial aeroplanes is, indeed, constantly busy now with experiments and with the special problems which arise in the actual working of airways. His machine must leave the ground quickly. It must fly at a high average speed. It must alight as slowly as possible. Above all, as one famous designer summarises it rather neatly, the aim must always be "to do the same work with just a little less power."

Air routes must not only be maintained, but extended rapidly. They must be regarded as a convenience to be restricted to the few, but as a new factor in life which must be shared by all. This universal development of flying in which trans-ocean, air-ship routes must play their part, will require capital to the extent of

many millions. Mr. Harper pleads eloquently for a recognition by the various governments of the urgent necessity to assist commercial aviation in its pioneer stages. So long as the opening up of new airways is a matter of sheer unrelieved speculation, flying during the next few years will be doomed to a bare struggle for existence. Mr. Harper draws attention to the invaluable uses of a mercantile air service as an adjunct to the naval and military air services.

Though the design of service aircraft must take a line of its own, and though the commercial machine may develop in such a way that it will be of little use in future wars except as a transport or a form of auxiliary cruiser, the existence of large commercial firms will be of immense value to the war service. Their designing staffs can be called upon; their resources for manufacture on a large scale will be available instantly; while commercial air routes, with their landing grounds, night-flying equipment, and skilled staffs, will also prove of extreme utility in time of war; not forgetting the airway pilots who, though their training will have been different from that of service pilots, will none the less be available for all sorts of non-combative duty.

No less valuable will be the uses of commercial development of flying from the point of view of stimulating trade.

Though great cities stand just where they did, it is none the less a fact that Paris is almost as conveniently near London now, from the point of view of getting there and back in a day, as is, say, Birmingham. On the same basis we shall soon have Madrid as near London by airway as is Glasgow at the present time by railway; while the air journey from London to Rome will be made in about the same time we take to travel to Dublin by train and boat. Business men will, in fact, now that we are really entering on the phase of commercial air transport, find that the map of Europe, so far as getting from place to place quickly is concerned, is less than half the size it used to be.

Already we have laid the foundations of a European airway system. In addition to the daily "express" services from London to Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam, one can travel on from Paris by air to Strasbourg, Geneva, and Prague; while from Amsterdam, *via* Bremen, there are now three services weekly to Berlin. Vienna has also been connected with Berlin, the service being so arranged that travellers who breakfast, say, in Vienna can reach Berlin in time for lunch. Recently the Paris-France service has been made a daily one, the journey being accomplished in about six hours.

Flying is not only the fastest form of travel, but also the easiest. Mr. Harper draws a fascinating contrast between the comfort and simplification of travelling

by aeroplane, and the irritation and unrest of an ordinary journey.

Take, for example, a journey to Paris by boat and train. You get to Victoria in time, say, to catch a morning train. Then, after the usual formalities and the securing of a seat, you settle down to a long and fatiguing day. First you have the journey to the coast; then the ordeal, which is dreaded by so many, of the Channel crossing. Then there is the scramble for a seat in the Paris train, followed by more hours of travel before, in the evening, you arrive in Paris and taxi to your hotel, quite tired out.

Now take the airway. You find suddenly, we will suppose, that you must make an urgent journey to Paris to-morrow, getting there as soon as you can. You ring up and book a seat in the "air express." Next morning a motor-car picks you up in the West End and takes you out to Croydon Aerodrome, and, after brief Customs formalities, you are in the air.

Specially-designed passenger aeroplanes have been put lately on the Continental airways, and they are proving remarkably comfortable. One new type, flying now on the daily service between London and Paris, carries a pilot and eight passengers. The latter are accommodated in armchair seats, luxuriously padded. The saloon they occupy is totally enclosed and quite draught-proof, and there are wide side-windows from which they can obtain a full view of the land or seascape below. A new refinement, which is very much appreciated, is the introduction of a sound-deadening partition between engine and saloon, which reduces the noise, even when this fast machine is rushing through the air at more than two miles a minute, to just about what one is accustomed to in a tube train. Conversation becomes easily possible between passengers sitting near each other.

Your air journey from Croydon to Le Bourget, the air-port of Paris, takes only about two hours, and you look down nonchalantly on the Channel from a height of several thousand feet. Its terrors are gone.

You alight at the Paris air-port, and a motor-car takes you promptly into the city. You have one vehicle for the whole air journey, and one ticket only instead of a bookfull.

The cost of the journey to Paris, as compared with roughly £5 for a first class rail and boat journey, is ten guineas. For busy men, the saving in time which works out at a cost of about £1 an hour on the difference between the fares, is obviously worth while, and next summer we are promised fares from London to Paris at seven guineas, which will mean a rate of only about sevenpence a mile.

If figures such as these can be quoted at this early stage of flying, when the services are so few and the volume of traffic so trifling, it only shows what should be possible in the future—and in the not-far-distant future—to place this new mode of travel within the reach practically of all.

THE BREAK IN HIGH PRICES.

The collapse in prices is here with a vengeance, says Mr. J. George Frederick in the *American Review of Reviews* (November), and few have any doubts as to the permanence of most of the lower levels, while even lower levels will probably be reached. When the drop was at last seen to be inevitable, many people hoped that the painful operation could be made gradual, but that was reckoning without the public. The public, knowing of declines in wholesale prices, continued its refusal to buy anything until the drop was reflected in retail prices as well.

Then came out one of the most effective economic denouements ever known—the announcement by Henry Ford of a return to pre-war prices on his automobiles, with a preachment on the duty of putting business on a pre-war footing as soon as possible through a general reduction in prices. The result was a price stampede, not so much in the automobile business as in general lines of merchandise. Within two days after the Ford announcement eighteen articles had dropped in price, and twenty days later over two hundred items of merchandise had markedly receded. Practically all merchandise of every description started on a downward career. It was not a mere puncture; it was a blowout!

Ratios of Decline in Nine Months.

The Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank at New York indicates the following declines in the first nine months of 1920:—

Commodity	Per cent. decline. from peak.	Peak Month
Sugar	31.8	June
Wheat	18.8	May
Corn	33.4	May
Oats	50.0	May
Potatoes	76.7	April
Cotton	27.4	July
Wool	46.0	Jan.
Serge	11.1	July
Silk	72.0	Jan.
Hides	31.7	Jan.
Leather	17.8	Feb.
Rubber	42.4	Jan.

Mr. Ford is generally credited by business men and the public with having swung an effective axe upon the tottering war-time structure of high prices, by the single power of his example.

Automobile manufacturers great and small met in troubled session and could not agree to follow Mr. Ford, leaving the matter to individual decision. By October 10 a total of twenty-six manufacturers (including Ford) had announced price reductions, averaging from 17 to 20 per cent. These manufacturers represent about three-fourths the total production.

The general extent of price reductions in all lines of merchandise, from a head of cabbage to a car load of lumber, has been more or less spectacular.

Woolen-goods manufacturers cut 15 to 20 per cent. Silk is now 65 per cent. below the high peak of last winter. Hides are down to pre-war prices. Rubber is down to 27 cents (lower than at any time in its history), as compared with 52 and 53 cents at the beginning of the year. Flour has come down \$1 a barrel, wheat 25½ cents a bushel, and corn 43 cents a bushel. Pork has taken a drop from \$43.50 to \$31.50 a hundred pounds. Cotton-seed oil dropped from 22½ cents to 12½ cents a pound. Leather is down from 60 cents to 56; cotton from 33.6 down to 24.5. In three great basic staples, corn, wheat, and cotton, \$4,000,000,000 in value has evaporated in little more than a month.

The articles more commonly in the public's budget have gone down at wholesale with no small slide. Sugar has now fallen to 11 cents (from 22) and has produced a most anomalous situation among the refiners and others whose contracts and commitments were large. Coffee has dropped from 15½ cents to 7½ cents—a decline of over 50 per cent. Tea has come down from 22 cents to 15 cents. Lard is off 8 cents a pound. Clothing has been coming down with almost no bottom in sight, further reductions being promised. It should be remembered that whereas the average war-time rise in price of other articles was 100 per cent., clothing went up 177 per cent.

The index figures collected by Dun and Bradstreet tell the tale statistically in mass. The Bradstreet index for prices of thirty-one articles a year ago was \$4.90, and on October 9 of this year it was \$4.24, a reduction of 13.4 per cent.

The Dun figures indicate eighty-two price recessions and fifteen advances. Of the seventy-six commodities listed by Bradstreet's, ten advanced, thirty-six declined, and thirty remained unchanged.

The Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Labour on September 19 indicated that potatoes had declined 44 per cent. in thirty days. Declines in food prices were reported general in fifty-one cities.

Cotton goods, which have been exceedingly high, took a tumble late in September. A large maker of cotton cloth announced a cut of one-third, and a leading shirt and collar manufacturer announced a 10 to 30 per cent. reduction.

The two big Chicago mail-order houses added to the list of large factors reducing prices by announcing on September 23 cuts of 10 to 25 per cent. from the prices printed in their latest catalogues.

Woollen mills reduced prices to a sufficient extent to take \$10.50 off the cost of an average suit of clothes. Suits that sold at \$50 are now \$30.

At the convention of the Purchasing Agents' Association in Chicago on October 10th, it was predicted that prices would decline as much as 50 per cent. in the next six months. That is how expert buyers regard the situation. The retailers, however, are still holding fast to the old prices, but are so heavily stocked with goods bought at high prices that they will be compelled sooner or later to sell.

The public has, however, steadfastly refused to buy with any freedom, and is literally laying siege upon the retailers. It is believed that "the impossible" must happen; dealers' stocks must be moved, even if at loss. It is conceded to be economically unsound for business to refuse to follow the natural laws of economics by holding out for prices based on the costs of yesterday.

It is cynically pointed out that dealers did not want to raise prices almost daily when the market went the other way. Bankers have pointed out the fact that cuts in prices are producing sales—thereby easing credits and releasing millions in capital.

CABLES AND THEIR USES.

A writer in the *New York Commerce Monthly* (November) makes a strong plea for the extension of cable facilities between America and both Europe and Asia. Apart from the growing commercial needs for more cables, he points out that their use in the service of newspapers is an important factor in the improvement of international relations.

Multiplication of the avenues by which information may be dispatched from any given territory inevitably makes the suppression or distortion of news more difficult. It is perhaps especially unfortunate that the Pacific regions where the frontiers of four races touch, with all their potentiality for misunderstanding and the stirring of racial prejudices, should be so poorly provided with means of communication to this country.

He points out that both Japan and the United States intend to spend about \$8,000,000 on each of their newest battle cruisers, whereas this sum would probably suffice to duplicate the entire existing cable plant from America across the Pacific, and besides building up the trade of the two nations, would give increased facilities for acquiring news about each other to both countries.

Cable rates have been lowered as the lines have multiplied and traffic has increased.

The first trans-Atlantic rate of one pound per word, with a minimum of twenty words, has been reduced by progressive steps to the present tariff of a shilling a word flat for ordinary messages and substantially half rates for deferred messages. There has lately been a substantial reduction in

the rates to South America and to the Far East. It seems probable that one of the first effects of radio competition will be to cause a reduction of cable rates, and an improvement in service through a diversion of press matter and other business where secrecy and absolute accuracy are not essential, thus clearing the cables for the exclusive use of strictly commercial and urgent personal business. The experience of the last five years has conclusively demonstrated that the amount of business which is available for the cables is limited only by the physical capacity of the lines and the ability of the operating companies to keep rates at a point which will attract business.

The statistics of trade between the United Kingdom and India and China together, which increased from 300 million dollars in 1870 to 775 millions in 1918, and between the United Kingdom and the U.S.A., which increased within the same period from 450 million dollars to 2,675 millions, show how great has been the influence of telegraphic facilities in bringing nations together. It has also introduced an element of stability into international trade which was impossible when intercourse depended solely on the mails.

Until the cable was available the importer was compelled to place his orders without current quotations either of the market in which he had to buy or of the market in which he proposed to sell. Within the memory of many men still active, every American importer who bought in Europe faced the risk involved in having his orders carried out more than a month after he had received his last information on market conditions abroad. So, too, if a sudden change in conditions here made it advisable to increase or decrease his orders, more than a month

elapsed before he could be assured that his instructions had been obeyed. With other parts of the world the time required was even greater. In trade with the Orient, the best part of a year was necessary to complete a single transaction.

The greater reliability and secrecy of the cables make them, in combination with the international land lines, supremely important in the transaction of the world's business. Even the best mail communication is far too slow to allow of its being relied upon exclusively for the use of commerce. Wireless is yet far from perfect, and while its utility is unquestionably increasing, experts differ widely as to whether it can be wholly depended upon in the near future to meet the growing demand for additional avenues of intercourse between the nations. The two utilities each have their own place, and their development may be expected to proceed independently.

Just as the telephone, contrary to many predictions, did not make the telegraph obsolete, but rather increased its usefulness, so it may be safely predicted that radio and cable are likely to supplement one another for many years to come, the development of each increasing the usefulness of the other.

Under such conditions, manufacturers had to depend upon importing and exporting houses, and to allow them the widest latitude of judgment in regard to trade. With the cable he can now export directly if he wishes, and keep in as intimate touch with his foreign business as he does with his domestic sales department. Markets have to-day become absolutely international.

Wireless telegraphy, in comparison with the cable service, is at a great disadvantage, although it has probably brought about a reduction in the rates of cables.

The cable is dependable in its operation and its messages are secret, and, while the high-speed, mechanically operated radio stations are not greatly affected by atmospheric and magnetic conditions, their vibrations are spread broadcast, so that a comparatively simple mechanism enables any one to read them. The radio is in effect a party line, upon which the whole world may listen in.

The writer insists that until some effective international degree has been reached for placing the world's cable system under neutral control America must concentrate upon the extension of American cables.

Without such a system American foreign trade is faced with the difficulties inseparable from

doing business over a system largely owned and managed by the commercial rivals of the United States.

The entire cost of an American cable system which would give us direct communication with the principal commercial nations of Europe, South America, and the Far East, would be a comparatively small sum compared with the cost of the newly-built American merchant marine. It would give the commerce of the United States what it needs, and what the commerce of the older countries already has. The spending of thousands of millions on means of transportation for American trade is a doubtful prospect so long as this country has no proper facilities for the agents who spread that trade, and as long as the ships which carry it can communicate only with the consent of foreign nations, or through foreign-owned agencies.

In certain regions present cable facilities are so congested that, apart from national considerations, new American cables would serve a pressing international need. The most acute need for additional cable facilities at the present time is in the Pacific Ocean. While over the north Atlantic cables traffic has practically quadrupled since 1913, in the same period Pacific cable traffic has increased nearly ninefold. On account of the great distance between the Pacific ports of the United States and the Asiatic centres of commerce, much of our business with the Far East must be done by cable. The Department of Commerce estimates that the cable plays a part in as much as 85 per cent. of our transactions with the Orient. Serious fluctuations in commodity prices and in the price of silver, the circulating medium in several of the important commercial nations of the Orient, have made the need for speedy communicating with these regions more imperative. In addition to this, our trade with the countries beyond the Pacific has increased greatly since 1913. The result has been that the single span of cable which connects this country, the Philippines, China, India and Japan has been greatly overloaded. In 1913 the traffic over this single line of communication was approximately 580,000 words. In 1918 4,290,000 words were sent across this same cable wire. In 1919 the total exceeded 5,000,000 words.

No alternative route exists at present for most of this business. The British cable from Bamfield to Australia is overcrowded with traffic, and the other routes via Europe are also congested. Restoration of the Mediterranean route, which got into disrepair during the war, has not yet been completed, and the lines across Europe and the Far East, depending upon land lines across eastern Europe and Asia, are unavailable at present.

Some slight relief is being afforded by the radio stations which have a present capacity of from 10,000 to 15,000 words a day, but both commercial interests and scientific men are agreed that only the laying of another Pacific cable will afford permanent relief.

WAS THE TSAR MURDERED BY GERMANS?

That Tsar Nicholas II. was murdered "not only by Germans, or, what is the same thing, Magyar assassins, but for motives of German policy and with the connivance, if not at the instigation, of the German Government," is a contention put forward by Mr. John Pollock in the November *Fortnightly Review*. The evidence for the German plan for dealing with the Tsar came to Mr. Pollock from two sides, first, a former member of the Duma, who learned it in Petrograd, and communicated it *before the Tsar's murder*, and, second, an officer who had been in the Emperor's bodyguard, had held high command under the Provisional Government, and was in correspondence with agents within the Bolshevik headquarters in Moscow.

Mr. Pollock begins his narrative with a statement of the German control of Moscow in the middle of 1918. The city, he says, was then full of Germans, and practically occupied by German and Austrian troops. The statue of General Skobelev, who had loudly voiced Russian hatred of Germany, was pulled down. At least two direct wires connected Berlin with the Kremlin, and another with the house of Count Mirbach, the German ambassador. "A strong force of Germans, looking ill at ease in the Russian kit in which they were disguised, guarded the quarter where Mirbach resided, while the rest of the town was a parade-ground for Austrian troops, nominally prisoners of war, but clad in brand new Austrian field service uniforms, marching in regular formations. . . . No one on the spot had any doubt that the Germans could in a single night have taken open control of the ancient Russian capital and with it all the machinery of government in Moscow."

What, then, was to be the *dénouement* of the drama the first act of which was played by the German trains that transported Lenin and his confederates to Russia and the second staged in the tragic-farical "set" of Brest-Litovsk? How did the Germans propose to make use of Nicholas II. once they had him in their power?

As the tale was told to me, thus: Nicholas, in the Act of Abdication signed at Pskov, had abdicated the throne of Russia; not only in his own person, but for his son as well. This was probably *act ultra vires*, but its invalidity,

if it was invalid, could not be relied on. It would not be enough now to produce Alexis the Tsarevich, and, declaring him legal wearer of the imperial crown in place of his father who had resigned it, get him to support the German claims. To make sure, Nicholas himself was required. But, since he could not be relied on to execute the policy of the enemy he had fought, he was required only to make way for the son, a weakly boy who could be better managed. The plan was, therefore, to bring back both father and son to Russia, when Nicholas should recant his abdication as having been obtained under pressure, and then again solemnly abdicate, but with this difference, that he would now abdicate in favour of his son Alexis. Alexis would thus be legal Tsar of all the Russias. He it would be who should then sign the peace of Brest-Litovsk.

And what of the future? That, too, was prepared for. Alexis would be Tsar, but a minor, and therefore a regency must be instituted. The regent should be the Grand Duke of Hesse, the ex-Empress's brother, and, that assurance might be doubly sure, the boy Emperor should be married to a German princess. With a German Empress, of whose sympathies this time the Germans would make sure, a German regent, and the position legalised by Nicholas's formal recantation of the ban he had pronounced against his son, the Germans might feel reasonably secure against attacks on their governance of Russia from a juridical point of view: from the practical standpoint the overthrow of the Bolsheviks, who would with their connivance vanish from the scene, and the restoration of order, would give them a hold so strong as to make it almost impossible to dislodge them. Thus assured both legally and actually, they would proceed to use the resources of Russia to feed the starving population of Germany and buttress their weakening Western Front against the Allies.

But, as we know, the plan failed. Nicholas refused to be a party to the scheme, his words, as reported to Mr. Pollock by the officer from whom he derived his information, being: "I will not be a traitor to my people." And after the failure the Germans determined to close the lips not only of the Tsar, but also of all those with whom he had been in touch and who might have disclosed the secret.

Only after the murder of Nicholas II. did the Germans officially decamp from Moscow. Thereafter their work was underground. This is the crucial proof that when he was gone the policy they had pursued became vain, and the justification of the view put forward here. Knowing, as we have reason to believe we do, what was asked of the Tsar, we see clearly that his refusal to do the German work was an ample, and the only reason for his death. In the first place,

once he rejected the Germans' offer he became useless to them; in the second, because he was a witness to it, an active danger. There was no further reason why they and their Bolshevik minions should not fling him, like carrion, to glut the appetite of the criminals who composed the bulk of the latter's rank and file; and there was every reason why they should wish to suppress all possible testimony to the traitorous deal they had proposed. The Emperor Nicholas II. gave his life, and, yet harder, the lives of the only beings he loved, rather than be false to his trust.

This is a new reading of a tragic episode in history, and, if true, it fully justifies

Mr. Pollock's comment that "however unpalatable the idea may be to some people, we owe the downfall of the main German intrigue in Russia to the loyalty of Russia and her Allies of the Tsar, whom his enemies falsely accused of being a traitor to both." Tried by the test of probability, Mr. Pollock adds, the theory accounts for the facts we know about the Tsar's death, and it accounts for all of them. "The key fits the lock. To the best of my belief, it is the only one that does."

THE FRENCH ACADEMY'S LATEST RECRUITS.

In spite of all mistakes made by prejudice or ignorance, and in defiance of the gibes of a hundred satirists, the French Academy continues to hold a prominent place in the current history of cultivation, writes Mr. Edmund Gosse in the *Edinburgh Review* (October). "It may be irresistible for its critics to laugh at its errors, and to regret the longevity of some of its members; but there is no doubt whatever that its extinction would leave a melancholy void in the centre of the activities of European literature."

Mr. Gosse asserts that if the great war had lasted longer, or if the fate of Paris had been further imperilled, the French Academy might have even come to an end. In normal times, whenever one of the forty members of the Academy dies, the remaining members elect his successor. But during the war the Academicians were so widely dispersed and so much distracted by war work, that no meetings for election could be held. An unprecedented condition thereupon developed. Death after death impoverished a body, which saw no means of restoring its numbers, and which yet must so restore them or must ultimately cease to exist.

At the moment of the Armistice the Academy saw itself reduced to two-thirds of its full strength.

Already, before the Armistice, the gravity of the situation had been the subject of much anxiety, and various members, among whom I think I may be allowed to mention M. Maurice

Barrès, had been active in discussing the mode in which catastrophe might be avoided and in considering provisionally what names should be selected to fill up the *lacunæ* in each section of the Academy. One of the first observations made by these guardians of the Cupola was that the sentiment of the nation, and of the Academy itself, was in favour of conferring the signal honour of the palm-leaves upon several of those who had been mainly active in bringing the resistance of France to a victorious close. That the great soldiers had not contributed much, or anything, to what could definitely be styled literature, was not held to be an objection to this course.

Accordingly the first reception of a new member to the Academy was that of Marshal Joffre on December 20th, 1918. None had taken place for more than four years, when M. Bergson had succeeded, in a time of apparent peace, to the chair of Emile Ollivier.

The general public in Paris showed such a violent appreciation of the "immortalisation" of the great soldier, and clamoured so loudly for a repetition of the experience, that those who had the real dignity of the Academy most at heart became alarmed for the claims of imagination, style, and scholarship, which were the proper objects of its solicitude. Hence, it was determined, before honouring any more unlettered, or faintly lettered, public men, to add to the body several writers of unquestioned merit.

There were now but twenty-seven members of a body normally fixed at forty, and the necessity for filling up the ranks was pressing. On March 20th, 1919, M. René Boylesse, the novelist, was received

to fill the place of Alfred Mézieres. The stage was to be next represented, by the election of M. Francois de Curel. Never since the hour of its creation was the French Academy so rapidly reorganised as it was in 1919.

Monseigneur Alfred Baudrillart was received, on the 10th of May, to fill the place left early in the war by the sudden death of the Comte Albert le Mun. He is a great orator, a fervent Catholic propagandist, and a master of apologetics; and he has taken up a strong patriotic attitude against those who, like certain pro-German relatives of Spain, have criticised unfavourably the attitude of the Gallican Church.

The lay Academicians wear green coats on which golden palm-leaves are applied. The dress of the ecclesiastical members follows an etiquette which the outsider may not attempt to account for. Monseigneur Baudrillart was received in a black robe edged with red, and of course without a sword. When, however, a short time later he was called upon to adorn the reception of M. Jules Cambon, it was observed that he was entirely clad in that colour which is called "Roman violet," but which is actually a kind of indigo blue distinguished as much as possible from the "pourpre cardinalice" of the Vatican. These details must not be held unworthy of the notice of the Muse, for they reflect the ingenuities of three hundred years.

M. Jules Cambon was soon afterwards elected, and, in what Mr. Gosse calls "the hour of the politicians," the veteran M. Clemenceau took his seat under the Cupola.

But there may be too many political candidates for immortality. What can have led M. Louis Barthou to covet the green coat and the palms, or what can have induced the Academy to consent to admit him to its body, are questions which it would need much acquaintance with the under-currents of Parisian intrigue to decide. M. Barthou is a politician pure and simple, who has held a portfolio in several Governments. He has the reputation of being a "moderate" man, and he has not shown himself enthusiastic about the alliance with England. He collects coins, it is said, in his leisure moments, which have never been sufficiently protracted to allow him, so far as I have been able to discover, to write or publish anything of any literary significance. It is the weakness of an Academy to be amenable to claims which are invisible to those who regard style or scholarship as the signs manual of lettered competence. M. Louis Barthou has been made an Immortal, and it is not for a foreign barbarian to question the wisdom of his peers in so honouring him. We must hope that he will not live to exclaim, like Titheus:

"Release me, and restore me to the ground."

Marshal Foch, whose claims to literary eminence, as the author of various text books of military science which have

already achieved immortality, were much more serious than those of M. Clemenceau, was elected to the Academy in 1918, but was unable to take his seat until February of this year. Since that date the elections have been more strictly confined to men of real literary prestige. M. Henry Bordeaux, the Marquis de Flers, M. Joseph Bédier, and M. André Chevrillon, have in turn been elected and taken their seats in the Academy, and the last of the recruits to fill the seats that were vacant during the war was General Lyautey. He had been elected, in fact, no less than eight years ago. But his wildly romantic career has kept him in the discharge of his military duties in Northern Africa. Mr. Gosse notes that his few books, which earned him his admission to the Academy even in 1912, were described by Mgr. Duchesne, who received him with an official address of welcome, as being "austere, intensely technical, rarely intelligible to the average reader."



(Korikaduren)

(Christianski)

The New President.

France has elected Millerand President, and he will play a personal rôle in politics.

IS LITERARY CRITICISM DEAD ?

The passion of the average book-reading Englishman to learn what other people are writing about the books he hopes to read has now reached an ironic and sterile stage. So says Mr. Thomas Moulton in *The English Review* (November).

A little while ago, the critical pronouncements of our literary weeklies were of definite assistance to the reader in forming an opinion of the worth of new publications; most of us, indeed, are able to look back at (and sigh for) the days when a critical notice in which some book or other received favourable regard was a guarantee of the selling-out of a whole edition during the first few days following the appearance of the notice. Even in the year before the war there existed a Northern bookseller whose habit it was to commence the week's business by ordering up to a hundred copies of a new volume which had been the especial choice and the subject of favourable comment in the local Sunday journal of the previous day. And Mr. Arnold Bennett's weekly causerie in *The New Age* is known to have made an even more practical impression. But at the present moment, by all accounts, although the critical essays in the reviews are read with as great an enthusiasm as they were ever, their tone makes no appreciable difference to the practical life of the books themselves.

Publishers assert that advertisement and criticism alike are useful to them merely in keeping their names before the public, and as a record of their publications. If this is really so, why do publishers still pay ten, fifteen or twenty guineas for full-page advertisements in the literary journals?

The surprising fact is that modern writers are just as anxious as ever for favourable notices of their books.

We come, therefore, to a recognition of three things: that the critical journals *are* being read; that authors *are* concerned with whatever the critical journalists choose to say about their writings; and that the critical journal is still a valuable link between the three individuals concerned in the issue of a book. And yet, withal, there was never a period of letters in which criticism wielded less influence over the reading of intelligent men.

Mr. Moulton attributes the decay of literary criticism to the absence of any literary critic of real eminence and personal prestige. Criticism as a whole is suspected, and not without reason, of being lukewarm, self-interest, and favouritism.

We have come to regard the pronouncement of any anonymous reviewer's three lines in a morning picture paper as of equal importance with that of the genuine critic who has served some sort of apprenticeship to his trade.



De Notenkraker

[Amsterdam]

The Strong and the Weak.

Before and after Mr. McSwiney's death from starvation.

SHORT CUTS TO CHEAPER LIVING.

Mr. Frederick A. Talbot, author of many books on the utilisation of waste products from industrial purposes, contributes a number of fascinating suggestions for domestic economy to *The World's Work* (November). In the midst of universal complaints about the difficulty of living at the present time, the inventor, Mr. Talbot declares, is revelling in a situation which gives the widest scope for his fertility of thought and resourcefulness. It may be the discovery of means by which the life of a suit of clothes may be prolonged by fifty per cent. or the consumption of coal cut down by one half, or it may be some new idea which results in saving time and labour in the home.

It is the cooking stove, says Mr. Talbot, which sends the fuel bill soaring.

The old-fashioned kitchener with its capacious grate and hurricane draught is a glutton for fuel, and the consumption is as heavy when the essential operation has been completed. Several distinct improvements upon the traditional range have been made. One is the combined stove; another is an extension of the slow combustion stove adapted to anthracite; a third is the gas stove and hot-water boilers.

In the case of the first, the fire can be instantly adapted to culinary or drawing-room requirements. The upper part or side of the stove constitutes the oven around which, by the manipulation of a simple flue, the products of combustion—that is, the heat—may be circulated, to perform cooking operations, while an ingenious device allows the fire to be enclosed to present a boiling support. When the cooking task is completed, the stove can be converted into an open grate, coinciding with the latest ideas in this direction, and which, when so converted, conveys no visible signs of being available for culinary purposes.

In this instance the conversion system is undoubtedly economical in fuel consumption, inasmuch as when open the fire burns slowly and yet clearly. In its latest form this grate will even fulfil the objects of the accepted kitchener in regard to hot water. At the back a boiler is introduced, and in such a manner that hot water is assured, whether the stove be used open or closed.

Another improvement, resulting from the increasing tendency to eliminate the kitchen as such from the modern small house, is the invention of a portable dresser which is a sort of combination of the usual dresser, sideboard, and kitchen cupboard.

The vacuum washer is another recent invention with great possibilities.

With the vacuum washer, which accomplishes with clothes in the wash-tub work comparable with the vacuum cleaner upon the floor, a disagreeable duty is not only performed expeditiously but with the minimum of energy, while pronounced saving is effected in regard to soap. Finally—and this is a feature which will appeal to the careful housewife—the wear and tear imposed upon the textiles is so slight as to be negligible. In these days of high costs, when displacement of necessities is often a searching problem, enhanced life of articles in everyday use is no mean advantage.

Various inventions specially applicable to houses in the country also promise a great saving in labour and expense. One is the oil-fired stove which competes successfully with the gas-stove, and is without odour or smoke, besides being economical. Another is the system of combining the petrol engine with the electric generator.

It was the war which was responsible for perfection in this field being recorded. Combined petrol motor-electric sets were in widespread request for the economical supply of electric energy for lighting, pumping, and general power purposes upon the battlefield.

One such installation, depending upon a two-stroke petrol motor of less than 3-horse power, can be fitted into four cubic feet of space.

The motor is directly coupled to a compound-wound generator having an output of 1,250 watts, while the installation includes a 115 ampere-hour intermittent rating battery, and switchboard, of the simplest design. Even those who are somewhat apprehensive of electricity, regarding it as a mysterious force, can operate this installation without fear. It is adequate to supply current for ten 30-candle-power lamps at a cost of one penny per hour, even with petrol costing nearly four shillings a gallon.

Means have been discovered for renovating electric lamps by a simple process which restores the lamp to as good condition as when new at a price equal to one-third of the original cost. Mr. Talbot describes other interesting inventions which all promise well,

from the perfection of various devices to lengthen the life of footwear; the elimination of the golosh by the interposition of a rubber sole between the outer and the inner soles; the utilisation of improved protectors for attachment at parts subjected to the maximum of wear; as well as the increasing resort to rubber for the outer soles in place of the more expensive leather.

CHINA'S STRONG MAN.

It is a great thing, perhaps the greatest of which a Chinaman can boast, to have descended from Confucius. Unlike most Europeans, the humblest Chinaman can trace his ancestry for thousands of years, and it is established that the Confucian family, though widely scattered over the north of China, has had its headquarters in the same locality in Shantung since 500 B.C. Interesting stories are told about the late Duke Confucius and others by the Right Hon. Sir John Jordan, in the *Nineteenth Century* (December). The author was one time H.B.M. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Peking.

The late Duke Confucius claimed to be the seventy-sixth in descent from the Great Sage. When he lunched with the writer at the Legation, about two years ago, a motor-car mishap made him late, and "he fined himself several glasses of wine."

He talked freely about the political condition of Shantung, China's "sacred province," and commented in bitter terms on the foreign aggression to which it had been subjected for twenty years. I turned the conversation to the European peace terms which were then under discussion, and asked him what he thought of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. "Who is President Wilson?" was his prompt and ingenuous reply.

And yet the Duke was seriously considered by the foreign press, after the fall of the Manchu dynasty, as a possible successor to the throne of China.

In a different category is Yuan Shih-Kai, the strong man of China. The writer has a deep admiration and intimate knowledge of this diplomat who had the most difficult charges of the Empire in his hands, Korea and Shantung. Yuan Shih-Kai was quite a young man when the intrigues at Seoul began to undermine Chinese authority in Korea. The King "was past master in intrigue, knew every move in a game which he played with consummate skill for forty years, and might have saved his kingdom if he had devoted to its Government a fraction of the care and trouble he took to divert the public revenues into his private treasury." And there were the Japanese. The war, of course, put an end to Chinese

ambitions in Korea, and after reforming the army on modern lines, Yuan was sent to Shantung.

Shantung then, as now, was the political storm-centre of China. The German Emperor had been looking out for a "coaling station" in China, and had come to an understanding with his Imperial Brother in Russia by which they were each to appropriate to themselves desirable slices of Chinese territory. A missionary riot in the province occurred at an opportune moment to furnish the necessary pretext, and Kiaochow, the finest harbour in China, passed into German hands. All these acts of foreign aggression exasperated the people of Shantung beyond measure. As immigrants to Manchuria, they had seen Russian encroachment at work there, and now they were called upon to witness a German application of the same Imperialistic policy to their own province. The result was the Boxer outbreak, which made its first manifestation in Shantung, and but for Yuan Shih-Kai's firm handling would undoubtedly have attained even wider proportions than it did.

But Yuan Shih-Kai's greatest achievement has been educational and not military. As Viceroy of Chilli, he obtained a decree ordering the abolition of the old system of Civil Service Examinations which kept China backward. Also, in spite of the present lapse, Yuan lived to see his country practically free from poppy cultivation.

On the death of the Empress Dowager, in 1908, Yuan was dismissed from office and lived in retirement for over two years. He "sought to persuade himself that the ideal existence was to be found in fishing and planting trees." The "will-to-power" was too strong, and when the revolution broke out at Wuchang he was the only man for whom the troops would fight. He was forced into accepting a republic, though he would have been content to retain the boy Emperor as a figurehead.

However strange and even fantastic that arrangement may appear to Western eyes, it had at least the merit of avoiding the violence and bloodshed which have accompanied similar changes in Russia and other countries, and it has been observed with good faith on both sides. The boy Emperor, a bright and intelligent lad, still lives in his Palace in the enjoyment of his Civil List and maintains friendly relations with the successive Presidents of the Republic. For the next four years Yuan Shih-Kai was the absolute ruler of China, and it is probable that no other man has in modern times exercised such complete control over such a vast area or exacted the unquestioning obedience of so many millions of people.

FOREIGN OPINION.

GERMANY.

In foreign affairs the first place in interest, at least at the beginning of the month, was held by the Austrian elections. It may be an advantage at this point to recount a little past history, since Austrian domestic political affairs have been largely neglected in the British Press, though nothing appears more certain than that, with the entry of Austria into the League of Nations, foreshadowed during the month, and the need for a decision on the question of Austrian adherence to Germany—nothing is more certain than that these two possibilities are likely to make Austrian political developments of a great European importance in the near future. September last, then, saw the end of the Austrian National Constituent Assembly which was elected in February, 1919, after the Revolution and the flight of the Emperor Karl. In this body the Socialists had a majority, and although they were compelled by the smallness of their majority over the Christian Socials (*Christlichsozialen*) to enter into a coalition with their rivals, they succeeded in retaining all the most important portfolios, including the office of President of the Republic, Herr Seitz, and the State Chancellor, Dr. Renner.

During practically the whole of its existence the Constituent Assembly had been the scene of violent disagreements between the two parties to the Coalition. Except on the most urgent questions of national reconstruction, the feeding of the people and similar matters, there is scarcely a topic on which the two chief parties found themselves in agreement. Yet the Coalition had to be maintained; there was no alternative but anarchy. And the result was a series of legislative compromises which culminated with the passing of the Austrian Republican Constitution last October. In this an adjustment of the centralising tendencies of the Social Democrats to the federalistic tendencies of the Christian Socials was effected, and after a few words of commen-

dation from the spokesmen of both sides the Assembly dissolved and proceeded to the elections. At the last moment an attempt was made by the Social Democrats and the Pan-German (*Gross-Deutsch*) Party to hold, simultaneously with the elections, a plebiscite on the question of Austria's union with Germany. But this decision was postponed by the Christian Socials, who as a party are divided on the question, and there was substituted a declaration that such a plebiscite would be taken within six months of the summoning of the new Parliament.

In the result the Christian Socials gained at the expense of the Social Democrats and Pan-Germans. The Austrian Communist Party, in spite of tremendous efforts and a lavish propaganda, failed to return even one candidate, the unpopularity of its doctrines among the masses of the people being even more convincingly demonstrated in Austria than in Germany. The newly-formed Bourgeois Labour Party secured representation in one seat—the candidate returned being its founder and leader, Count Czernin. The reappearance of this distinguished Austrian politician is an item of special interest. As soon as the results were known the Social Democratic members of the Government resigned, and after a little delay the Christian Social leader, Dr. Mayer, was charged by the President with the formation of a new Government, which he succeeded in bringing about early in November. The whole event may be interpreted first as a sign of dissatisfaction on the part of the Austrian people with some of the methods of government of the Social Democrats; secondly, since several of the Christian Social gains were at the expense of the Pan-Germans, as a proof of a less ardent desire for union with Germany than many had hitherto been inclined to think existed. It is, by the way, of interest to note that *Deutsche Politik* for October 29th, in its comment on the elections,

ascribes the result to the women's vote, but does not hint that the question of the *Anschluss* ("attachment" to Germany) had anything to do with it. Altogether the Christian Social success, although greeted in certain of the German papers as a sign that Austria, in spite of all her privations, was still politically stable, was not very favourably received in Germany. A more pronounced vote in favour of union with Germany would have been more flattering, and all those reviews, such as *Die Hilfe*, who dealt with this point, could do was to console themselves with the thought that this would come in a few months' time.

A very interesting article by Professor Bergsträsser in *Das Demokratische Deutschland* for November 14th sketches the writer's idea of what German future foreign policy in general should be. In the first place he recalls the main principles of Bismarck's policy, in the forefront of which was his determination to prevent France, after the disaster of 1871, from placing herself at the head of a coalition of Powers hostile to Germany. For some years Bismarck's efforts were crowned with success. Austria and Italy were brought within the German orbit; Russia was at least kept out of France's. But in 1889 the Franco-Russian *rapprochement*, in spite of all Bismarck's efforts, became an accomplished fact. The German Empire, the Professor goes on to argue, was placed before the alternative either of forcing or persuading Russia out of that combination, or of setting up a rival coalition, a counter-weight. The latter was provided by the Triple Alliance, but Germany never felt this sufficient so long as England's disinterestedness in France was not obtained. And England, instead of being driven from France's side, was forced to go to her support because of the short-sighted diplomacy of Germany.

From the past the future diplomatists of Germany must learn their lesson. First of all they must see how far it is of practical value to consider the revision of the Treaty of Versailles. Professor Bergsträsser finds a certain comfort in what he describes as a "difference in degree of hostility" on the part of Germany's enemies, and he quotes from some of the revelations of M. Tardieu concerning the

decisions of the Peace Conference, especially over the question of the Rhine frontier. But not here, says Professor Bergsträsser, not in the Saar Valley, not even in Alsace-Lorraine, is the first problem to tackle. "The decisive point for us lies in the east," that is, in Poland. French policy in Poland is for Germany the all-important factor in foreign policy for the next few years:—

Mutilated Germany needs first of all freedom of movement in the east, and she must firmly advance towards this goal, not only her political directors, but the people as a whole, popular opinion. For the difference between a parliamentary and an absolute state lies in the fact that logical foreign policy cannot be followed unless it is supported by popular opinion.

There follows an appeal to the writer's own political party, the Democrats, to draw up a consistent programme of foreign policy. With this a most significant pronouncement concludes.

A notable fact in this connection deserves to be chronicled—the establishment in Berlin of the so-called "*Deutsche Hochschule für Politik*," or German Technical School for Politics. A speech made at its opening by the Professor of History, Dr. E. Jäckh, is printed in *Deutsche Politik* for November 12th. In this it was admitted that the project was modelled on the French "*Ecole libre des sciences politiques*," which numbered an average of over six hundred students a year before the war. Remarking that "it was the 'école' that triumphed at Versailles," Professor Jäckh went on to urge the necessity for Germans to school themselves more thoroughly in the aims and methods of diplomacy, in the teachings of political history. Apparently the beginnings of the Institution were promising, for 518 students attended the lectures during the first week. The effort is in any case of the greatest importance, as showing that German political leaders—Dr. Simons, the Foreign Minister, attended the inaugural ceremony—are determined that a defeated Germany need not be a quiescent Germany.

Looking away from Germany, public opinion during the month was chiefly concerned with two events—the Republican victory in the United States, and the development of the Little Entente. The first of these was dealt with in an article

in the *Neue Zeit* by Heinrich Cunow, who attributed the result to a general aversion on the part of the majority of the American people from President Wilson: "The President, deceiving himself as to his popularity, proclaimed his support of Cox and thereby spoilt the latter's chances." "The result is far more a pronouncement against Wilson than a protest against what is called 'Wilsonism.'" Herr Cunow then goes on to inform his readers that a large number of the German and Irish voters voted "for Harding, and that the bad speculations of many of the American farmer-class and their consequent desire to visit their troubles on Wilson's head may have had more to do with the Republican success than a good many people think. The conclusion of the article is that "Harding will be decidedly the representative of American financial and commercial imperialism."

The new Republican regime will thus serve the interests of American capitalism, and many a politician, hugging the delusion that the end of the war would see the downfall of imperialism, will probably in the next few years have to accept bitter surprises.

But Herr Cunow, both as patriotic German and as nationalist Social Democrat, sees little reason for regretting the election of Senator Harding:—

Germany, and to a certain extent our own party, has no reason for regretting the election of Harding. It seems likely that the new American policy of expansion in trade and the mercantile marine one has a right to expect will bring the United States, as regards its capital, into a certain rivalry with England. This being so, it will be necessary, in order to get the better of England, to make certain concessions to us—concessions such as England, not hard-pressed economically, would not bring herself to agree to. For German trade and Germany's export industry the situation is likely to be more favourable.

On the Little Entente there are two noteworthy articles in the German reviews for the past month—in *Das Demokratische Deutschland* for October 31st, by Professor Bergsträsser, in *Die Hilfe* for November 5th, by a Hungarian writer, Gustav Erenyi. The conclusions of the latter article are summed up in the following paragraph:—

Dr. Benes's plan was undoubtedly directed towards the formation of a great Central European union of states—excluding Hungary,

He did not, however, succeed in this. The project of a far-reaching union shrank to the dimensions of an agreement between the Czech and the Jugo-Slav State . . . German-Austria, threatened in her democratic constitution by Hungary, stood aside, a benevolent spectator.

The prospects of the lasting attachment to the Entente of Poland, Bulgaria, Greece, even Roumania, are dismissed as rather remote and the entire confusion and apparently unending racial rivalry in South-Eastern Europe described. In the circumstances advice is given to Germany, who under other conditions might have greeted the Little Entente as a step on the road to the realisation of the "Mittel-europa" of Friedrich Naumann's conception, to stand entirely aside. All such separate political formations, such as the Little Entente, especially such as are inspired with a mere negative idea—in this case little more than the desire to place restraint on Hungary—are in plain opposition to the whole spirit of Naumann's plan, for the fulfilment of which Germany must wait for a more favourable opportunity.

A number of other developments, in both domestic and foreign policy, deserve to be chronicled. In a few cases they aroused great discussion in the daily Press, but in the reviews were relegated to a secondary place and will not demand more detailed description here until—as in the majority of instances is likely to be the case—they again come forward for debate. We would mention the establishment of the Free State of Dantzic, formally agreed upon during the month by the ratification of the Dantzic Treaty between the Free State and Poland under the Treaty of Versailles; the English decision not to take advantage of the right conferred on the Allies of seizing German private property in the event of Germany's default in the execution of the Treaty—this was briefly commented upon in *Deutsche Politik* for November 5th; the conflict between General Zeligowski and the Lithuanians over Vilna, discussed in an article by Axel Schmidt in *Deutsche Politik* for November 12th; the approaching plebiscite in Upper Silesia, which both Prussia and Poland had attempted to influence by the promulgation of laws of autonomy—the Polish measure is des-

cribed in *Das Demokratische Deutschland* for October 31st; the celebration of the second anniversary of the German Revolution, marked in Berlin by an electricians' strike, which is dealt with in the reviews by only one important article, so far as we have been able to discover—that of the Democratic Reichstag deputy, Anton Erkelenz, in *Die Hilfe* for November 5th.

The more general or literary articles of the month were to be found in *Preussische Jahrbücher*—a very noteworthy analysis of the historical philosophy of Marx by Professor Haus Delbruck and an appreciation of Rabindranath Tagore by Martin Raubisch; in the *Neue Rundschau* the most remarkable feature, for the English reader, would be found to be the excellent German renderings, by Claire Goll, of a selection of poems by young American poets, among them Carl Sandburg, Orrick, Johns, Max Eastman, Cale Young Rice and Ezra Pound—the last-named's "Before the Aquarium"; the *Literarische Echo*, in its two numbers for the month, was as rich and varied in its contents as usual—particular attention being demanded by Wilhelm Golther's review of recently-published German musical literature and Max Meyerfeld's appreciation of George Moore's "Jesus-Roman"—that is, his "Brook Kerith." The most handy and complete account of German dramatic production during the month is still to be found in the *Neue Schaubühne*, whose illustrations of typical stage-settings for recent productions at the principal theatres of Germany are always a particularly interesting feature.

FRANCE.

The King's telegram to M. Millerand on Armistice Day, the compromise arrived at with regard to the question of Germany's having a voice in the Reparations discussions, and the shelving of that country's admission to the League of Nations, combined to produce a more amenable tone in the utterances of the responsible French press. France is not satisfied with the progress of events; for that matter nobody is. But she finds the British attitude more conciliatory

than it was, and she shows a disposition to be thankful for small mercies. Her state of mind is calmer, more philosophic, and the "breeze" occasioned by the British decision not to enforce penalties against German property in this country appears to have died away.

Even M. Poincaré, the most authoritative of the grumblers, has become, for the time, milder in his discontents. The larger part of his *Chronique* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for November 15th is devoted to a survey of French colonial policy since 1870. Only towards its end does one discover the principal *motif* at the back of the writer's mind: the contrasting of what France has had, and ought to have now, with what the Peace of Versailles has actually given her. Thus, Alsace belonged to her, and its return by Germany merely establishes a *status quo*, and cannot be considered as compensation for the fresh injury she suffered in the late war. The cession of the Saar basin is hedged around by conditions of ultimate return if the natives so decide. The African acquisitions and Syria are a bagatelle compared with what Great Britain has obtained. Reflecting on these disappointments, M. Poincaré turns sharply on the enemy, who, he is convinced, is bent on reducing France's advantages still further by her recurring evasions. In emulation of Bismarck, he says to Germany: "The possible is what you promised." Fehrenbach is accused of "strong and audaciously hostile language" to France in the Reichstag. He "dares to speak of French militarism, French Imperialism"; and Dr. Simons is almost as bad, though he has better manners.

In the *Correspondant* (Nov. 25th) M. Bernard de Lacombe also refers to the recent speeches of these two German statesmen as indicating a desire to profit by allied divisions and the troubles at Danzig, Sebastopol and Athens. Wrangel was "a hope"; but his *débâcle* might have been foreseen, as he never had any real following among the peasantry who instinctively opposed any one who presented himself as a ruler over them; and France should not have been in such a hurry to accord him recognition. As to

Greece, this writer is regretful that M. Venizelos was defeated, more especially as the Allies, in giving so much to the Greece of Venizelos, have "irritated the Bulgar and exasperated the Turk." But the event may have its compensations in so far that it provides an opportunity for the Allies—especially if the Greeks have Constantine back—of revising the Turkish treaty in favour of Turkey. This idea, it is significant to note, was exploited much more freely by the daily French press during last month. On League of Nations prospects M. de Lacombe is frankly sceptical, considering the absence of the United States as a fatal drawback to the League's success, and asserting that the Assembly lacks especially "a realistic and practical mind." A dig at Lord Robert Cecil for pleading the cause of Armenia, but not of Ireland, furnishes another indication of the bad impression produced in France by the British handling of the Irish problem. In regard to Germany and the Reparations agreement, M. de Lacombe fears that Geneva may be a repetition of Spa, and while admitting that the arrangement marks progress, urges that the Allies should make up their minds much more definitely than they have done on what they are going to say and do at the conference, more particularly on the possible modification of the indemnity if the Upper Silesia plebiscite decides against Germany.

The polite scepticism of M.M. Poincaré and de Lacombe on the future of the League is balanced by a well-written and thoughtful article, "How the League of Nations can live," contributed by M. René Herbert to *La Grande Revue* (Oct.). This writer deals with his subject historically, but stresses chiefly the psychological and moral aspects of the League; and he links up its principle and faith with that which ought to be applied to nationalities in their domestic affairs. In other words, the new outlook and the new charity, which alone can make an international League a success, must begin at home.

First place in the *Mercur de France* (Nov. 15th) is given to an article by M. Gaston Sauvebois on "Intellectual Syndicalism." The writer examines the factors that prompt "intellectuals" to range

themselves on the side of the manual workers, suggests their place in the joint movement (i.e., at the top of it), and prophesies a harmonious future for the two sections. Juridical, literary, artistic and medical questions are, as usual, treated with insight and ability in the pages of this review. In the issue of November 1st there is a specially interesting article by M. Albert Maybon on the Japanese Theatre. In the *Revue de Paris* (Nov. 15th), M. Hercé's article on "The Realisation of the Irish Republic" is worth noting.

ITALY.

The most important event in Italy during November was the conclusion and subsequent ratification of the Rapallo Agreement, as the treaty signed at that Italian watering-place between the Italians and the Yugoslavs will be called in history. The text was published in the principal papers, and may be summarised as follows:—

Italy's Istrian frontier, with a few modifications in the Yugoslavs' favour, was confirmed.

The Adriatic islands, Cherso, Lussin, Pelagosa and Lagosta, pass into Italian possession.

The town of Zara becomes Italian.

The *corpus separatum* of Fiume, as constituted to-day, is to be established as a separate state, adjoining Italian territory on the one side and Yugoslav on the other. A special Mixed Commission is to undertake the exact delimitation, all differences of opinion being submitted to the President of the Swiss Confederation for arbitration.

Within two months after the coming into force of the treaty a special Mixed Commission shall be set up with the duty of concerting measures for the political, commercial and intellectual *rapprochement* of the two countries.

On the whole the Treaty was well received in the Italian Press. Extremist Nationalist circles were naturally critical of the giving up of the claim to the Dalmatian coast, but it was generally realised that what was secured in return was ample compensation, and there was

a widespread feeling of relief at the settlement. Among the Yugoslavs the criticism in the Press was rather more unfavourable, and there was a certain feeling against ratification in the Parliament. But these difficulties were overcome and endorsement was duly secured. Immediately afterwards M. Trumbitch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, handed in his resignation, regarding his work as done after the conclusion of the Treaty. The sole outstanding difficulty, at the close of the month, appeared to lie in apprehension at the attitude of D'Annunzio, who was reported to be hostile. But there were at least no serious developments in Fiume by the end of November.

The chief articles in the Italian reviews for the month were as follows:—

In the *Nuova Antologia* for November 1st, an account of the Co-operative Movement in Italy from the pen of the famous Italian economist and former Minister Luigi Luzzatti; in the important Catholic review *Vita e Pensiero*, articles on "The Papacy and Italy's national Problems" and "The New Political Orientation in Austria and Italian Interests." In *La Vita Italiana* Signor Pietro Lanino discussed the relations between the fluctuations of the Italian exchange and political events in Italy—in particular, the metallurgical strike. In this connection it should be mentioned that the industrial situation during November showed a considerable improvement over previous months, and that, apart from one or two serious incidents, particularly at Bologna, where there was a fatal riot, there was a general feeling of increased security.

SCANDINAVIA.

SWEDEN AND GERMANY.

Probably never in the history of the Scandinavian countries has a speech been the occasion of so resounding an international sensation or of such exacerbated comment and controversy as that delivered by M. Castberg in the Norwegian Storting on November 11th. M. Castberg, who is a Vice-President of the Storting, is, in independence of character and by virtue of his actual achievement as administrator and legislator, one of the

most remarkable figures in Norwegian public life. He has been a Minister of Justice and has held other important offices in various Liberal administrations. He now leads a group known as "Labour Democrats" who are advanced Radicals, though not Socialists, who have seceded from the official Left to which they were formerly affiliated. M. Castberg was, during the war, a pillar of strength to the Entente in Norway. He is now an ardent advocate of the League of Nations and of the ideals that inspired the creation of the League. He is, therefore, opposed to Imperialistic tendencies in foreign policy and to all alliances or "Ententes" outside the League of Nations.

On November 11th, the date referred to above, M. Castberg, in the course of a debate on the policy of Scandinavian Co-operation, a project of Swedish Statesmanship which enjoys a certain popularity in Norway and Denmark, by way of illustrating the secrecy with which the "Ministers' Meetings"—the Prime Ministers of Sweden, Denmark and Norway have met in conference from time to time during and since the War in order to formulate a common Scandinavian policy where general Scandinavian interests have been in question—are conducted, declared that, after a conference of the Scandinavian Governments, King Gustaf of Sweden communicated personally with Italy, probably with the King himself, threatening that Sweden would join Germany if Italy did not remain neutral. "That," added M. Castberg, "is what we are exposed to under Scandinavian Co-operation."

The Prime Minister, M. Gunnar Knudsen, replied that not a word had been mentioned at the meeting of Ministers in reference to what M. Castberg had said, concerning the King of Sweden. Nothing in connection with alliances during the war had been discussed at their meeting. Thereupon M. Castberg rejoined "That in itself condemns the Meetings of Ministers."

The bearing of M. Castberg's retort will be more clearly understood if reference is made to an article published in *Dagbladet* in August last by M. Castberg—an article which at the time made a stir in the Scandinavian countries. M. Castberg

there emphasised the dangers of a Scandinavian Entente to Norwegian and Danish interests and to the peace of the North. The interests of Sweden did not, he declared, coincide with those of Norway and Denmark in respect to Russia. Sweden's Aland policy was a menace to Finland, with which country Norway desired to live in amity. Sweden, he concluded, would inevitably make use of Scandinavian Co-operation to further her own ambitions.

M. Castberg's disclosure of King Gustaf's ultimatum to Italy seems to have come like a thunderbolt upon the Scandinavian public, though apparently the facts were not unknown in diplomatic and official circles. The Norwegian Press, in general, pronounced the disclosure indiscreet and feared that its effect would be to cause a feeling of uncomfortableness in Sweden.

In Denmark as in Norway, the general tendency in the Press has been to deprecate M. Castberg's action which jeopardised the movement towards inter-Scandinavian co-operation. The Conservative *Nationaltidende* however, supports M. Castberg and writes with considerable asperity of King Gustaf's démarche.

The Swedish Press is unanimous in vilification of M. Castberg, to whom *Dagens Nyheter* contemptuously refers as "the leader of an inconsiderable group of Norwegian Entente-Activists," but speaks with uncertain and contradictory voices of King Gustaf's démarche. *Svenska Dagbladet* declares that the King's action was wholly constitutional and was taken under Ministerial responsibility. Elsewhere the tendency is to minimise the effect of M. Castberg's revelation, describing it as mere tittle-tattle about a misunderstood but harmless episode. The *Göteborgs Handelstidning* thinks that the hostility of *Nationaltidende*, the organ of the Danish Right, may be explained by the fact that the representative of Sweden on the Slesvig Commission, General von Sydow, concurred in the opinion of his English colleague that certain parishes should be left to Germany, whereas the Norwegian and French representatives thought it just that they should go with the rest of Slesvig to Denmark.

Göteborgs Handelstidning quite loses its temper with the *Daily Telegraph* which

connected King Gustaf's ultimatum to Italy and the visit of M. Hammerskjöld to Berlin with the efforts subsequently made by Sweden to induce Germany to secure Sweden's "vital interests" in the Aland Islands at Brest-Litovsk. It refers in this connection to "a certain political tendency in England to make use of all occasions to kindle dissension and strife between the Scandinavian peoples in order to further England's influence in this part of the world."

The Finnish Press is restrained in its comment even on the tortuous diplomacy pursued by Sweden in respect to the Aland Islands. A valuable contribution is, however, made to the controversy by the distinguished Finnish historian, Prof. Danielson Kalmari, in *Unsi Suomi*. In reference to the Swedish assertion that at Brest-Litovsk Sweden's aims did not go beyond the razing of the fortifications on Aland, Professor Kalmari cites a speech delivered by M. Eden, then Swedish Premier, on December 30th, 1917, in which it was asserted that Sweden was striving for a better solution of the Aland question than that contained in the Treaty of Paris (1856). Professor Kalmari also adduces evidence to show that it was on Swedish initiation that M. Sundblom, the Aland leader, undertook the plebiscite in Aland at the beginning of 1918. Again he shows that M. Björkman stated on his return from Stockholm on March 24th "that he had been informed by a person in the all-highest circles in Sweden that an agreement had been reached with Germany about the cession of Aland to Sweden." Finally Professor Kalmari cites Count Reventlow, writing in the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* on January 9th, 1918, where Reventlow declares that the psychological moment had now arrived for the solution of the Aland question, viz., by their cession to Sweden; and an article in the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt* stating that as a result of negotiations the conclusion had been reached that it was in the common interests of Germany and Sweden that Aland should fall to the share of Sweden, or, what was tantamount to that, that the population of Aland should have a choice between becoming united with the Swedish "Motherland" or remaining under Russia.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

"Mr. Balfour," by E. T. Raymond. (Collins, 12/6 nett.)

Mr. Raymond has won a deserved reputation as a writer of character sketches, a class of literature which is very rightly popular, the proper study of mankind being man. Conceding his skill in this genre, we are left doubting whether he is the safest guide to any particular personality. Humanity, we feel, is hardly to be dealt with wholesale in this fashion, and such interpretation as we can get is likely to be a very individual affair. A Boswell can give us a Johnson, but the odds are all against his giving us anybody else. Mr. Raymond has given us no such intimate picture of anyone. He is rather the smart onlooker, who adjusts his monocle, sweeps the company with his eye, and says the right word about each. Somewhere in almost any sketch he writes you will find a sentence or so that starts you on a profitable train of thought. It is probably not the result of any biographical science, the application of definite canons to his material. Rather we conceive that there is something daemonic about his method, so that the illuminative sentence is on the paper before it has really presented himself to his full consciousness. Hence we are wholly unimpressed when he leads off his more ambitious treatment of Mr. Balfour by playing at being scientific. The statesman, it appears, like All Gaul in the commentaries, is divided into three parts—perception, energy and judgment. All this is vanity.

Mr. Balfour was bound to be specially attractive to a man practising Mr. Raymond's hobby, because he is one of the most interesting of personalities. We assess most men for what they have done. If we find them great, it is hard to separate their greatness from some cause or foible. Mr. Balfour is interesting, because of what he is, and in spite of what he has not done. Mr. Raymond, himself, has perceived this truth on his third page.

He has always been credited with an indefinable superiority over his performances. They have been notable; but it is vaguely felt that

the man is more notable still; in the midst of his greatest failures, he was more interesting than other men in their most triumphant success. With others, the "might-have-been" is a reproach; with men like Mr. Balfour it is a tribute: they please in disappointing.

But is the disappointment justified? There are some men who raise expectations that they do not satisfy, and we have a sense of grievance. To expect Mr. Balfour to "do things" would be to miss the point of his philosophy of life. "Cast your deadly doing down," ran the old Calvinist hymn, "doing ends in death." At least it ends in Acts of Parliament, new institutions, and this and that and the other, which are as likely to be bad as good, and probably in the ultimate are neither the one nor the other. Mr. Balfour, in words quoted by Mr. Raymond, has given us his practical philosophy in a nutshell.

"The wise man," he once said, "is content, in a sober and cautious spirit, with a full consciousness of his feeble powers of foresight, and the narrow limits of his activity, to deal as they arise with the problems of his own generation."

Mr. Raymond quite rightly fixes on this quality as the essential fact about his subject. If Mr. Balfour has a motto, it is Lord Melbourne's "Why can't you leave it alone?" Here let Mr. Raymond speak again:

Illiberal in the true sense Mr. Balfour has never been; intellectually, indeed, he has always indulged a scorn for any kind of narrowness. A Nonconformist being dead, Mr. Balfour was extremely willing for him to be buried in a polite and tolerant manner; to any single Dissenter, to any class of Dissenter, to any number of Dissenters, he was ready to accord this privilege. But he was less ready to consider the claims of Nonconformists who were inconveniently (and perhaps unwarrantably) alive. Again, he has no objection to a woman calling herself M.A., because that did no particular harm, if it did no particular good. But she must not call herself M.P., or even vote to make an M.P., because that meant the one thing Mr. Balfour has always resisted—it meant a difference.

That Mr. Balfour became later a convinced supporter of Woman Suffrage does not invalidate the argument. He had found out that it would make less difference than leaving things as they

were. It needed a far less acute intellect than his to see through the vote, to realise how much more disruptive a force a voteless person may be than a voter. What is called Mr. Balfour's laziness is really nothing of the kind. It is a reasoned conviction that popular ideas about doing things are wrong. When it is necessary to do them, he is for doing them vigorously. That is the explanation, or as near to it as we shall get, of the paradox of his Irish Secretaryship, the reason why "Pretty Fanny," who was expected to die of a rose in aromatic pain, became "the base and bloody Balfour."

Of course in his avoidance of the idols of the hustings Mr. Balfour has gone to extremes. Our politicians in general probably overrate the importance of corporate clamour. Mr. Balfour, in the same position, would never have been bluffed by the Ulstermen into tying himself up in knots as Mr. Asquith was. But from a recognition that 90 per cent. of noisy agitation is mere wind, Mr. Balfour has passed to the fallacy of including the remaining ten per cent. The point is well made in a chapter on Ireland in this book.

He could not see that, amid all its squalors, inconsistencies and worse, there was a genuine spiritual element in the Home Rule agitation. Exquisitely sensitive to the intangibles that influence cultured minds, he was incapable of understanding those which sway the imaginations of the rude and unlettered. He could appreciate to the full the coarseness of some conceptions of the Manchester school; he could see the ultra-democrat's error in refusing a value to everything that cannot be weighed or counted; he was wholly alive to the importance of family tradition, and the "public school spirit." But it never seems to have occurred to him that vulgar people, too, have their own imponderables. Thus he appears never to have seen anything in a strike but wrong-headedness and bad business; the loyalty of workman to workman, often as noble as that of soldier to soldier, was to him not merely incomprehensible but invisible. Similarly he could not understand the irrational affection of common men for the land of their birth. He himself might love Whittinghame, with its bleakness and winter snows, better than the fairest pleaceance in Italy; but then he was Balfour of Whittinghame, and entitled to be above reason when he chose. But as to the Highland crofters, for example, why should they cling to a land which condemned them to "contend with inclement skies, with stormy seas, and a barren soil" when emigration offered an easy solution of their problem?

When Mr. Raymond leaves personal

for political interpretation, we question whether he is a safe guide. He is very right, we believe, in refusing to see in Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal campaign a mere political diversion, though that was doubtless an element in the case. But he has invented a theory to justify Mr. Balfour's clinging to office until the unpopularity of 1903 became the débâcle of 1906. It is that while the home stage was occupied by the noise and bustle of fiscalitis, education, licensing and the rest of it, Mr. Balfour was intent upon one thing, the transition in our foreign policy from its teutophil phase to that of the Entente. We cannot disprove this theory, but it seems to us over-ingenious. In his picture, too, of Mr. Balfour at the Foreign Office during the war, Mr. Raymond is too kind. No doubt the Pacifist group in the House of Commons at that time was more than usually endowed with anti-national stupidity, but its contests with Mr. Balfour were not the one-sided affairs the reader of this book might be led to imagine. There was one memorable debate in which the Foreign Secretary, bluffing heroically about an Austrian Note, failed to disguise the fact that he had not read it. At this time of day it is easier to realise that the Note didn't matter than any unphilosophic person could have been expected to find it then, and if we are to regard Mr. Balfour as a player in the game of politics, he was off his form that day. His famous onslaught on Mr. Ure, unmentioned in these pages, was another of his failures.

In the last resort every man's judgment on Mr. Balfour will depend upon the view he takes of enthusiasm and the belief he has in making large changes in the schemes of things by conscious intervention. Lord Morley, himself hardly an extreme example of the tub-thumper, has encouraged us to look kindly on Midlothian campaigns as frail humanity's only prophylactic against Machiavellism. Mr. Balfour seems to regard all this with the half pitying eye of a Buddha: Are ye still without understanding? "It is unfortunate," he observes, "considering that enthusiasts moves the world, that so few enthusiasts can be trusted to speak the truth." Like him or leave him, that is Arthur James Balfour.

The Elements of Practical Psycho-Analysis,
by Dr. Paul Bousfield. (Kegan Paul, 10/6
nett.)

Somewhat inconsistently, the psychoanalysts of various schools are forcing their system on public attention with innumerable books. Every moderately well-informed person now knows something about Jung and Freud, though he may not pronounce their names correctly. We call this inconsistent, because it is admitted that no good is likely to come of the general dissemination of these theorisings. "The reading of psycho-analytical literature in some cases," writes Dr. Isador Coriat in a popular manual, "may increase the resistance, and this kind of self knowledge tends to lengthen rather than shorten the treatment." Then why the popular manual?

Dr. Bousfield's is frankly a very unpleasant book. We do not suggest that the prurient-minded will find it worth the money from this point of view alone, but we believe that any normally constituted person will rise from reading a great deal of it with disgust. This is not to say that there is nothing at all in psycho-analysis, and the experimental psychology on which it rests. We do say that a problematical amount of truth is made to support a whole body of unproved and fantastic suggestions. Freud and the other "modern psychologists" have produced a certain amount of evidence which should be carefully considered by the medical profession, and gradually find its true place in the corpus of medical knowledge. The psychoanalysts have made of it a system to be applied in the clinic, and Dr. Bousfield's book confirms our impression that it is far more likely to do harm than good. The existence of what is called the unconscious mind is not a Freudian discovery; neither is the fact that the mind tends to repress unpleasant material. Dr. Bousfield himself quoted a testimony in Darwin's autobiography to this latter truth. We shall not quarrel with the deduction that from hints of what is going on in the unconscious we may gain useful material. The psycho-analytic schools have added two important articles of faith. One is what we regard as a gross over-estimate of the importance of erotic motives, the other

a belief that the unconscious mind can be made the subject of formal scientific examination in the consulting room. If these two beliefs be erroneous, it is obvious that there are dangers in the treatment. We are dealing with neuro-paths, that is to say with persons who are more than usually suggestible. Let the psycho-analyst deny, as he does, that he uses suggestion. The fact remains that he has to form a theory at some stage of his examination, and to apply that theory. Can it be really argued that no harm is done to the mind of a sensitive patient?

Dr. Bousfield may be called in evidence of the prepossessions with which the analyst approached his cases. "We may expect," he says (page 139), "a given substratum of material in any patient," and he admits (page 196) that the analyst "will often have a hard task to prevent himself from giving suggestions to the patient which he thinks will hurry on the analysis." There is no need to elaborate this, nor to point to the danger implicit in the admission that there is a point in the extraordinary cross examination or sexual subjects at which the patient falls in love with the analyst.

The efficacy of psycho-analytic treatment, it will be said, is a matter of evidence. The evidence adduced does not convince us. It is, of course, notorious that functional diseases come and go in a bewildering fashion, and that evidence needs to be much more compelling than in the case of organic disease, but the witnesses do not impress us with their credibility. In no branch of medical literature is such loose thinking and defective sense of proportion to be found. Extreme explanations are given of facts which could be much more satisfactorily explained in an altogether simpler way. Dr. Bousfield gives one case at length—paranoid hysteria. In this case a young woman teacher who had been studying psycho-analysis and reading Pfister had a hysterical breakdown with sexual features, a perfectly natural result in a patient with the history given here. The family doctor could make nothing of her, but Dr. Bousfield naïvely observes that her expectations in regard to him had been "raised somewhat high."

psycho-analysis followed in which the patient related a great deal of highly unsavory homo-sexual experience with a story of psychical trauma in her school days—much of it quite probably invented. A fairly obvious case it seems to us of a hysteric who wanted to be psycho-analysed. The feeling of constriction around the head, which is among the commonest of neurasthenic symptoms, is referred to the hysterical idea that the young lady is a saint with a halo—which she certainly is not. It is difficult to realise that this case is seriously put forward, yet only a belief that it has some value would justify anyone but a pervert in relating so much unrelieved nastiness. If it were a joke, it would be an obscene joke. One serious question suggests itself to us: Is this nauseating pseudo-science practised on discharged soldiers and sailors? The craze will pass. How much harm will it do first?

"A Defence of Liberty." By the Hon. Oliver Brett (T. Fisher Unwin, 12/6 net).

If anybody supposes that it is the facts that matter in history, an examination of any library should correct the impression. On a given number of admitted facts there is a vast variety of interpretations, and it is the interpretations that divide men, and that really matter. Nietzsche saw the rulers of the world in the men who fix its values. How many arguments and systems begin "There are two classes of men"? To fix categories is the most effective form of criticism. Mr. Oliver Brett is now in the field with an ambitious attempt to get political history into two categories. His principal contention, as we gather, is that there is room for a Liberal party, and that its principal function is to assist in the extension and maintenance of liberty. Unfortunately, his equipment for this task is not of the best. Much that he has to say is trite, all of it is superficial, and his lack of critical judgment is shown in a readiness to make too sweeping statements on most of the subjects he deals with. He identifies Conservatism with an exaggeration of the power of the State, and Liberalism with the revolt against it. Following this line of argument, he is able, like Herbert

Spencer, to find in socialism a new Conservatism, and to bracket Lord Salisbury and Karl Marx together among the heretics, while Liberals—never to be confused with Coalitionists—pursue the straight and narrow way. This is one of several divisions of political thought, and provided the author defines the sense in which he is using his terms, there is not much to complain of. A mere statement, however, that Liberalism is in revolt against state idolatry does not carry us very much further. We are told of Burke that he upbraids the French revolutionists for not having copied the English constitution, "forgetting that you cannot arise one morning and imitate an institution that has grown up during centuries, and been handed down from generation to generation." Now, Burke was not likely to forget much that Mr. Brett would remember, and what his critic here forgets is that the "Reflections" were specifically addressed to a plea that France was doing in 1789 what England did in 1688. Burke showed that she was doing nothing of the kind. In his chapter, "State Idolatry," Mr. Brett continually gets a highly debatable proposition tucked away in half a sentence or a parenthesis. We are referred, for example, to "Christ and His insistence that the religious beliefs of a man were his own private concern." Another sentence runs, "Christianity, the right of the individual to think as he pleases and to construct without the assistance of superior persons his own inward life, has been liberated from the suffocating embraces of the State." The author has here not only given a curiously limited definition of Christianity, but he has attributed to the Reformation about the last thing that is to be said for it, since it certainly did not divorce religion from the State.

Some of Mr. Brett's criticisms of Socialism appear to us to be quite sound, but his general interpretation of history is forced and unnatural, his contribution to the difficult practical problems of politics is negligible, and the book abounds in opportunities for a hostile critic to make it look ridiculous.

Turning Over New Leaves.

OUR REVIEW OF RECENT BOOKS.

Social and Political.

A Short History of the British Commonwealth.

By Professor Ramsay Muir (George Philip and Son, 17/6 net).

This is the first volume of Professor Muir's book, and deals mainly with the development of the British Isles and the founding of the first empire, breaking off at 1763, and therefore leaving some of the most interesting and controversial part of our imperial history for the subsequent volume. The story is well described in Professor Muir's own words as that of a number of peoples gradually learning to live together in free partnership, inspired by their common enjoyment of the institutions of political liberty. That such a book should be entirely uncontroversial is of course impossible, but all that a sane judgment and freedom from strong prejudice can do to win general assent Professor Muir has done. Here and there are dicta which many readers will want to question, as for example, that apart from Christianity and roads the Roman occupation left little permanent mark on this country. The book shows signs of the new orientation which historical writing has taken on as a result of the war, and the writer speaks with justifiable scorn of J. R. Green's view that wars are almost negligible. His emancipation from the school of Green and Freeman is, however, not so complete as many readers will probably wish it to be. Read with the aid of Professor Muir's Historical atlas, this book will be of the greatest value both to students and the general reader, and we await with particular interest the second and more thrilling volume.

The Pageant of England, 1900-1920.

By J. R. Raynes (Swarthmore Press, 12/6 net).

Whatever else this book may be, it is very good journalism. Mr. Raynes has the easy flowing style, the observant eye for diverse and sometimes incongruous details, and the share of breezy humour that make for readability. He is objective in the sense that he is "out" primarily for happenings, not for theories or opinions; but his self-suppression does not spell an uninspired narrative of facts. The book includes the cream of the social and political events during twenty eventful years, and enables one to get a view in perspective of the chief developments and social movements that have crowded upon each other during that time. From the discreetly brief autobiographical matter at the beginning, we learn that the author started his journalistic career in a small

Derbyshire town. That fact has not prevented him from writing as a citizen of the world.

Bolshevik Russia. By G. E. Raine and E. Luboff (Nisbet, 1/- net).

We have already had, perhaps, sufficient evidence that Russian Bolshevism is very far removed from the Western democratic ideal, and the carefully documented re-statement of the case by the authors of this little book does not produce the thrill it might have done a couple of years ago. Nor are we profoundly moved by the revelations of German intrigue in Russian affairs. This is a matter of history. However culpable Germany may have been in promoting Bolshevism in the first instance, there is no doubt that Germans of to-day are as much concerned as anybody else in checking its untoward advance. The book, however, gives some interesting details of Bolshevik administration and finance.

Essays.

The Passion of Labour. By Robert Lynd (Bell, 6/- net).

These essays, most of which appeared in the *New Statesman*, are so far above ordinary journalistic writing that a failure to embody them in permanent literary form would have been almost tragic. Mr. Lynd is concerned with the passion of labour to make the world a better place in which to live; but though the first few essays bear mainly on political labour's ideals and claims, later ones, such as "The Public Man," "The Return of Good Humour," "The Truth about Corruption," and "Patriotism for Infants," appear to us to be less specifically labour questions. Mr. Lynd ranges, in fact, a good deal wider than his title would lead one to suppose. Historical and literary as well as political and social interests claim his attention as constituents of the world of ideas in which he lives. He has one special qualification as an essayist: he is one of the few writers who combine with an appealing sincerity a really graceful turn of speech. He rarely pens a pedantic sentence, and never a clumsy one and a piquant native wit.

Everyday Essays. By John Crawley (Melrose 3/6 net).

Mr. Crawley is a genial philosopher, and a notable addition to the company of essay writers. He is not a conscious stylist, giving the impression rather of letting us know what he has

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any means, but for pure readability it is excellently chosen. "Countryside Rambles" deals season by season with the trees, plants, animals, birds and natural phenomena which those who take them ought to know. There is always an audience for this kind of lecture; nature lore, expounded on broad general lines and in a sympathetic spirit, makes a subtle appeal to the city-dweller especially. Forty-six pages of photographic illustrations, with three or four to the page, seem, moreover, to be very good value in these days for so low-priced a book.

Occultism.

The Fringe of Immortality. By Mary E. Monteith. (Murray, 6s. net.)

Three of the chapters in this book, viz., those on "Automatic Writing," "Telepathy" and the "Survival of Memory," have already appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*. The author's experiences in psychic development seems to have been somewhat out of the ordinary, and several of the media usually associated with such training to have been dispensed with. The main feature of the book, however, is the attempt to reconcile Spiritualism and Christian teaching. Miss Monteith has gone to the mystic St. Catherine of Siena and her successor, St. Theresa, for some of her evidence; and for the later, to Professor William James, Madam Guyon, Frédéric Myers and others to whose credit stands a patient and sympathetic study of phenomena. The book is thoroughly sincere and should help to promote investigation on the entire subject of communication.

Occultists and Mystics of all Ages. By the Hon. Ralph Shirley. (Rider, 4s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Shirley opens with Apollonius of Tyana, but the biographies that will interest most of his readers are those of Emanuel Swedenborg and Count Cagliostro. Swedenborg, up to the age of 50, was a scientist, but even in this field he had his dreams, and some of them are hardly less remarkable than his subsequent spiritualistic revelations. Amongst his projected inventions, for example, was "the plan of a certain ship which, with its men, was to go under the surface of the sea wherever it chooses, and do great damage to the fleet of the enemy." Cagliostro's career was much more romantic; but Mr. Shirley reminds us that he was not one of the master occultists of his time or any other. His "cures" made him "the comet of a season"; but he left no disciples. Still, in general brilliance and power he ranks with the other personalities in this book among the world's celebrated men.

Modern Saints and Seers. Translated from the French of Jean Finot by Evan Marrett. (Rider, 4s. 6d. net.)

An account of many religious sects and movements, chiefly in Russia and the United States. M. Finot has got together a vast miscellany of information, particularly in regard to the Russian sects during the last fifty years or so. Most people know of the Doukobors, the Tolstoyans,

and the Rasputin cult; but these are only a small fraction of the strange movements, communistic and otherwise in idea, that have held passing sway among the Russian peasantry. In the "Strangers" one traces the ancient, if disagreeable theory that it is better to kill the incurable than to let them drag out their miserable lives; but the method of despatch is too much like that of the Thugs, to exercise a very wide human appeal. The sects of the United States, which include Mormonism, Christian Science, and Theosophy, are legion; but the Russian field would seem to show a richer inventiveness. Western Europe can congratulate itself on a comparatively poor record. M. Finot's comments open up some large avenues of speculation on the world's religious problems.

A New Oscar Wilde Book.

Oscar Wilde: Fragments and Memories. By Martin Birnbaum (Elkin Matthews, 7/6 net.)

This is a slight, though by no means negligible, contribution to the biography of Oscar Wilde. It is largely occupied with Wilde's visit to America, and deals with his friendship with Clyde Fitch, whom Wilde encouraged in his first literary efforts. Mr. Birnbaum also prints an amusing account by Colonel Morse of Wilde's lecture at Boston, when fifty or sixty Harvard students turned up to guy the lectured, but were scored off in neat fashion. Still more amusing is a letter from Wilde to Mrs. Bernard Beere describing his adventures in the mining city of Leadville. Some extracts from Wilde's commonplace book, in particular a transcript of his conversations with Coquelin, add to the interest of the book.



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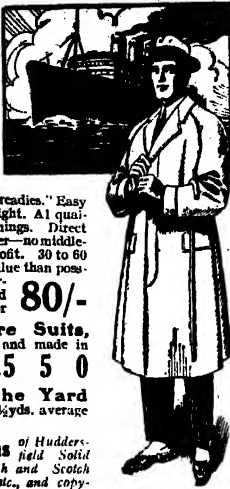
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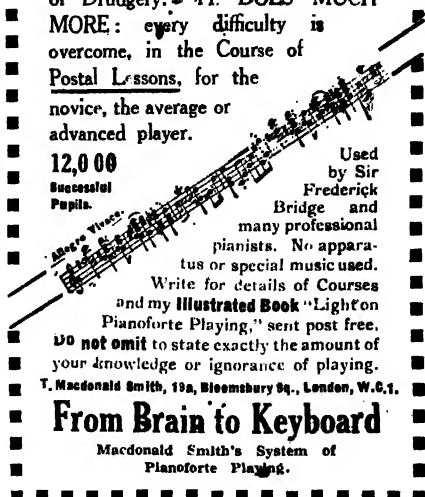
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